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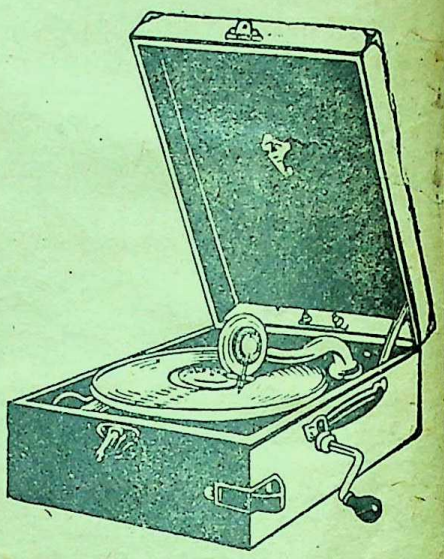

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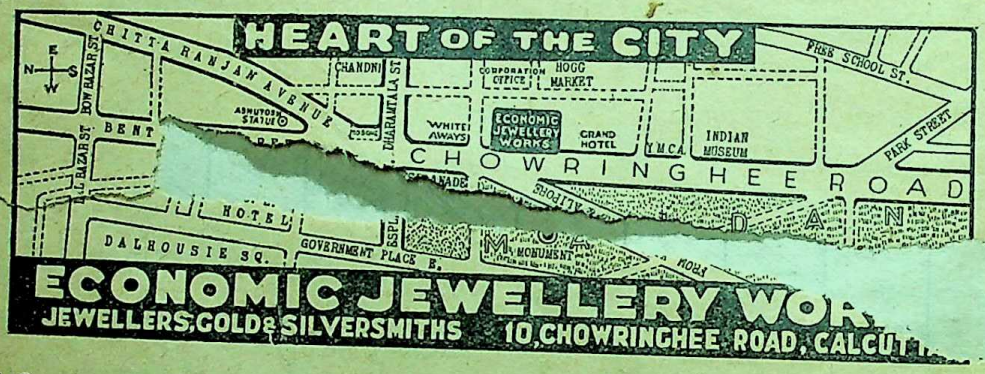

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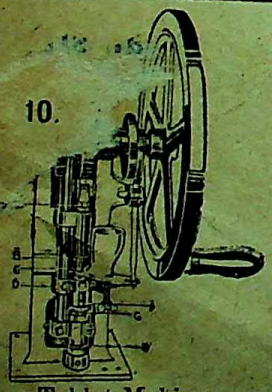

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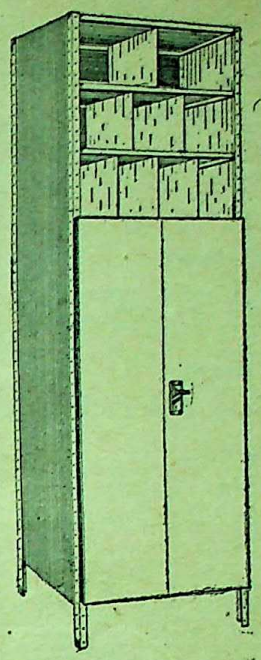

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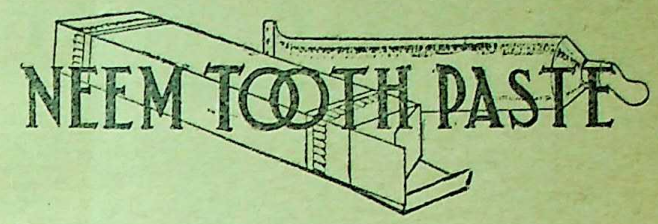

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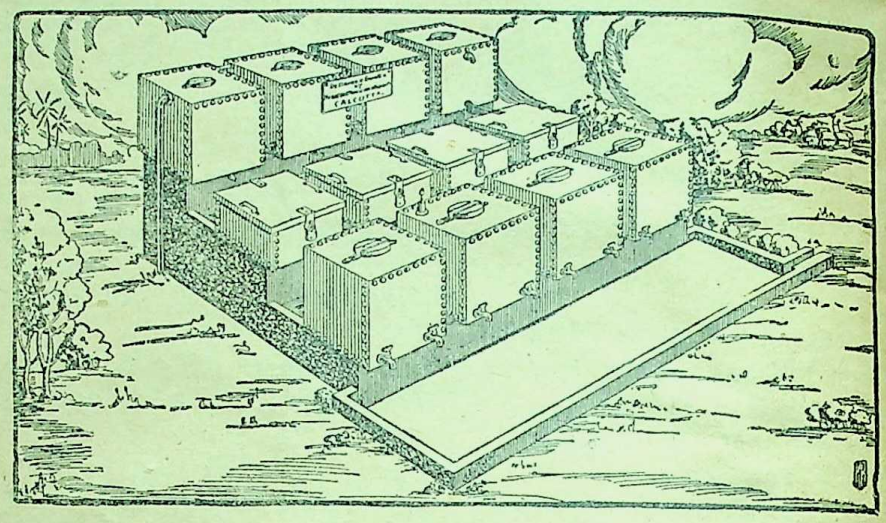

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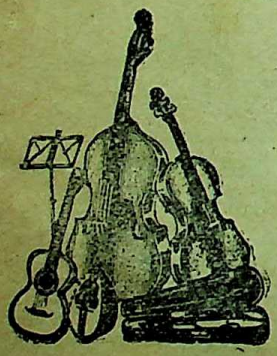

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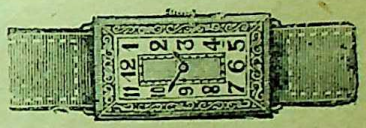

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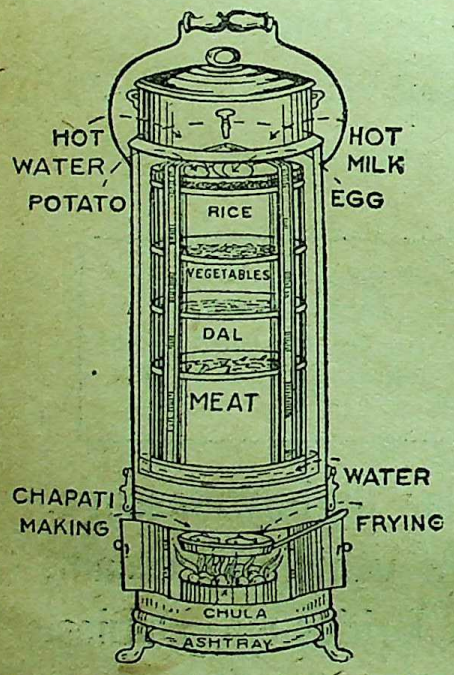

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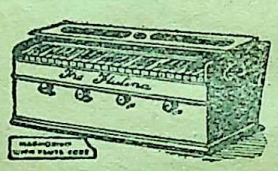

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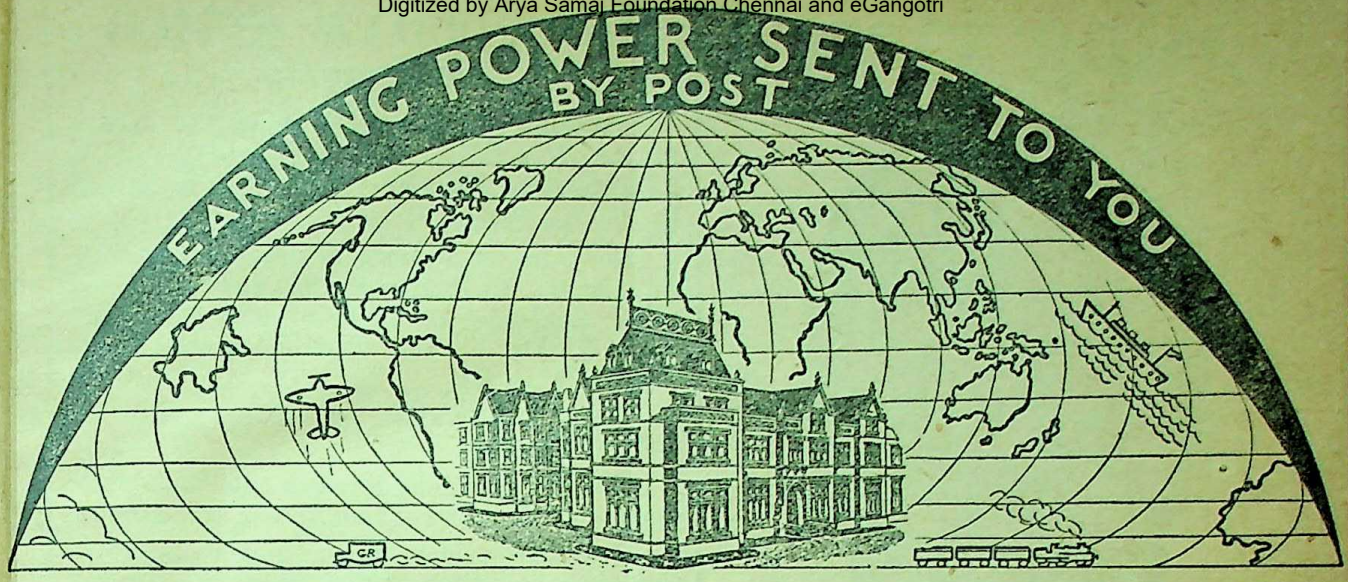

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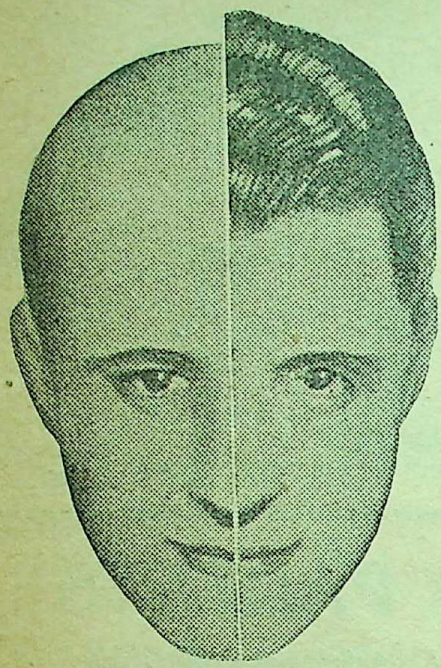

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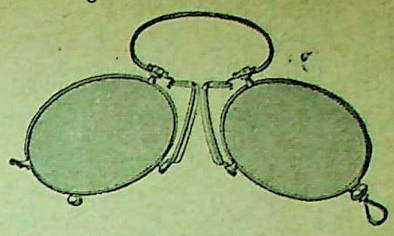

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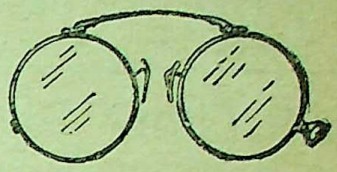

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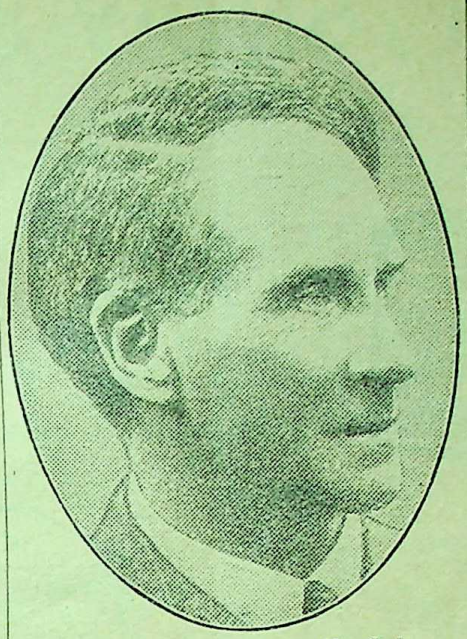

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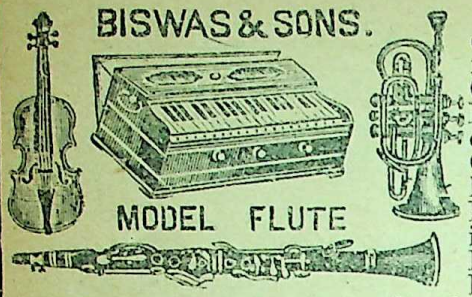

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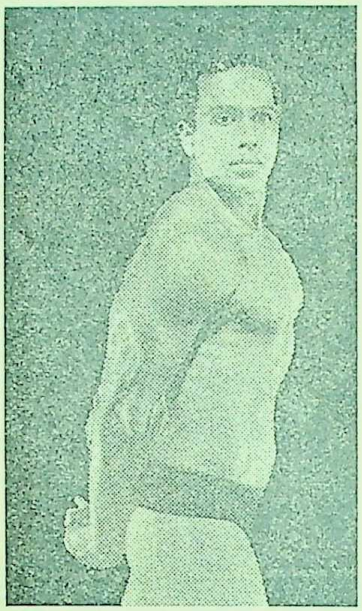

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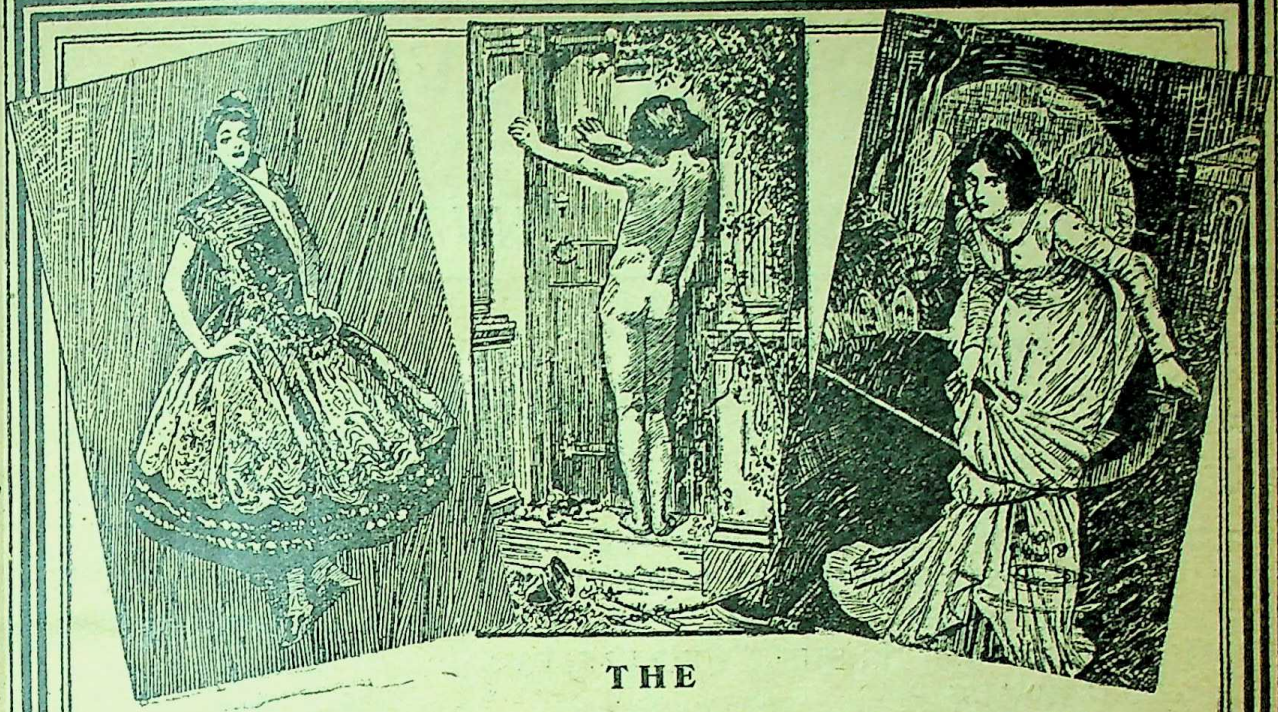

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THE COMING OF THE PRINCESS
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CHARLES DARWIN

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

It seems to be unquestionable that the modern doctrine of Evolution is the most important contribution made to science since Sir Isaac Newton. It is also more and more recognized that its importance is not confined to science (physical science), but that its influence, direct or indirect, is being felt, and felt in increasingly fruitful ways, throughout the whole realm of modern thought.

Evolution as understood today is not due to Darwin alone; other scientific investigators have made invaluable contributions to its elucidation since his day; but all scientific authorities agree that Darwin's name is the greatest and most important connected with it.

Darwin died in 1882. For forty years before his death he had lived the quietest of lives, so far as external events were concerned, in the outskirts of a very small and almost unknown country village in Kent, England. The place was some miles off the railroad, so that, although his death occurred on Wednesday, the news, destined to carry sorrow to all parts of the civilized world, was not heard in London until noon of Thursday. There in a spacious, comfortable, rather old-fashioned brick house, made picturesque with wild vines and ivy, and shaded with great old trees, lived and worked with steady persistence and perseverance, but with nothing external to distinguish him from the ordinary country gentleman, the man whose books went forth to revolutionize the thought of mankind.

Back of his house were fine and rather large grounds. Adjoining his house was a conservatory, and near by hot-houses, where he conducted those experiments on flowers, climbing plants, and other forms of vegetable and animal life. which have shed such light on many departments of natural history.

Mr. Darwin located himself in this quiet place, partly because his health was delicate and could be best guarded in a spot like this, and partly because he had laid out for himself a life work, and was wise enough to know that in such a place, where there would be no interruptions of society and few external diversions, he could accomplish the greatest amount of labour. Here, in a delightful home, surrounded by his family, esteemed by his neighbours, loved by all the children of the district, for whom he always had a smile and a kind word, rising at the early hour of six o'clock, taking his walks in field or lane or wood regularly at seven, twelve and four, and spending usually about twelve hours a day at his work in conservatory or garden or study, he performed those patient and careful experiments and accumulated that wealth of facts, which make his books such marvels. This is the spot, which although the dust of the world-renowned scientist lies in Westminster Abbey among the great, will for centuries be visited by pligrims from all lands as a scared place.

Mr. Darwin was born in Shrewsbury, and lived to the age of 73 years. His father was a physician, interested in science, and a member of the Royal Society. His grand-father, also a physician and member of the Royal Society, had risen to some eminence as a botanist, and as a writer of books, one of which, the

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Zoonomia, or Laws of Organic Life, plainly foreshadowed the theory of development which his illustrious grandson afterwards gave to the world.

The ancestors on the mother's side also were persons of some note, being members of the celebrated Wedgewood family. Thus, whatever influence there may be in heredity, Charles Darwin had the full benefit of it. With such an ancestry we are not surprised at his rich mental endowments, nor do we wonder that from his childhood the bent of his mind should have been in the direction of science.

His early education was received in the grammar school of his native town. At 16 he was sent to the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, where he remained two years, then went to Cambridge, England, where he studied four years, taking his degree of Bachelor of Arts at the age of 22. It is known that while at Cambridge he was specially interested in Botany and that at Edinburgh he gave particular attention to Marine Zoology.

Very soon after his graduation an event occurred which proved to be of prime importance in his career and in the history of modern science. I refer to his going on a voyage of scientific research around the world. About the time he was finishing his Cambridge studies, His Majesty's exploring ship "Beagle," returned from a four years' survey of the coasts of Patagonia and Terra Del Fuego. Soon another voyage, more extended and of longer duration, was to be undertaken. Captain Fitz Roy of the "Beagle" advertised for a naturalist to accompany him. Young Darwin applied for the place, and through the influence of friends who knew his scientific attainments and great promise, obtained it. Accordingly in the November following his graduation, while yet less than 23 years of age, he set out for a tour and cruise or original observation and study on many of the waters of the world, and also in such important lands as Brazil, Patagonia, Chili, Peru, the Galapagos and Society Islands, New Zealand, Australia, Mauritius, St. Helena, and the Cape Verde Island. On this voyage he was gone almost five years, gathering and bringing back with him extensive botanical, zoological, and geological collections, and an immense store of scientific information.

To start out upon his career as a scientist with five years of such travel, observation and experience, was simply invaluable. It gave him an important advantage to begin with over nearly or quite every other scientific investigator of the age. Without this preparatory experience, and wide survey of the physical phenomena of the earth, it seems likely that he never could have reached a clear conception of that magnificent generalization known as Evolution (at first largely called Darwinism) by which the scientific thinking of the world has been so radically changed; or, if he had reached it, at least he could not have brought to its support such a remarkable array of facts from all provinces of nature and all parts of the world as he did bring to its support. Indeed it was while he was at the Galapagos Islands, as he tells us, prosecuting his researches in connection with that memorable voyage in the ship Beagle, that the great thought of development by natural selection, or by survial of the fittest which is the vital principle of the whole development theory, first took shape in his mind. Immediately he saw that the thought was one of almost unparalleled scientific importance, if it proved to be true. He determined almost from the first, therefore, to devote his life to the investigation and elucidation of his great conception.

Accordingly, soon after his return from his years abroad, having married, he bought the country place which I have already described and set out upon the prosecution of his long and arduous life work here.

The first ten years in this quiet home he devoted mainly to the laborious task of publishing the scientific results of his voyage, giving to the world in that connection no less than five works of importance, coming under the general heads of Geology, Zoology, and Natural History.

It was not until the year 1859, when he was fifty years old, that he issued his greatest and epoch-making book, *The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection; or the preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.* And even then, though he had been at work upon the book fifteen years, he was compelled to publish it earlier than he intended, to prevent the ground which he had covered from being pre-empted by another, namely, Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace, who had prepared a paper on the same subject and sent it to Mr. Darwin to read as the one scientist in England most likely to understand and appreciate what he had written.

The conception of Evolution was not original with Darwin. The general idea of nature as a "development," or of the world as having grown or "evolved" by slow degrees from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, until from a primitive condition of water, or air, or fire,

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or unorganized matter, or matter and force, it had at last unfolded or transformed itself into what we now see, this idea in a more or less vague form had been in the world from as far back almost as human history extends. There are many traces of it in ancient Hindu and Buddhist writings. Some of the earliest of the Greek philosophers entertained the conception, speculated much concerning it, and even made it the basis of their philosophical systems. A number of eminent German thinkers of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth, Immanuel Kant perhaps being foremost among them, took up the thought and gave it strong support. Goethe advocated it in his conversations with literary men and in more than one of his writings. The naturalists Lamarck, Oken, and St. Hillaire approached in their theories very near to Darwin's view. What is worthy of note, Darwin's own grandfather had written in support of the development theory. Moreover a striking book of anonymous authorship entitled *Vestiges of Creation* appeared in England in the year 1844 (after several of Darwin's earlier books had been given to the world, and only fifteen years before his *Origin of Species*) and made a great stir by advocating with much skill and ingenuity the doctrine of creation by law, genetic continuity, progressive development.

However, all this was only preparatory. All that had been written before Darwin's *Origin of Species* had only ploughed ground, or at best sown seed. It had set men thinking in the direction of the development theory; but all the thought that resulted, up to the time of Darwin's great book, was vague and inconclusive. One thing was wanting to give the theory solidity and a scientific foundation. That wanting thing Darwin brought to it. It was, as already stated, the thought of natural selection. Darwin came before the world not simply urging that species had originated from natural causes, but setting forth the manner in which and the means by which he believed them to have originated, and at the same time spreading before the scientific world an astounding array of carefully observed, and fully described, facts in support of what he urged. From that moment the foremost, the all-overshadowing, question in the scientific world became, and became inevitably, Is Darwin right? Does natural selection or the theory of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for life, wholly or in large part account for the origin of species in the vegatable and animal world? At once it became clear to all thinking men that his theory was revolutionary, not only throughout the whole realm of science, but also in social, political, ethical, and theological thought.

The immense increase of fame that came to Mr. Darwin did not for a moment take him off his feet. The tremendous scientific and theological controversy that arose over his teachings did not draw him aside from the straight line of quiet work that he had laid out for himself and pursued steadily for so many years.

He followed up his volume on the *Origin of Species* at longer or shorter intervals with some ten other works, namely:

The Various Contrivances by which Orchids are Fertilized by Insects, 1862.
The Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants, 1865.
The Variation of Plants and Animals under Domestication, 1867.
The Descent of Man, and Descent in Relation to Sex, 1871.
The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals, 1872.
Insectiverous Plants, 1875.
The Effects of Cross and Self Fertilization in the Vegetable Kingdom, 1876.
The Different Forms of Flowers and Plants of the Same Species, 1877.
The Power of Movement in Plants, 1881.
The Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms, with Observations on Their Habits, 1882.

All of these works were in the same general line with the *Origin of Species*. Each gave the record of the writer's careful, patient, exhaustive examination of some department or province of nature, with a view to finding out what light it had to throw upon the great central thought of development through natural and regular causes. Each work revealed the master. Any one of the number would have made the fame of an ordinary scientific writer.

Having now glanced over Mr. Darwin's life and work, we are ready for a brief inquiry regarding his influence, first in physical science, and then in other realms, particularly those of ethics and religion.

Darwin was not distinctly a geologist; only during the early years of his scientific career did he give extended attention to geological study. Yet the science of Geology was profoundly affected by his investigations. His work on Coral Reefs is regarded as one of the most important monographs in the whole history of

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geological science. His chapter on the "Imperfection of the Geological Record" in the *Origin of Species* startled geologists as if it had been a clap of thunder. His two chapters in the same work on "Geographical Distribution" threw a flood of light on the whole realm of geological inquiry. It was soon perceived that if his theory of organic development is true, and if the life of the world has been from the beginning continuous, it affects profoundly the whole geological story. This is the reason why geological science has had to be reconceived and re-written since Darwin came on the scene.

The two sciences, however, which have felt the influence of Darwin's thought most, both directly and indirectly, are Botany and Zoology. These were the sciences in immediate connection with which his main work was done, and to which his theory first of all applied. When he began his investigations, all organic species, whether animal or vegetable, were supposed to be fixed and unchangeable; and every distinct form of life, past or present, was believed to be a special creation. With such a theory in the minds of scientists, both Botany and Zoology were full of discords and confusion. Thousands of facts were pressing on the attention of careful observers, which could find no explanation under such a theory. But with Darwin came a change. His theory of descent (to use the words of Professor Romanes) was the influence that "created organization out of confusion, brought the dry bones to life, and made all the previous dissociated facts of science stand up, as an exceeding great army."

If Darwin made it important to re-write or lay aside all works on geology written before his day, still more imperative did he make it to recast all textbooks and all treatises on Botany and Zoology. Biological science in its whole range, both vegetable and animal, has been created anew by his thought.

But not with physical science in any of its departments can we stop. He is the most superficial of observers who does not recognize that Darwin's influence has extended, and very powerfully, far beyond the limits of the physical realm, into those of society, mind, morals, and religion.

Not that Darwin himself pushed his investigations much into these realms, or in his writings traced the bearing of his thought far beyond the physical or at most the lower forms of the mental, as the intelligence of animals. Yet occasionally he went further, as in certain chapters of his *Descent of Man*, and his interesting paper published a year or two before his death on the mental development of one of his children. But however closely he himself may have kept in his investigation and writing to organized physical life, his theory is one that necessarily goes out and affects the whole realm of man's life, mental, social, moral, and spiritual.

"Darwinism" is only partially identical with Evolution, but it is its backbone; and Evolution is the thought that throws more light than any other upon man's whole past, present and future.

We are finding that not only geological history, and the history of all forms of life on the earth below man, but also that the history of man himself must be re-written in the light of evolution.

We are finding that all our educational theories and methods must be re-cast in the light of the same. The psychologists and educators of the world are now at work on this great task.

We are discovering that our theories and methods of government are right only to the degree that they take heed of the principle of evolution.

We are learning that all progress, if it is to be real and permanent, must be based on evolution, not on revolution. Revolution has been too much the method of the past; evolution must be the method of the future.

For this radical change that is coming into all departments of our thinking, we are indebted of course to many men. No one mind is capable of working out the whole evolutionary philosophy. But Darwin furnished the key. Here was his greatness. He pointed out the path along which others are pressing with such important results to civilization.

Into the work of social reform Darwin cast two fruitful seeds. First, all men who would be reformers, all who would dry up the streams of vice and evil in society and do good to their fellow men, he set to the work of observing, to the work of looking for facts, gathering statistics, studying conditions and environments as never before; thus they began to get a basis of accurate knowledge to found their reforms upon, such as no past age had known. And secondly, he was largely instrumental in casting the great and fruitful thought of prevention into the mind of reformers, teaching them that the way to get rid of ignorance and vice and to elevate the race is to begin with generations as soon as they are born and before they are born; it is to take care of heredity, and of the physical conditions, mental associations and environments of children from their very earliest

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moments, and thus harness whole groups of intangible but mighty forces which the past has largely overlooked into our service to help us in our reformatory work.

What shall we say regarding the influence of Darwin upon morals? There has been grave and widespread fear that here the effects of his thought would prove disastrous. Has time justified the fear? I think I may answer that the tendency of Evolution has proved to be not at all the destruction of morals, or the weakening of the ethical foundation of society. Rather does Darwin's thought when carried to its legitimate conclusion seem to reveal the fact, more clearly than it was ever revealed before, that the order of the universe is a moral order, and that justice and right and truth are builded into the very nature of things.

Evolution says man's reason came into being responsive to the call of a rational universe. Because there was something to be known and understood ever pressing upon him, he learned to know and think. In the same way man's sense of beauty has been developed in him in response to his environment. Because he was in a world constructed on principles of beauty, his mind got the beauty-faculty, that is, grew to apprehend and enjoy beauty. Similarly Evolution teaches that men's ideas of right and justice have come into being because these things are realities. Right and justice are in the universe, and therefore they have come to be in him. Man is moral because the universe is moral. Thus we see that Evolution rightly understood cannot result in any permanent disturbance of morals, but must lead to a firmer foundation than much of the ethics of the past has known, a foundation in nature itself, in the very constitution of the universe.

What has been the influence on Christianity of Darwin's scientific investigations?

From the first it was seen that if the development theory came to be generally accepted it must produce a profound change in the theological thought of Christendom. The Bible story of creation could no longer be regarded as historic; the period of man's existence on the earth must be extended to many times six thousand years, and that of the existence of the earth to a period vastly longer still. There could have been no literal Adam and Eve. Instead of the first human beings having been created perfect and having "fallen", dragging down all their descendents with them, the human family began its career very low down, and has slowly, through the experience and struggle of ages, climbed to its present condition, and its face is still forward and upward. In other words, ours is a rising, not a fallen world.

Since Mr. Darwin's scientific theory was thus seen to be subversive of much that was regarded as vital in the prevailing theology of Christendom, it was not strange that it stirred up a great theological controversy.

Of course, he had also to fight a hard battle with the scientists. He was a scientific innovator, a scientific heretic. He proposed a scientific theory which was new, and which ran counter to the view of practically every scientist living. In offering to the world his thought of the *Origin of Species* he was stepping forth into the arena as a solitary champion of a theory which must fall unless he could defend it successfully against the attacks and the criticisms of the whole scientific world.

However, this battle with the scientists, severe as it was, had the advantage of being concerned principally with facts and reasoning, and only to a limited extent with prejudices. This was why it was possible to bring it to an end within a reasonable time.

The theological battle was different. It had to do largely with prejudices and fears. Religious men held beliefs which in many cases they were unwilling even to have investigated, beliefs which they regarded as having something sacred about them, and therefore which were not to be tried by the tests of "mere human reason" and "profane science".

Only persons who are now far past middle life can remember how intense and often bitter this battle with theology was. An incident or two will illustrate it.

A story is preserved regarding the then somewhat eminent Dean Burgon, a splendidly honest and outspoken old dogmatist of the English Church, who having to preach a sermon on an important occasion when many scientific men were present, concluded his discourse by vigorously denouncing the new scientific theory of Darwin, and saying with biting sarcasm to the scientists before him,

> "Gentlemen, leave me my ancestors in the Garden of Eden, and look for your own (not mine) in the Zoological Gardens."

A story quite as interesting comes to us regarding Professor Huxley and an English Bishop.

We are told that at an annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in those days when Darwin and Darwinism were so cordially hated, a Bishop of the English Church closed a sarcastic speech against the new doctrine by turning to Huxley, its leading advocate in the body at that time,

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What shall we say regarding the influence of Darwin upon morals? There has been grave and widespread fear that here the effects of his thought would prove disastrous. Has time justified the fear? I think I may answer that the tendency of Evolution has proved to be not at all the destruction of morals, or the weakening of the ethical foundation of society. Rather does Darwin's thought when carried to its legitimate conclusion seem to reveal the fact, more clearly than it was ever revealed before, that the order of the universe is a moral order, and that justice and right and truth are builded into the very nature of things.

Evolution says man's reason came into being responsive to the call of a rational universe. Because there was something to be known and understood ever pressing upon him, he learned to know and think. In the same way man's sense of beauty has been developed in him in response to his environment. Because he was in a world constructed on principles of beauty, his mind got the beauty-faculty, that is, grew to apprehend and enjoy beauty. Similarly Evolution teaches that men's ideas of right and justice have come into being because these things are realities. Right and justice are in the universe, and therefore they have come to be in him. Man is moral because the universe is moral. Thus we see that Evolution rightly understood cannot result in any permanent disturbance of morals, but must lead to a firmer foundation than much of the ethics of the past has known, a foundation in nature itself, in the very constitution of the universe.

What has been the influence on Christianity of Darwin's scientific investigations?

From the first it was seen that if the development theory came to be generally accepted it must produce a profound change in the theological thought of Christendom. The Bible story of creation could no longer be regarded as historic; the period of man's existence on the earth must be extended to many times six thousand years, and that of the existence of the earth to a period vastly longer still. There could have been no literal Adam and Eve. Instead of the first human beings having been created perfect and having "fallen", dragging down all their descendents with them, the human family began its career very low down, and has slowly, through the experience and struggle of ages, climbed to its present condition, and its face is still forward and upward. In other words, ours is a rising, not a fallen world.

Since Mr. Darwin's scientific theory was thus seen to be subversive of much that was regarded as vital in the prevailing theology of Christendom, it was not strange that it stirred up a great theological controversy.

Of course, he had also to fight a hard battle with the scientists. He was a scientific innovator, a scientific heretic. He proposed a scientific theory which was new, and which ran counter to the view of practically every scientist living. In offering to the world his thought of the *Origin of Species* he was stepping forth into the arena as a solitary champion of a theory which must fall unless he could defend it successfully against the attacks and the criticisms of the whole scientific world.

However, this battle with the scientists, severe as it was, had the advantage of being concerned principally with facts and reasoning, and only to a limited extent with prejudices. This was why it was possible to bring it to an end within a reasonable time.

The theological battle was different. It had to do largely with prejudices and fears. Religious men held beliefs which in many cases they were unwilling even to have investigated, beliefs which they regarded as having something sacred about them, and therefore which were not to be tried by the tests of "mere human reason" and "profane science".

Only persons who are now far past middle life can remember how intense and often bitter this battle with theology was. An incident or two will illustrate it.

A story is preserved regarding the then somewhat eminent Dean Burgon, a splendidly honest and outspoken old dogmatist of the English Church, who having to preach a sermon on an important occasion when many scientific men were present, concluded his discourse by vigorously denouncing the new scientific theory of Darwin, and saying with biting sarcasm to the scientists before him,

> "Gentlemen, leave me my ancestors in the Garden of Eden, and look for your own (not mine) in the Zoological Gardens."

A story quite as interesting comes to us regarding Professor Huxley and an English Bishop.

We are told that at an annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in those days when Darwin and Darwinism were so cordially hated, a Bishop of the English Church closed a sarcastic speech against the new doctrine by turning to Huxley, its leading advocate in the body at that time,

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and saying in the presence of a large audience with the most cutting accents,

> "Is the learned gentleman really willing to have it go forth to the world that he believes himself to be descended from a monkey?"

Professor Huxley rose, and in his quiet way, but with terrible effect, replied,

> "It seems to be that the learned bishop hardly appreciates our position and duty as men of science. We are not here to inquire what we would prefer, but what is true. The progress of science has been from the beginning a conflict with old prejudices. The origin of man is not a question of likes and dislikes to be settled by consulting the feelings, but it is a question of evidence to be settled by strict scientific investigation. But, as the learned bishop is curious to know my state of feeling on the subject, I have no hesitation in saying that, were it a matter of choice with me, which clearly it is not, whether I should be descended from a respectable monkey or from a bishop of the English Church who can put his brains to no better use than to ridicule science and misrepresent its cultivators, I would certainly choose the monkey."

Such a retort as this could not have come from Darwin, who never under any circumstances allowed himself to be drawn into personalities or sarcasm. But it well illustrates how intense was the conflict between the theologians and the scientists, and how strongly the former intrenched themselves behind mere vulgar prejudices; as it also illustrates the magnificent fighting qualities of Huxley, who, though not so influential in quiet ways as Darwin, was, more than any other, the leader in open fight through all the hard campaign.

And now how strange it seems to call to mind the fact that when the author of the theory over which all this conflict raged, died, in the year 1882, within less than half a generation from the time when the noise of the battle was loudest, the Church of England, the church of the very bishop who had uttered the taunt which I have mentioned, actually threw open the doors of Westminster Abbey, her most sacred burial place, and craved the honour of interring the author of the Darwinian theory among her most illustrious dead. How strikingly the story illustrates the widening of men's thought, and the triumph of charity over prejudice and of knowledge over bigotry at least in that little corner of the world which we call England.

It is important clearly to understand that the controversy which arose between the Church and the theory of Evolution put forth by Darwin, was theological, not religious. Evolution did not disturb religion. What it disturbed was the Genesis stories of the Creation and the Fall, and whatever system or systems of Christian theological dogma men had built upon those legends. But those legends and those systems of theology had no necessary connection with religion. All religion outside of Christendom is independent of them; and it is coming to be more and more clearly seen that even Christianity as taught by Jesus bears no necessary relation to them.

When Darwin's thought first came before the world many declared it to be atheistic.

But it is now recognized by thinking men generally that this charge is without foundation. Of course, men may be atheists and disciples of Darwin, as men may be atheists and opponents of Darwin. But, certainly there is nothing necessarily atheistic in Darwin's teachings. This is seen to be so, first, from the fact that he himself was not an atheist, as near the end of his life he explicitly declared; second, from the fact that many of the most eminent supporters of the Darwinian theory are believers in God; and third, from the fact that the theory deals with method and not at all with cause; and, so far as we can see, God may as easily work by law as by cataclysm, may as fittingly create the world and man by gradual and orderly development as by sudden fiats and arbitrary special acts. Indeed to many devout minds the theory of evolution, so far from tending to banish God from the universe, seems to fill the universe full of a Divine Presence as the older theory never did.

Under the touch of the evolutionary philosophy, as many of the profoundest thinkers of our day are coming to interpret that philosophy, the old-time absentce Deity, dwelling in a far off heaven, and making himself known to men only in occasional miraculous manifestations, becomes transformed into an Infinite and Eternal Power that impels all things, an Infinite and Eternal Intelligence that guides all things, an Infinite and Eternal Life that kindles all finite life, an Infinite and Eternal Goodness, Justice and Love that holds the world in its arms, and comes to manifestation in all our human justice, goodness, and love.

Saint Paul never dreamed of Mr. Darwin or his theory. But was it not exactly the God of modern Evolution that he unconsciously portrayed, when he wrote: "In him (God) we live and move and have our being"?

Some have imagined that Darwin's thought of Evolution is inimical to man's spiritual life, specially to prayer and worship. But others answer: Rather, when deeply understood, does it not bring God nearer than he ever was before, and with a clearer voice does it not say to every human soul

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"Speak to him, thou, for He hears:
And spirit with spirit may meet:
Nearer is He than breathing,
And closer than hands and feet."

Some have supposed that Evolution is hostile to man's great hope of immortality. But here, too, I think it is coming widely to be felt that the fear is without warrant. If in some respects the evolution theory seems to bear against the probability of a future life for man, in other respects it is believed to support it. To many minds a future life seems to be implied by Evolution,—seems to be logically necessary to complete the theory of Evolution itself. Why should human progress stop with the grave? Man does not seem to attain the full possibility of his nature in this world. The most complete earthly life is conscious of powers unused, of faculties only partly developed, or hopes and plans unrealized. Have we not in this fact a promise, or at least an intimation, written in man's own soul, that this life is only a beginning, an infant school, where man is prepared for something greater beyond?

To sum up the whole matter of the religious influence of Darwin, I may say: "I think the prevailing verdict among the most influential religious thinkers of the West is, that instead of the doctrine of Evolution proving an injury to religion, as many at first feared, its effect has rather been to make religion reasonable and intelligible, to bring it into the natural order, and therefore to make it seem more real, more valuable and more attractive. Evolution seems to show that religion is an essential part of man's higher life; that the religious instinct or the religious faculty in man is somehing as normal and as necessary as his reasoning faculty: that man is as much made to aspire toward what is above him, to cherish ideals, to care for the spiritual side of life, and to worship, as he is to think or to breathe: and that what men ought to do, therefore, is not to neglect or ignore their religious nature, but train and develop it in ways that are sane, intelligent and uplifting."

I close with a word or two regarding Darwin the man.

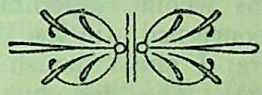
Few nobler or more attractive characters are to be found in modern history, than the great scientist whose life and work we have been studying. He was as modest as a girl, but in his search for truth he was as courageous as a knight. He was singularly unselfish. He had in his nature no egotism and no jealousy. Young scientists, and scientists who were as yet unknown, had no truer friend.

As a worker he was persevering and patient as few men have ever been. This accounts for the fact that his work was so enormous in quantity as well as so superior in quality.

If he had any one trait of character that outshone all others, it was perhaps his candour and his absolute truthfulness. He never exaggerated. He never overestimated the value of his own writings or investigations. Nobody has ever pointed out the objections to his scientific theories more fully, more conscientiously or more ably then did he himself.

Well may the whole world, well may the whole world of religion as well as the world of science, sit down at the feet of Charles Darwin to learn unselfishness, candour, sincerity, honesty, and honour.

They laid him, when he died, in Westminster Abbey, beside that greatest of all English Scientists up to his own age, Sir Isaac Newton. Were they not right in the spot they chose for him? Must we not believe that a thousand years from now, it will be said, Newton and Darwin, those two, whose ashes sleep side by side in England's most splendid mausoleum, were the two British men who in the time preceding the close of the Nineteenth Century did most for the world's science, and perhaps also for the World's religion?



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THE MIND OF A JUDGE

By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

THE days when I practised at the Bar as a lawyer seem distant and far-off, and I find it a little difficult now to recapture the thoughts and moods that must have possessed me then. And yet it was only sixteen years ago that I walked out of the web of the law in more ways than one. Sometimes I look back on those days, for in prison one grows retrospective and, as the present is dull and monotonous and full of unhappiness, the past stands out, vivid and inviting. There was little that was inviting in that legal past of mine and at no time have I felt the urge to revert to it. But still my mind played with the ifs and possibilities of that past—a foolish but an entertaining pastime when inaction is thrust on one—and I wondered how life would have treated me if I had stuck to my original profession. That was not an unlikely contingency, though it seems odd enough now; a slight twist in the thread of life might have changed my whole future. I suppose I would have done tolerably well at the Bar and I would have had a much more peaceful, a duller, and physically a more comfortable existence than I have so far had. Perhaps I might even have developed into a highly respectable and solemn-looking judge with wig and gown, as quite a number of my old friends and colleagues have done.

How would I have felt as a judge, I have wondered? How does a judge feel or think? This second question used to occupy my mind to some extent even when I was in practice conducting or watching criminal cases, lost in wonder at the speed and apparent unconcern with which the judge sent men to the scaffold or long terms of imprisonment. That question, in a more presonal form, has always faced me when I have stood in the prisoner's dock and awaited sentence, or attended a friend's trial for political offences. That question is almost always with me in prison, surrounded as I am with hundreds or thousands of persons whom judges have sent there. (I am not concerned for the moment with political offenders; I am only referring to the ordinary prisoners). The judge had considered the evil deed that was done and he had meted out justice and punishment as he had been told to do by the penal code. Sometimes he had added a sermon of his own, probably to justify particularly heavy sentence. He had not given a thought to th upbringing, environment, education (or want o it) of the prisoner before him. He had paid n heed to the psychological background that le to the deed, or to the mental conflict that ha raged within that dumb, frightened creatu who stands in the dock. He had no notion tha perhaps society, of which he considers himsel a pillar and an ornament might be partly res ponsible for the crime that he is judging.

He is, let us presume, a conscientious judg and he weighs the evidence carefully befor pronouncing sentence. He may even give th benefit of the doubt to the accused, though ou judges are not given to doubting very muc But, almost invariably, the prisoner and h belong to different worlds with very little i common between them and incapable of unde standing each other. There may sometimes b an intellectual appreciation of the other's ou look and background, though that is rare enoug but there is no emotional awareness of it, an without the latter there can never be true under standing of another person.

Sentence follows, and these sentences ar remarkable. As the realization comes that crim is not decreasing, and may even be increasing the sentences become more savage in the hop that this may frighten the evil-doer. The judg and the power behind the judge have not grasped the fact that crime may be due to speci reasons, which might be investigated, and th some of these may be capable of control; an further that in any event a harsh penal cod does not improve the social morals of a grou or a harsh sentence those of an individual wh has lapsed from grace. The only remedy the know, both for political and non-politic offences is punishment and an attempt to ter rorize the offender by what are called deterren sentences. The usual political sentence now fo a speech or a song or a poem which offends th Government is two years rigorous imprisonmen (in the Frontier Province it is three years), an a lavish use of this being made from day t day; but even this seems trivial when compare with the cases of large numbers of those people who are kept confined for four or five years or more, indefinitely, without conviction o sentence.

Political cases, however, depend greatly o

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the moods of Government and a changing situation, and do not help us in considering the ordinary administration of the criminal law. To some extent the two overlap and affect each other, for instance, many agrarian and labour cases in courts are often definitely political in origin. It is also well known that many people, who are considered politically undesirable by the police, are proceeded against under the bad livelihood or similar sections of the code and clapped in prison as bad characters with no special offence being brought up against them. Ignoring such cases and considering what might be called the unadulterated crimes, two facts stand out: both the numbers of convictions and the length of sentences are growing. Every year the various provincial prison reports complain of the increasing number of prisoners and the necessity of additional accommodation. The peak years, when the civil disobedience movement sent its scores of thousands to prison, become the normal years even without this special influx of politicals. Occasionally the difficulty is overcome by discharging a few thousand short timers before their time, but the strain continues.

The Central Prisons are full of 'lifers', prisoners sentenced for life, and others sentenced to long terms. Most of these 'lifers' come in huge bunches in dacoity cases and probably a fair proportion are guilty, though I am inclined to think that many innocent persons are involved also, as the evidence is entirely one of identification. It is obvious that the growing number of dacoities are due to the increasing unemployment and poverty of the masses as well as the lower middle classes. Most of the other criminal offences involving property are also due to this terrible prospect of want and starvation that faces the vast majority of our people.

Do our judges ever realize this or give thought to the despair that the sight of a starving wife or children might produce even in a normal human being? Is a man to sit helplessly by and see his dear ones sicken and die for want of the simplest human necessities? He slips and offends against the law, and the law and the judge then see to it that he can never again become a normal person with a socially beneficial job of work. They help to produce the criminal type, so-called, and then are surprised to find that such types exist and multiply.

The major offences lead to a life sentence or ten years or so. But the petty offences and the way they are treated by judges are even more instructive. The vast majority of these are buried in court files and get no publicity; only rarely do the papers mention such a case. Three such cases, taken almost at random from recent issues of newspapers, are given below:

Rahman was an old offender with 12 previous convictions, the first of which dating back to 1913. The present offence was one of theft of clothes valued at a few rupees. Rahman pleaded guilty and requested the court to send him to a reformatory or some such place from where he could emerge thoroughly reformed. The judge, who was the Judicial Commissioner in Sind, refused this request and sentenced him to seven years, adding: "If this seven-year sentence of hard labour does not reform you, God alone must come to your aid." (Karachi: May 23, 1935).

Badri, who had four previous convictions, was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment under Sections 411/75 I. P. C. for having dishonestly received a stolen *chaddar* (cloth sheet). (Lucknow: July 3, 1935).

Ghulam Mohammad, an old offender, was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment for stealing one rupee by picking the pocket of a man. (Sialkot: July 15, 1935).

These and similar sentences may be perfectly correct from the point of view of the Indian Penal Code but it does seem to me astonishing that any judge should imagine that by inflicting such sentences he is reforming the offender. Evidently the Judicial Commissioner in Sind had himself some doubts about the efficacy of his treatment for he hinted that God might be given a chance on the next occasion.

There they sit, these judges, in their courts, and a procession of unfortunates passes before them—some go to the scaffold, some to be whipped, some to imprisonment, to which may be added solitary confinement. They are doing their duty according to their abstract ideas of justice and punishment; they must consider themselves as the protectors of society from anti-social criminal elements. Do their thoughts ever go beyond these set ideas and take human shape considering the miserable offender as a human being with parents, wife, children, friends? They punish the individual but at the same time they punish a group also, for the ripples of suffering spread out and go far. Those who have to die at least die swiftly, the agony is brief. But the agony is long for those who enter prison.

> "Behind the door, within the wall
> Locked, they sit the numbered ones . . . ."

Two years, three years, seven years stolen from life's brief span—each year of twelve months, each month of thirty days, each day of twenty-four hours—how terribly long it all seems to the prisoner, how wearily time passes!

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All this is very sad and deplorable no doubt, but what is the poor judge to do? Is he to wallow in a sea of sentimentality and give up sentencing offenders against the laws? If he is so soft and sensitive he is not much good as a judge and will have to give place to another. No, no one expects the judge to embrace every offender and invite him to dinner, but a human element in a trial and sentence would certainly improve matters. The judges are too impersonal, distant, and too little aware of the consequences of the sentences they award. If their awareness could be increased, as well as a sense of fellow-feeling with the prisoner, it would be a great gain. This can only come when the two belong to more or less the same class. A financier who has embezzled vast sums of public money will have every sympathy from the judge, not so the poor wretch who has picked up a rupee or stolen a sheet to satisfy an ungent need. For the judge and the average offender to belong to the same class means a fundamental change in social structure, as indeed every great reform does. But even apart from and in anticipation of that, something could certainly be done.

It was Bernard Shaw, I think, who suggested that every judge and magistrate, as well as every prison official, should spend a period in prison, living like ordinary prisoners. Only then would they be justified in sentencing people to imprisonment, or to governing them there. The suggestion is an excellent one although it may be difficult to give effect to it. I ventured to suggest it once to the Home Member and the Inspector-General of Prisons of the U. P. Government for their personal adoption, but they did not seem to favour it. At least one well-known prison official, however, has adopted it. This was Thomas Mott Osborne of the famous Sing Sing prison in New York. He trained himself by undergoing a term of voluntary imprisonment and, as a result of this, he introduced later on many remarkable improvements in the social rehabilitation and education of the prisoners.

Such a term of voluntary imprisonment will do a world of good to the bodies and souls of our judges, magistrates and prison officials. It will also give them a greater insight into prison life. But obviously no such voluntary effort can ever approach the real thing. The sting of imprisonment will be absent as well as the peculiarly helpless and broken feeling before the armed and walled power of the State, which a prisoner experiences. Nor will the voluntary prisoner ever have to face bad treatment from the staff. The essence of prison is a psychological background of having been cast off from society like a diseased limb. That will necessarily be absent. But with all these drawbacks the experience will be worthwhile and will help in making the administration of the criminal law more human and beneficial. The great invasions of our prisons by middle-class people during the non-co-operation and civil disobedience movements had indirectly a marked effect. As the prison-goers did not become judges or prison officials the direct effect was little. But a knowledge of prison conditions and a sympathy for the prisoner's lot became wide-spread, and public opinion and the crusading efforts of some Congressmen bore substantial results.

I do not know whether I am over soft but I do not think I err on the musky and sentimental side. Other people and even many of my close colleagues have considered me rather hard. Mr. C. R. Dass once referred to me at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee as being 'cold-blooded'. Perhaps it all depends on the standard of comparison as well as on the fact that some display their emotions more than others. However that may be, I do hate the idea of punishment and especially 'deterrent' punishment and all the suffering, deliberately caused, that it involves. Perhaps it cannot be done away with completely in this present-day world of ours, but it can certainly be minimized, toned down and almost humanized.

At one time I was strongly opposed to the death penalty and, in theory, my opposition still continues. But I have come to realize that there are many things far worse than death, and if the choice had to be made, and I was given it, I would probably accept a death sentence rather than one of imprisonment for life. But I would not like to be hung; I would prefer being shot or guillotined or even electrocuted; most of all other methods I would like to be given, as Socrates was of old, the cup of poison which would send me to sleep from which there was no awaking. This last method seems to me to be far the most civilized and humane. But in India we favour hangings, and last year the official mind showed us the texture of which it was made by organizing public hangings in Karachi or somewhere else in Sind. This was meant to terrify would-be evil-doers. It turned out to be a huge *mela* where thousands gathered to witness the ghastly spectacle. I suppose the mentality behind such public exhibitions bears a family resemblance to that which prompted the *autos da fe* of the Spanish Inquisition.

A friend of mine who became a High Court Judge had a 'crisis of conscience' when he had first to sentence a man to death. The idea seemed hateful to him. He overcame his

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repugnance, however, (he had to or else he would not have long continued in his job) and I suppose he soon got used to sending people to the scaffold without turning a hair. He was an exception and I doubt if many others in his position have ever had such scruples. It is probably easier to sentence a man to death than to see the sentence carried out. And yet even sensitive people get used to this painful sight. A young English member of the Indian Civil Service had to attend hangings in the local gaol. At his first hanging, he told me, he was thoroughly sick and felt bad all day. But very soon the sight had no unusual effect on him whatever and he used to go straight from the execution to his breakfast table and have a hearty meal.

I have never seen a death sentence being carried out. In most of the gaols where I have lived as a prisoner executions did not take place, but on three or four occasions there were hangings in my gaol. These took place in a special enclosure, cut off from the rest of the prison, but the whole gaol population knew of it, perhaps because the unlocking of the various barracks and cells took place at a later hour on those mornings. I experienced a peculiar feeling on those days, an ominous stillness and a tendency for people to talk in low voices. It is possible that all this was the product of my own imagination.

And yet with all my repugnance for executions, I feel that some method of eliminating utterly undesirable human beings will have to be adopted and used with discretion. The real objection to the infliction of capital punishment as well as other punishments is of course not so much the resultant suffering of the person punished, as the brutalization of the community that authorizes such punishment, and more particularly of the individuals who carry it out. This is especially noticeable in the case of whipping, which is widely prevalent in India. The official defence for the punishment of whipping is that it is meant for horrible crimes, like rape with violence. In practice it has a much wider range and in 1932 (as was stated in the British House of Commons) five hundred civil disobedience prisoners were whipped. This was the official figure. unofficial jail beatings not being included. These political prisoners were whipped either for purely political offences or for breaches of gaol discipline. No violence or crime was involved. It has now been laid down officially that in serious cases of hunger-strikes in gaol whipping may be resorted to. We thus have it that in the opinion of the British Government in India a hunger-strike or breaches of gaol discipline stand on the same level as rape with violence.

Whipping is usually administered in prisons by some low caste prisoner. No prisoner likes the job but he has little choice in the matter. The higher caste prisoners would in any event refuse to whip, and even the warders are reluctant to do so. A case came to my notice once when a warder was asked to whip. He refused absolutely and was punished for this contumacy. It is interesting to compare the sensitiveness to whipping of the prisoners and warders with that of our judges and prison officials who order it, and our Government which authorizes and defends it.

I was reading the other day about the film censorship in Britain. It was stated that one of the grounds for censorship was the avoidance of cruelty scenes. In animal films no kill was to be shown. Films "showing pain or suffering on the part of an animal, whether such pain is caused by accident or intention" are not allowed as these are supposed to have a bad effect on spectators, especially children, and "undermine moral character."

We also in India have our film censorships and an active Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Unfortunately human beings are not included in the category of animals and so they cannot benefit by the activities of the Society. And our film censorship justifies itself by banning films dealing ing with "Quetta Earthquake Topical" or "National Congress Scenes" or "Departure of Mahatma Gandhi for the Round Table Conference" and similar dangerous topics.

Sentences of death and whipping impress us and pain us, but, after all, they affect only a very small number of the scores of thousands who are sentenced by our courts. The vast majority of these go to prison, mostly for long periods over which their punishment is spread out. It is a continuing torture, a never-ceasing pain, till mind itself grows dull and the body is blunted to sensation. The criminal type develops, the ugly fruit of our gaols and our criminal law, and there is no fitting him in then with the social machine outside. He is the square peg everywhere, with no roots, no home, suspicious of every body, being suspected everywhere, till at last he comes back to his only true resting-place, the prison, and takes up again the tin or iron bowl which is his faithful companion there. Do our judges ever trouble to think of cause and effect, of the inevitable consequences of an act or decision? Do they realize that their courts and the prisons are the

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principal factories for the production and stamping of the criminal type?

In prison one comes to realize more than anywhere else the basic nature of the State; it is the force, the compulsion, the violence of the governing group. "Government", George Washington is reported to have said, "is not reason, it is not eloquence—it is force! Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master." It is true that civilization has been built up on co-operation and forbearance and mutual collaboration in a thousand ways. But when a crisis comes and the State is afraid of some danger then the superstructure goes or, at any rate, is subordinated to the primary function of the State—self-protection by force and violence. The army, the police, the prison come into greater prominence then, and of the three the prison is perhaps the nakedest form of a State in miniature.

Must the State always be based on force and violence, or will the day come when this element of compulsion is reduced to a minimum and almost fades away? That day, if it ever-comes, is still far off. Meanwhile, the violence of the governing group produces the violence of other groups that seek to oust it. It is a vicious circle, violence breeding violence, and on ethical grounds there is little to choose between the two violences. It always seems curious to me how the governing group in a State, basing itself on an extremity of violence, objects on moral or ethical grounds to the force or violence of others. On practical grounds of self-protection they have reason to object but why drag in morality and ethics? State violence is preferable to private violence in many ways, for one major violence is far better than numerous petty private violences. State violence is also likely to be a more or less ordered violence and thus preferable to the disorderly violence of private groups and individuals, for even in violence order is better than disorder, except that this makes the State more efficient in its violence and powers of compulsion. But when a State goes off the rails completely and begins to indulge in disorderly violence, then indeed it is a terrible thing, and no private or individual effort can compete with it in horror and brutality.

"You must live in a chaos if you would give birth to a dancing star" says Nietzsche. Must it be so? Is there no other way? The old difficulty of the humanist is ever cropping up, his disgust at force and violence and cruelty and yet his inability to overcome these by merely standing by and looking on. That is the recurring theme of Ernst Toller's plays:

> "The sword, as ever, is a shift of fools
> To hide their folly."

> "By force, the smoky torch of violence,
> We shall not find the way."

Yet force and violence reign triumphant today everywhere. Only in our country has a noble effort been made to combat them by means other than those of force. The inspiration of that effort, and of the leader who lifted us out of our petty selves by his matchless purity of outlook, still remains, though the ultimate outcome be shrouded in darkness.

But these are big questions beyond the power even of judges. We may not prehaps be able to find an answer to them in our time, or finding an answer, be unable to impress it on wayward humanity. Meanwhile, the smaller questions and problems pursue us and we cannot ignore them. We come back to the job of the judge and the prison governor and we can say this, at least, with certainty: that the deliberate infliction of punishment or torture of the mind or body is not the way to reform any one, that though this may break or twist the victim it will not mend him, that it is much more likely to brutalize and deform him who inflicts it. For the inevitable effect of cruelty and torture is to degrade both the sufferer and the person who causes the suffering.

Almora District Jail
1-9-1935.

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CONVERSION IN HINDUISM

By NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

If we travel among the wild tribes who inhabit the hills and valleys of the Central Provinces of India or Chota Nagpur, we are at once struck by the fact that these tribes are slowly being converted to Hinduism. We generally believe that Hinduism is not a proselytizing religion; but on closer examination, this does not seem to be strictly true. It is true that Hinduism does not favour conversion in the same manner as Islam or Christianity does; but it is nevertheless a fact that Hinduism does favour conversion, although the process of conversion is somewhat different from that of some other religions.

The Juangs are a poor and illiterate tribe who inhabit certain portions of the States of Dhenkanal, Keonjhar and Pal Lahara in Orissa. These people are not served by Hindu priests. They have their own language and religious cutoms, but no priestly class to take charge of those religious functions. The Juangs are very poor. They cannot, therefore, afford to have priests who would only perform religious ceremonies and live upon the bounty of others. Any married man in Juang society is therefore allowed to perform the tribal ceremonies.

The Club-house of a Juang village, Pal Lahara.

Now, these Juangs formerly lived by hunting and the collection of wild roots and berries, as well as by a poor form of cultivation on the hill-sides. When Hindu farmers began to settle among the Juangs in the valleys, they were gradually forced to take refuge in the higher hills or in the comparatively inhospitable jungles. But these hills and jungles failed to yield sufficient sustenance to the Juangs, for the manner of extracting food from the earth which they knew, was very inefficient. Under these circumstances, the Juangs were forced to enter into co-operation with their Hindu neighbours. They began to specialize in one or other occupation, and thereby derived some food out of the sale of their products to the Hindus. In this way, the Juangs round about the town of Dhenkanal have taken up the occupation of supplying fuel; while those in the neighbourhood of Pal Lahara town have likewise specialized in basket-making. They thus succeed in maintaining themselves; although their standard of living is very low, even according to the average standard of living in rural India. From being free men who roamed about the jungles and derived their sustenance from the earth, either through hunting, cultivation or the collection of wild fruits, they have been forced into submission to their Hindu neighbours, and have partly changed their occupation, so that it might fit in with the life of their conquerors.

The process of economic co-operation with the Hindus has not been without its psychological effects, too. It is possible that the first generation of Juangs, who were forced into submission by the Hindus, fought against this encroachment upon their liberty. But the second and the third generations were born in submission; and, from childhood they looked upon the Hindus as a clever and powerful people who got more food out of the soil by their labours than they themselves could ever do, and who also were in possession of an army of policemen at the headquarters of the State to protect their

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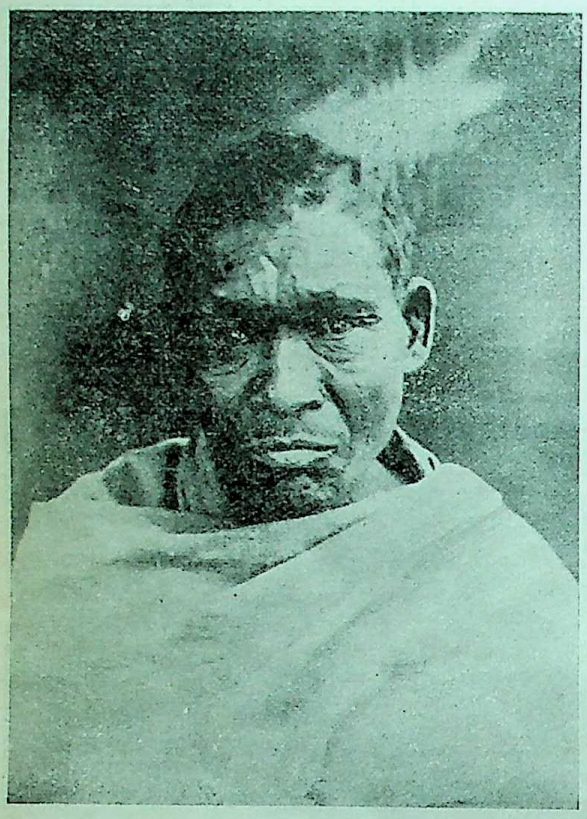
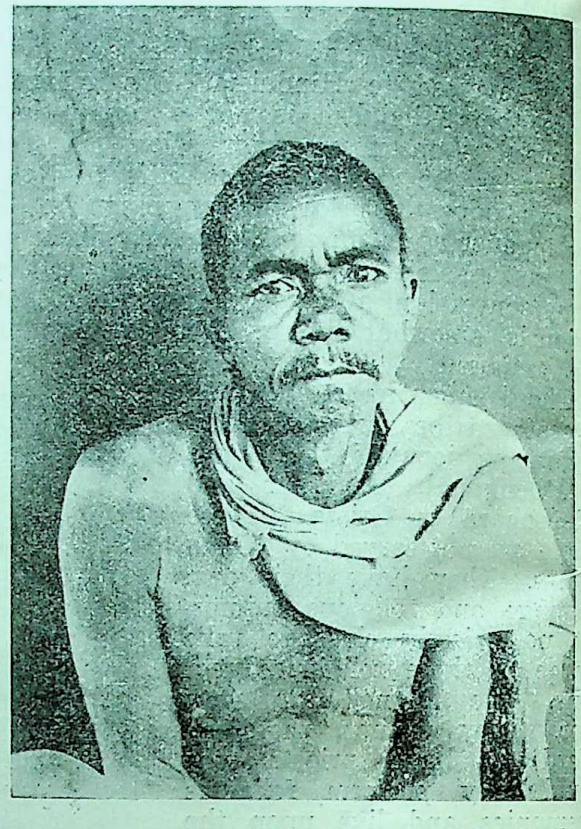
newly-acquired lands. They began to imitate the manners and customs of the Hindus, perhaps with the unconscious belief that they also might become powerful in the same way. The Juangs of Pal Lahara have accordingly started the worship of Hindu deities like Lakshmi, Rushi, etc., but they do so with the rituals of their own tribe.



Mani, the Juang headman



Another Juang.

Some of the Kol tribes of Chota Nagpur have gone one step ahead of these Juangs. In the months of May-June, the Mundas of Morabadi in Ranchi observe a festival which is known by the name of Manda Parab. During the Manda festival, a Brahmin priest officiates for the Mundas, and the deity Siva is also worshipped by him on the occasion. But this priest has no other connection with the social rites and ceremonies of the Mundas of Morabadi. These Mundas have given up the practice of eating beef and drinking wine, as they are considered unworthy of a Hindu; but their marriage rites are still performed in the old tribal way.

From this it is not a long way to the full adoption by the hill-tribes of the entire social and religious ceremonies sanctioned by Brahmin priests. The Bhuiyas of Orissa are a tribe allied to the Juangs. But a section of these Bhuiyas have grown prosperous by the adoption of Hindu culture, and have succeeded in engaging the services of Brahmin priests who officiate for them in social ceremonies.

It is in this way that a large number of illiterate tribes, who inhabit the hills and fastnesses of India, have been gradually converted to Hinduism. Hinduism has meant for them the addition of some Brahminical social ceremonies on the top of their own tribal ones, the deletion of such practices from their tribal culture as come into sharp conflict with Hindu moral ideas, and, lastly, the employment of Brahmin priests; and the process started, in most cases, with the economic subjugation of the tribe by the Hindus. As a matter of fact, it was the economic superiority of the Hindus which created a bias in favour of Hindu culture in the mind of the defeated tribes.

The process of conversion described above is somewhat different from the methods practised by Muslim or Christian missionaries. Unlike a Muslim or a Christian convert, a convert to Hinduism is not expected to give up his old religion or social culture completely. In fact, they stick to it, only they put on an additional cloak of Brahminical practices. Hindu religious ideas are also not necessarily imposed upon them. They are left free to follow their

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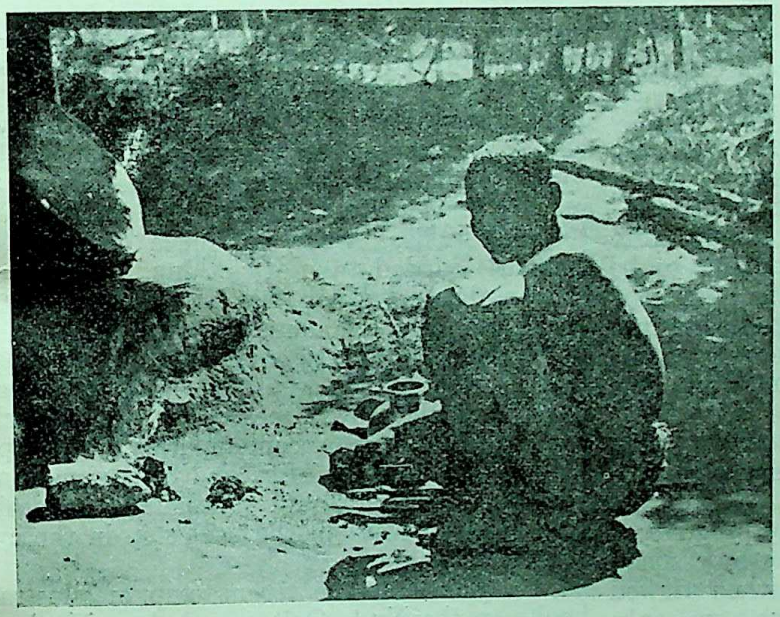
own religious ideas; only those ideas are now given a deeper meaning. They are now explained as all leading to the supreme knowledge preached by Vedanta, or the supreme love preached by Vaishnavism. In Hinduism all roads are said to lead to the highest goal of *mukti* or emancipation. This catholicity has made Hinduism not the monarchy of a single system of ideas; but a confederation of more or less autonomous systems of ideas, which only agree with respect to the ultimate objects of human life. In rituals and ceremonies, they offer an endless variety. They approach one another more and more closely as the ultimate goal of human love and supreme knowledge is neared.

This is the method of conversion which has been employed by the Hindus for ages past to convert other tribes to Hinduism. The act of conversion had always an important economic aspect behind it. There was not only an elaboration and specialization of occupations among the Hindus themselves; but an important contribution to this act of specialization was also made by the converted tribes. These tribes chose one or other occupation in Hindu society, and it was the policy of the Hindus to grant them monopoly in that occupation.

This is a very important point to remember, and cannot be stressed too much. The duty of the king, that is the State, under Hindu rule, was to maintain the organization of *Varnas*. The king saw to it that each caste or tribe enjoyed its monopoly in security, and also did not turn that monopoly to the disadvantage of the rest of society. This was done by the control of prices, which was a special function of the king (*Manu Samhita*, VIII, 410, 418). It is, however, not known how far the king actually succeeded in this matter of price-regulation. In any case, the State was supposed to be in charge of these matters, just as it was also the business of the State to see that each caste performed its assigned duties with regularity.

A Juang homestead, with an old woman wearing a leaf-apron.



Mani worshipping the Sun and Lakshmi with fowl in front of the Club-house.

It is thus clear how each tribe converted to Hinduism enjoyed a considerable amount of economic security as well as a large measure of autonomy with respect to tribal rites and customs. The different tribes who came within

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this system of Four *Varnas* were not all accorded the same social status. Hindu society was not free from class-distinctions, as some would like to imagine. There were different classes with different social and religious privileges. In spite of this inequality, and in spite of the fact that most of the converted and conquered tribes were turned into Sudras, and sometimes into untouchable Sudras, there was comparatively little discontent and very few rebellions. This was not so because there was no feeling of inequality, but because each tribe, even when socially low, enjoyed a considerable measure of economic security and cultural autonomy. And these two privileges took the edge off their discontent.

It is here necessary to draw a distinction between the Shuddhi movement which is going on in Northern India at the present moment with the method of conversion described above. Shuddhi is a movement by which the Hindus want to gain more numbers on their side, so that they may have things in their own favour within democratic institutions. Shuddhi conversion has, however, not got the redeeming feature of the method of absorption into the *Varna*-system, which assured certain economic advantages to the converts. The Hindus have merely replaced their old system of conversion by a Hindu edition of the Islamic method without being able to turn it into an equalizing force which it is in Islam, and less so in Christianity. The high castes are, as a matter of fact, refusing to accept the Shuddhi converts as their own equals; and the general body of Hindus have the power neither to assure equality of social status, nor to grant economic security to anyone under the present political circumstances.

The moral is quite plain. Unless the Hindus have political power, they cannot even restore the old method of conversion; much less improve upon it by securing equality of social status. And that power cannot come to them by political trickery in the council under the British administrators. The only way of securing stable political power seems to be not by begging; and in that campaign Shuddhi does not seem to hold any very important place.

MAHATMA GANDHI ON NUDISM

By Mr. CLOTHES

"Man who knows no good unmixed and pure,
Oft finds a poison where he sought a cure."
—Crabbe, *The Library*.

The twentieth century is remarkable for the large leisure made available to man by science, which he has begun to utilize for some armchair thinking. New ideas are coming into existence: when analysed, they turn out to be old lamps made new. For, what is there new under the sun? These ideas are developing into movements of social departure, deriving most of their inspiration and momentum from the zeal of converts.

One of the most striking cut-aways from social tradition, that has come into prominence after the 1914-1918 catastrophe, is Nudism. The revival of Nudism confirms the progress of human society in a cycle; it shows how social changes which seem revolutionary when viewed from the contemporary perspective, are only stages in the evolution of human society.

At the dawn of the world, in wild woods, untramelled by the tradition of clothes, naked ran the noble savage. "With native honour clad, in naked majesty, God-like erect, Adam and Eve walked hand-in-hand." Then came the temptation, and leaf, and bark and clothes. Some regard this as the beginning of the fall from the simplicity of nudity to the crudity of cloth-complexity. But others hail it, and rightly so, as the march of progress. The climax was reached between the Elizabethan and the Victorian periods, "when an ounce of man (and woman!) carried a ton of clothing." Then began the catabasis. There was the reaction of the pendulum, and the human, submerged in a sea of clothing, began to emerge gradually therefrom. "The skirts went up, the bodices came down and the gowns began to be low-necked and backless" as a contemporary writer put it. Sun-bathing Societies and Swimming Baths got up to the stage of minimum of clothing. And Nudism was but the next step in the cycle of human change.

A glance at the recent crop of illustrated books on the Nude Cult reveals how Nudism is claiming the minds of many and the loyalty of some. The Press now-a-days often records the increasing activity of the votaries of the Nude Cult and of the Nude Societies in the West. Even India, the citadel of tradition and orthodoxy, is feeling the change: for, according to

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recent newspaper report, some residents of Karachi have begun the practice of the new cult.

In the morning of life, in the season of generous emotions, the youth of the world are apt to be attracted by the glitter and glamour of the novel and the new. The novelty of Nudism strengthened by the plausible arguments in its favour makes them think that, after all, to go nude is good for health and morals. Being tossed and buffeted on the stormy seas of dark doubts, I recently wrote to Mahatma Gandhi a letter setting forth the case for Nudism and requesting the light of his views.

To quote from my letter to Gandhiji:

"'Clothing is unnatural and unhealthy. It is one of the artificial conditions which civilized man has created for himself to his own harm. Exposure of the skin to light and air is one of the natural conditions of health. Essential vitamins are manufactured in the body by the aid of sunlight. By covering the skin man loses the normal reactions to changes of temperature and renders himself more subject to colds and diseases. The more clothing one wears, the more one's body loses its natural reactions and the more one feels cold.' Animals of the forest and the birds of the air have no clothing and that is why there is practically no disease among them. If these animals are bound by clothing, then, I have no doubt, even they will suffer from disease as fashion-fettered man.

"Moreover, 'clothing encourages prudery by habitually hiding the body.' It suggests that some parts of the body, the Temple of God, are not fit for exhibition. Clothing provokes curiosity and man becomes more sexual because of clothing. Familiarity breeds contempt: and the hiding tendencies of clothing are responsible for the greater part of the lust in the world. 'A healthy human body, hardy and bronzed everywhere, and not just in patches, should be beautiful and strong and a pleasure to the eye. Generally, the people who are shocked by the nude are of two types: (1) those that dislike the unusual, because it puts them to the trouble of re-adjusting their mental habits; and (2) those who project their own evil thoughts into the world around them.'

"Dress is the source of wasted time and money. Instead of thinking of advancing themselves, men and women devote whole hours to thinking about their dresses. Again, clothing is the most expensive item of expenditure in the budget of every man and woman. At such a time as this, when every pie counts, and when millions are going to their beds without one full square meal, it is a tragedy to waste money on clothing, which amount could be better utilised for the feeding of starving humanity.

"Not being in a position to purchase and maintain clean clothing, the poor of the world, constrained by the tyranny of cold custom, are forced to clothe themselves in the dirtiest rags, full of disease. Not only do they become ill on account of their dirty clothing, but they spread the infection of their disease wherever they go.

"Again, it should be remembered that clothing is one of the greatest deceivers in the world. Instead of being God-made men, we are slowly becoming tailor-made men, such honourable exceptions as yourself excepted. The thinnest and sickliest individual can, with the help of clothing, look as well as the most robust of men. If clothing is abolished, men and women, instead of relying on clothing to make themselves presentable, will come to rely more and more on exercise, diet and other health principles to render themselves fit to move in society.

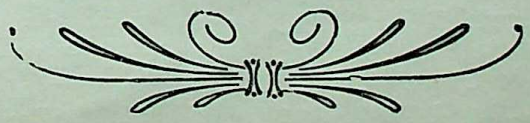
"Nudism has got even religious sanctions behind it. Hinduism advocates it in the Avadhuta and Jainism supports the Digambara cult.

"From every standpoint, then, the abolition of clothing seems desirable. It will be morally elevating, economically sound and hygienically uplifting. Nudism will improve the morals, the health and the capital of human society."

And the Mahatma's convincing answer is:

"You were quite right in writing to me at length on Nudism. I have no hesition in agreeing with you in theory. But theories are not always capable of being reduced to practice. Not even in exact Mathematics, like Geometry, are theories capable of always being reduced to practice. The imaginary right-angle of Geometry will not build houses, but the nearly perfect right-angle which masons and carpenters use is responsible for many marvellous things. In the Western world as well as in India, Nudism in practice is not permissible. I am convinced that it would be a great error to act as though all men and women were pure-minded. I hold it, therefore, to be dangerous."

Let us listen to the Mahatma!



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A SINGER OF THE GODS

By JAMES H. COUSINS, D.Litt.

No real poetry lives on a preliminary tom-tom, though a good deal of spurious poetry enjoys a single birthday by means of that device. Yeats tom-tommed the village to MacMillan's verandah to hear an Indian singer twenty years ago—but Rabindranath Tagore had only to lift up his voice and the need of an announcer passed. The use of the famous foreword to *Gitanjali* was in drawing attention to something that by inherent unusualness or apparent remoteness was likely to pass unnoticed, to the deprivation of those who did not notice.

Readers of *The Modern Review* have already (at least those of them who do not constitutionally shrink from matter printed in lines that threaten poetry) touched in the December number the passionately aspiring lyrical utterance of that all-round genius Maud MacCarthy. A foreword is therefore out of date. She has slipped in before John the Baptist could lift up his voice in the wilderness. But I think I may even now serve the purpose—no, not of pointing an unnecessary finger at obvious earnestness, authority, vision, beauty, lofty imagination, but of saying something about certain phases of her affirmations of what I must call seership, that the singer herself would find it difficult to say; even as I myself (who have been composing verse on and off for forty-three years), have not yet found it possible to tell the truth regarding my own experiences as a creative artist. Who knows but in the telling (by permission, of course) of something of the secret of another singer, I may get the courage to tell my own!

It was in Maud MacCarthy's London home a quarter of a century ago that I got one of those flaming glimpses into the reality behind creative art that shrivel up critical abstractions and melt the substantiality of intellectual foundations. While she sang, and played on a *tambura* (this was shortly after her first visit to India) I became vividly aware of an extra presence in the room, a Being that in some then inexplicable way was both the creation and the creator of the music. I know all the questions that such a statement can arouse: I went through them all myself, having been born with Gemini rising and a double crown, and the consequent capacity, frequently a nuisance, of being able to see even more than two sides of a matter. But I must leave it at that for the present. I had had somewhat similar experiences during ten previous years of psychical research in Ireland. I had observed mediums in the company of Yeats, and had got to know some of the living things that moved behind the vast little poems of AE. In Maud MacCarthy I recognized another of the small but profoundly significant band of artists who are not merely expressors of fluctuant moods and notions, but evokers of living Powers—artists who do not create merely casual images of distorted reality, but whose emotional nature, intuition, imagination, thought and skill are in some way—as yet imperfectly understood—the material out of which the Powers of Life can fabricate images and project impulses that are as near as may be, in human limitation, expressions of Their reality.

Maud MacCarthy belongs to the group of spiritual poets from whose songs one could now produce a superb anthology, a record of direct inspiration and experience that would be found to have elements common to the affirmations of the religions of all time, but coloured and varied by individual endowment. I have sometimes indulged in speculation as to whether, supposing science and the modern spirit totally expurgated the world's scriptures, the utterances of the spiritual poets (Mirabai, Kabir, Tagore, Blake, Yeats, AE, and others) might not constitute the new scriptures of humanity, free from intellectual dogma, emotional zealotry, and the claims to a false universality and finality that are the special danger of religious organization. Indeed, during my first lecture-tour in the United States of America in 1929 I found occasion to make a public test of the interpretable value of poetry in a lecture on "Poetry as Scripture," and surprised myself as much as my audience by the richness of significance that certain poems disclosed when approached without the deadening inhibition that poetry is merely a decorative way of saying little or nothing.

Maud MacCarthy's "Poems of the Winter Solstice," printed in the December number of *The Modern Review*, give some indication of the spiritual value of poetry; that is, of the

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Maud MacCarthy

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revelatory and interpretative element in poetry which comes to the poet so full of super-sensual experience that precise speech fails it; and it has to find expression in symbol and metaphor. Which reminds me that some ten years ago I spent two hours each Sunday afternoon from October to March under the great banyan tree at Adyar, Madras, discussing *Gitanjali* with an international group of students of things that matter. A critical mind queried if my exposition was not merely "reading in." Rabindranath himself came to Madras, and I put the question before him, and asked him if I was wrong in seeking to bring out what appeared to me to be the suggestions involved in his obviously symbolical language. He smiled and said: "I cannot very well blame you for doing to me what I do to Shelley with my own students."

Those "Poems of the Winter Solstice" are not, however, merely symbolic, metaphoric. Maud MacCarthy writes: "I tried to put down simply and without exaggeration, just what happened. Such happenings are natural at the time of the Winter Solstice. You only have to 'tune in.' The Festival is for everyone. There was a messenger, and I could smell the roses, see the golden clouds, feel the pressure of hands upon my couch, the brush of the holy garment upon my hair. Only, alas! I could not see the face. But the Kingly One I saw. I wrote down exactly what I saw. The tight folds, the swift movement, the pointed end of the cloak—the beautiful majesty of that visitor. And so with all the rest. Does not the devotee know of the flame which rises out of the heart?—of the sacred *hamsa* who appears to him in *samadhi* and takes him away into the far far spaces? —of those who are 'poor men from the far-off mountain,' their powers and their gifts? The festivals of the sun are among nature's halting places in the pilgrimage of life. There the weary traveller is rested and refreshed. My little poems were and are merely records; as nearly as possible literal records. Of all such experiences, a faithful description m be poetry."

The ancient solstitial rites were n merely dramatizations of seasonal change They expressed the psychological parallels the history of the human psyche. Th Christian variant, Christmas, was anthrop morphosed by the Latin mind into the ce bration of an actual child-birth in which t vastness of the Cosmic Life was not symboliz but incarnated,—thus robbing the event of t sublime rationality of natural interpretati and surrounding it with the elaborate physic superstition that arises when the transie local and personal are made a substitute f the eternal, universal and super-personal. T objective unoriental mind turned into the cel bration of the childhood of divinity a trad tion that was an annual recognition of t divine re-birth in man. It was also a recogn tion of the divinity of motherhood: and I a inclined to think that the true Christmas sto (in any religion) can only be told by a mothe Anna Bonus Kingsford told it interpretativel in lyrical prose two generations ago, in certai chapters of her priceless *Clothed with th Sun*. Maud MacCarthy re-lives it in "Poem of the Winter Solstice."

The "Poems of the Winter Solstice" tel of events in London, at Christmas, 1934. Her is a poem which was made just after her visi to India, in 1909. Maud MacCarthy ha lived at the heart of this land. No sacerdota reredos stands in the poetess' way whe she chants her vision in the terminology o Vedic India. She may be denied admission t the physical shrine of Mahadeva. But n mediæval restriction can deny her the prima right of building her own shrine in the purifie imagination, and inviting the Deity to ente Here, in the most drastic sense of the phras "the readiness is all." And those who rea "A Young Woman Thinks on Mahadev" wit opened eyes, will find in it the "readiness that turns the vernacular of earth into th symbolical language of heaven.

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A YOUNG WOMAN THINKS ON MAHADEV

By MAUD MacCARTHY

Shiva!
Why dost Thou melt my heart with Thy beauty?
Thou hast melted it a thousand thousand times,
And yet it is not merged in Thee.
Thou art like a playful child,
And I, some waxen doll—
Melting me a little, freezing me a little,
And mocking at my transformations.
Ah Shiva!
Why dost Thou melt my heart with Thy beauty?

Here where Thou sittest, wrapt in aeonian musings*.
Thou art the very God of Love—Thou fire of ice—because Thou art His Master! †
These are his shafts, piercing my heart from Thee,
Burning and shattering me.

* * * * * *

They say the white breasts of the Himalay
Burn forever on Thy pyre, O Lord!
Nay, Mahadev! Not these alone, but worlds
In ecstasies of love expire to Thee.

They say Thou ridest all unseen, unheard,
And beggarly, on white bulls, among men,
But yet for aye in fixed contemplations
On Kailas th' unreachable art hid.
Oh these are tales—soft tales for fearful minds,
Powerless to sink in Thine infinitudes;
Beholding not the lotus-blooms that rise
At ev'ry space Thou touchest in their wilderness.

Lo! On trackless ways,
To some vague Kailas,
Dusty with years and births, Time wanders on!
Thy white bull asks him on his way, for food,
And Thou, all-immanent, entreatest too.
But Time heeds not, nor sees Thy beggar-form,
For he hath set his face away from Thee;
He will not rein his rambling steps to find
That Thou art here, O Kailas and O Shiv!
Within! Before! Behind!

* * * * * *

I see the vast unfathomable oceans
As dewdrops in Thy wild hair lightly falling;*
And here and in the thundering stars I see
Thy skeleton—the caverns and the rocks
That hold the worlds in uttermost abysms
Of living dark.
And lo! In moveless grip,
Between Thy smallest joints
The hills of space are rivetted, O Shiv!
And through Thy flesh the veins of myriad rivers
Flow with unending succour to the plains
Of earth and all earth's sisters, far and near,
Feeding upon their breasts all needful things.
O'er Thy might, tempering Thy majesty—
Luring and winning, snaring all life for Thee—
The veil of Parvati, Thy Motherhood, is spread.
Rainbow-edged with golden sunsets;
Bordered deep in poets' visions;
Odorous of magic scents, Star-Queen!
Azure-floating through Thy tempests is Her veil, Great Deliv'rer!
And beneath it that dread Form
Which no creature's gaze hath seen—
Mysterious! Feminine! Divine!

* * * * * *

Isha! I look upon my dazzling flesh,
I watch its blue veins, spread like a fairy tree;
The strong impetuous limbs, throbbing at rest,
All instinct with the life that's fleet and free.
I see the Mother, tracing on my breasts
The curved lines which baffle artistry,
And o'er the whole enchantment—
Marvel on marvel linking—
The gentle flush of love's own witchery!
Why dost Thou make it, Lord, and all its sister—
And brother-forms, divine surpassingly?
Yet crawl behind, with Anguish and Despair,
And crown Thy handiwork with agony?—

---

* Shiva is pictured as eternally meditating in the Himalayas, or in the highest regions of the soul.

† Shiva is called "conqueror of love." The story runs that the God of Love once tried to shoot at Him, but was shrivelled to ashes by the fire from His third eye.

* Shiva's long, beautiful hair is represented as having caught the primeval oceans as they fell out of space onto the worlds. Part dripped down to earth; part, to the souls in purgatory; and part, to the Gods in heaven.

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Why dost Thou set upon their lovely brows
The signet-marks of Thine own fashioning,
And rain upon their hands, upturned to Thee,
Bright jewels from Thy robes of brighter glory?
Why greet them in Thy light'ning messengers—
And kiss them inly through Thy dove-like
wooings—
Yet shatter them at last,
And all their beauty blast,
In trackless caves of death,
Livid and gory?

* * * * * *

Ever I sit with Thee upon my corpse*—
Corpse of my flesh, corpse of my thinkings,
too—
Watching the furrowed tracks where tears of
blood
Have kissed their way to peace upon its cheeks.
Into the pollutions of *avidya,*
Gnawing with Thee, burning and pure, I go;
Crackling with fiery ruth these dearest selves,
And licking up their innermost foul juices.

Oh give Thy draughts of fire, most cooling
drinks,
Now to the passionate soul athirst for Thee!
Why must it wait, why in imaginings
Alone receive Thy chastening flames, O Shiv?
What are its lives, *Shambhu,* unless Thou
takest them?
What are its loves, O God, unless Thou
breakest them?
What are its words, calling Thee now " Great
Lord,"
Unless they are Thy very words indeed—Thy
Voice
Calling unto itself, and laughing loud in song?

* * * * * *

How camest Thou so sudden and so strange
About the corners of my being now,
Like a flame upstarting, Thou fiery Liberator?
Why hast Thou laid me low again?—
Why hast Thou burned within me till I cried
Thee " Mercy "—
And left me weeping lone, with molten heart of
pain
Upon Thine earthy bosom, clasping brokenly its
beauty?
Ah Shiv! Ah Parvati!
I do not want this loveliness—I want the soul
of Thee!

* * * * * *

As restless sands the worlds are hid
Beneath Thy fiery sea;
And coral-tinctured in its ambient rays
The crested waves of space
Roll onward to their bourne upon Thy shores.
Ocean Thou art, and ocean's moon as well,
And sun, the Lord of many moons—
All! All!
Oh Wonder! And oh Terror! Lord, art Thou!

Lone One! I stand upon the brink of Thee,
As on a baseless rock, fixed in nothingness;
The worlds are melted from me and life's ends
Are vanished at Thy naming, O my God!
A terror and a madness holds my brain,
And faint and dim mine eyes;
Yet must they strain unto Thy dancing pace,*
Till, God of Gods! In death they see Thy face.

* * * * * *

Oh Sea of Consummations! Changeless Tide!
Blending a myriad purposes in Thine.
Weary am I of seeking a satiety,
Lord, make Thy purpose mine!

I would not ask one pain of yearning less,
If so, Ishvar, my heart should tire of Thee;
But wait in sun and dust and lowliness
Beyond the farthest threshold of Thy courts
Seeing the crystal Image of Thy glory
Outside the shrines men build who will not see.

E'en now in fond despair I thought Thee lost,
When lo! Thy very arms, all suddenly,
Have folded me again upon Thy breast;
And, through the deep destruction of my grief
Thou hast arisen, radiant, dauntless, Lover—
Most wonderful! Most pure! Most ravishing!
Most eloquent in silent poesy!
And every facet of my self is shocked
With thrills of light'ning gladness, nameless
bliss;
For lo! Thy Sun is rolling mightily
Upon the blackness of my spirit's night
And turning all its drapery of sorrow
To bridal robes, delight!

* * * * * *

Shiva! I raised this pen and voice to make
Some symbol of the love that is in me—
Some garland, lying near Thy lotus Feet,
To mind Thee of this life that groans for Thee.
But I have left them—
Lord! There is no way
Of praise and song that fitly praiseth Thee—
No way of life, of death, of sacrifice
That yields Thee fruit, out of Eternity.
Lo! Thy vast Self we name, but do not know,
And in the naming break the mystic spell!
Oh Shiva! If the silence is Thy hymn
Teach us to sing it well!

* Shiva is Lord of the funeral pyre, the burning-ground. He is Destroyer and Regenerator.

* The *lila* or dance of Shiva is His Universe.

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CLASSICAL INDIAN DANCING AND ITS SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATION IN THE CHIDAMBARAM TEMPLE

By B. V. NARAYANASWAMY NAIDU, M.A., Ph.D., B.Com., Bar-at-Law.

The revival of the classical dance holds an important place in the present Indian Renaissance. The accredited authority on this great art, which attained a very high degree of perfection in ancient India, but which now is almost completely forgotten, is Bharata. Bharata Muni's monumental work, *Natya Sastra* is a sealed book to those who do not have a knowledge of classical Sanskrit.

Garudaphutaka

The *Natya Sastra* is an encyclopædic treatise on Drama, Music, Aesthetics, Rhetoric, Grammar and Dancing. This masterpiece of Dramaturgy is divided into thirty-six chapters. The fourth chapter deals with the 108 fundamental poses of Bharata Natyam. These poses are sculptured on the walls flanking the passages in the massive gateways of the famous temple of Sri Nataraja (the Lord of Dancers) at Chidambaram. The 108 Karanas (Dance poses) are located in niches cut out of blocks of granite and arranged one over the other so as to form pillars projecting from the walls of the *gopurams*.

Some of the graceful and elegant Karanas

Mattalli

Krantaka

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Unmatta

Ganda Suci

are reproduced here from the exhaustive collection of photographs made by me.

MALARIOLOGY AND ITS STUDY TOUR IN JAVA AND MALAYA

By A. K. ADHIKARI, M.B., F.R.S.T.M. & H. (Lond.)

History of Malaria

As far back as the sixth century B. C. the Indian physician Susruta attributed malaria to the bites of gnats. Herodotus records that Egyptian fishermen slept under fishing nets folded again and again until their meshes were small enough to keep the mosquitoes off. From his remarks it also appears that the disease was prevalent amongst the Greeks and in Asia Minor in the sixth century B.C. Hippocrates, the founder of modern western medicine, described various types of malaria about twenty-four centuries ago. Evidence exists that in Rome epidemics of malaria in periodic cycles were experienced long before the fourth century B.C. In 214-146 B.C. the two great agriculturists Cato and Varro of the Republican era of Rome considered land lying in a marshy region so unhealthy that it was impossible to live in and cultivate, specially in summer. Varro spoke of swampy ground where "certain minute animals are bred invisible to the eye and borne by the air reach the inside of the body by the mouth and nose and cause diseases which are difficult to get rid of." Although the history of malaria in South America is not traceable as far back as in Asia, Egypt, Greece and Italy, the intermittent fever was not unknown to the medicine men of the Incas. The town of Isabella founded by Columbus in a marshy region in Hispaniola in 1494 had to be abandoned owing to this fever. Peruvian Bark called by the Indians "quina quina" or bark of barks and used by them as anti-malarial remedy, was known to Spanish missionaries as early as 1600. The generic name of cinchona was incorrectly given to this bark after Anna, Countess of Chinchon, the first wife of the Viceroy of Peru, although the second wife was cured with this drug. Since

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1640 this medicine was known in Spain and thereafter its use became familiar to other parts of Europe. Not much progress was made until 1900 when Ross discovered transmission of malarial plasmodia through Anopheles.

International Course in Malariology

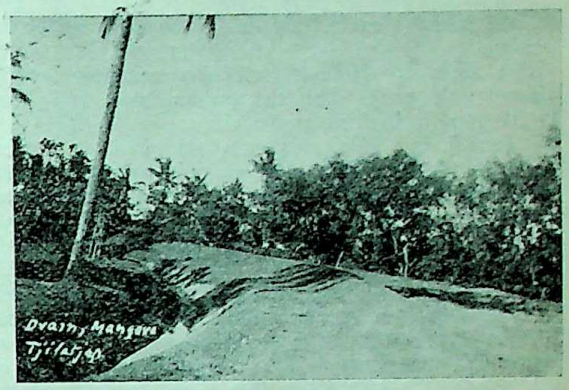
After the post-war European Pandemic of 1923, which was greatly aggravated by the diminished finances of countries, caused by the great war, the Health Section of the League of Nations sought advice as to how malaria was to be dealt with effectively. In order to find out a cheap and effective means to combat malaria a Commission was appointed headed by Col. S. P. James of London and Prof. Marchoux of Paris and asked to study malaria conditions in England, Holland and Denmark. Since then the Malaria Commission has made notable achievements and justified its worth in more than one way. In 1929 from 23rd August to 28th December the Commission made a study tour in India and its valuable report was published in 1930. During the course of its study tour the Commission felt need for an International Institute for the East for higher study of malariology on the same basis and on the same standard as the one in Rome. The first International course was held in Singapore in May and June 1934, and the second course was held this year from April 23rd to June 30th. The writer of this note was a delegate to this course this year and was kindly awarded a Fellowship to study the Field courses in Java and Malaya.

Syllabus of the Second Course

Clinical, 18 hrs. (Prof. Hawes and Dr. Haridas).
Haematology, Protozoology and Pathology, 15 hrs. (Dr. Cowan).
Microscopy and Entomology, 69 hrs. (Prof. Gater).
Protozoology and Immunology, 19 hrs. (Prof. Moshkovski).
Epidemiology, 12 hrs. (Prof. Swellengrebel and Dr. Russell).
Synthetic drugs in treatment and prophylaxis, 3 hrs. (Dr. Field).
Control—Lectures and Field demonstrations in Singapore and Jahore, 56 hrs. (Prof. Swell., Dr. Scharff and Mr. Edwards).
Statistical analysis of Data, 2 hrs. (Mr. Cooke).
Physical properties of larvicidal oils, 2 hrs. (Dr. Demeney).
Control by Biological and naturalistic measures, 2 hrs. (Prof. Williamson).
Species Sanitation—"carrying and noncarrying" anopheles, 1 hr. (Prof. Swell.).
Malaria in India and Ceylon, 3 hrs. (Dr. Russell).
Malaria in Holland, 1 hr. (Prof. Swell.).
Malaria in Russia, 1 hr. (Prof. Moshkovski).
Malaria in Netherland Indies, 4 hrs. (Prof. Swell.).
Malaria in Philippine Islands, 4 hrs. (Dr. Russell).
Malaria in South Africa, 2 hrs. (Prof. Swell.).
Malaria in Kedah State, 2 hrs. (Dr. Wallace).
Work of Malaria Commission, 2 hrs. (Prof. Swell.).
Discussion of other malarial problems.
Field study in Java—21 days (Dr. Soesilo).
Field study in Malaya—21 days (Drs. Barrowman, Watson, Wallace and Scharff and Prof. Williamson).

Study Tour in Java

The East Indies are a large group of islands lying along the equator and between Asia and Australia. Except North Borneo, nearly the whole of the East Indies belongs to the Netherlands. Just as the Indian Government has grown gradually out of the East India Company, so the present administration



Tjilatjap Plain Anti-malarial
Drain Dyke and Mangrove Forest

of the Dutch East Indies has grown out of the Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602. The largest islands are Borneo and Sumatra but the most important is Java. It is one of the most thickly populated countries of the world as will be evident from the following figures :

	Area.	Population.
Netherland Indies ..	682,424 sq. miles	60,700,000
Java (only) ..	48,503 „ „	39,700,000
Compare—		
New York State ..	47,654 „ „	12,500,000
England.. ..	50,851 „ „	37,200,000

The Native Javanese are Muhammadans but very greatly under the influence of ancient Hindu culture. The staple food grains are rice and maize, but the crops grown for export are sugar-cane, coffee, rubber, cocoanut, cinchona and tobacco. The climate is equatorial, which is hot and wet with rainfall nearly all the year round. Comparatively dry season is experienced for 4 to 5 months from June. When the cold winter breeze of Australia blows over the island, the temperature becomes equable.

Malaria in Java is hyperendemic in many regions and is due to *A. sundaicus* (*ludlowi*) breeding in coastal fish ponds, *A. aconitus* in fallow rice fields of the littoral zone, and

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A. maculatus in seepage streams and ravines of mountainous regions. Extermination of *sundaicus* is effected by sanitation of fish ponds, *aconitus* by control of irrigation water of cultivation and *maculatus* by shading besides subsoils, open drains etc.

(*a*) *Maroenda Village* (5 miles from Batavia) has amongst children and as well as in adult 100.0 p.c. spleen rate. Fish ponds of this village have not been sanitated. They are full of *chlorophyceae, spirogyra, chaetomorpha*, etc., and teeming with *A. sundaicus*.

(*b*) *Luarbatang Village* which had splenic Index 90.0 p.c. previously has now 25.0 per cent only (5-6-35). Here the sanitation of the Luarbatang fish ponds of the Batavia littoral was started in 1928. Reduction of spleen rates from 90.0 to 25.0 per cent in five years is exclusively due to cleaning up of fish ponds.

(*c*) *Tjilatjap*—Here *A. sundaicus* not only bred in village fish ponds but the coastal rice fields and swamps with brakish water were also infested with *A. sundaicus*. This area was sanitated at a very high cost by filling in of fish ponds, swamps, raising rice-fields, sluicing outfalls to prevent sea-water entering, etc. Modern sanitation of fish ponds was not known when this work was undertaken. Splenic Index has dropped down from 80.0 to nil. This town was in 1917 surveyed by Prof. Swellengrebel. In 1925 fish industry was taken up in right earnest by the local folks who bunded up the mangrove forest to cut off tidal flood and dug a number of fish ponds. Subsequent to this a bad epidemic swept the country in 1926 when sanitation was undertaken at once in all seriousness.

(*d*) *Tjihea plain*—In 1890 this plain was quite dry and unsuitable for cultivation. With a view to ameliorate the unfavourable agricultural conditions, Government undertook an extensive irrigation work which was completed in 1904. Planting of rice soon started—more than one crop was raised every year. Although the soil conditions improved at the commencement the basin-shaped plain with its heavy and impermeable soil without any drainage whatsoever, soon took the appearance of a huge swamp. *A. aconitus* soon established itself and the neighbouring Kampongs (villages) grew hyperendemic. Due to severe sickness inhabitants fled to healthier districts—more people left the plain, more rice fields lay fallow, etc., thus creating a vicious circle, so that when the plain was investigated in 1919 spleen rates ranged between 80.0 and 100.0 p.c.—sanitation was soon undertaken—it consisted of:

(1) Installation of drainage system.
(2) Regular cleaning of primary, secondary and tertiary irrigation ditches.
(3) Simultaneous planting of rice, only once a year in wet season.
(4) Draining of the fields after the harvest.

The above measures were attended with astonishing success—the central Kampong Tjirandjanggirang which had a splenic Index 88.0 in 1919 dropped down to 2.0 in 1935 (19-6-35). One school at Seladjamnbe in a similar plain, Tjiandjoer, lying in an unsanitated rice-field area was examined for comparison—45 children were palpeted on 19-6-35 with 93.0 p.c. spleen rate.

(*e*) *Tjitalahab Tea Estate* (Sookaboemi).

A. maculatus breeding streams have been shaded with marigold flower of American origin. Its botanic name is *Thitonia Difersifolia*. Seeds have bee brought from the Tea estate to grow the plant her During the process of shade-growing the breedin ground is Paris-greened and not oiled.

(*f*) *Fresh water Fish Ponds at Bandoeng.*

Although *A. sundaicus* connected with fresh wat fish ponds as in mid-Sumatra is not a problem in Jav perhaps to safeguard against the possibilities of fres water *sundaicus* settling in inland fish ponds whic grow Tawes (*Puntius javanicus*) and Gold-fis (*Cyprinus Carpio L.*), the Fishery Department ha sanitated the fresh water fish ponds with symbiosi of Punctius and Panchax. Tawes are voraciou feeders—they keep the ponds clear of algal vegeta tion when Panchax panchax feed on the larvae i present. The growing of Gold-fish is not affected as they feed on green leaves, etc., thrown from out side.

(*g*) *Sanitation of Marine Fish Ponds.*

The Javanese fish-breeding in sea-water ponds i supposed to be of Chinese origin. The marine fis ponds when unsanitated grow *enteromorpha* (*chloro phyceae*), alga (*spirogyra*), *rag-alga* (*chaetomorpha*) etc., abundantly—which really form the food for th milk fish (bandeng) *Chanos-Chanos* and also fo *A. sundaicus* (*ludlowi*). The bandeng breeders wer of opinion that to obtain large and tasty fish on must feed them with *enteromorpha* and therefor they always used to oppose cleaning up of fish pond However, sanitation of these fish ponds means remova of all floating vegetation and substituting this foo with something less harmful.

Fish Pond.

1. Nearly all the fish ponds in the neighbourhood of Batavia are rectangular.
2. They are always very shallow. 2 ft. to 4 ft. deep and of varying sizes.
3. They have marginal ditches which are deeper than the mid-portions.
4. They are supplied periodically with sea-water by a canal leading to the sea with a sluice gate at the end.
5. Series of ponds are situated on the banks of the secondary canals.
6. Each fish pond is connected with a canal and has double bamboo screens at the junctions to prevent the fish running out.
7. Generally once in a month ponds are drained out in low tide and re-filled with sea-water in high tide in a few days.
8. When the pond-water is drained out fish take shelter in the marginal ditches.
9. Central portion is thus made surface dry and is exposed to sun.
10. When the sun dries up the floating algae it stimulates the growth of another species of alga called bottom alga or blue alga (*cyanophyceae*).
11. Bandeng fish feeds on this blue alga (its early stages are called cream of mud). When full grown the cream of mud floats to the surface as blue algal masses which are too thick and close for anopheline larvæ to either feed on or hide in against Panchax's attack.

It is interesting to note that the *Pasoeroean* system of fish pond sanitation is working surprisingly well.

(*h*) Owing to the slump expensive sanitation work was stopped in 1933. There is, however, nowadays a tendency in the Netherlands Indies to use less expensive measures—and nature's help is now appealed to.

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Total Budget	1933	1934	1935
1. Netherland Indies	f 397,490,890	f 326,884,598	f 317,830,011
2. " Dept. of Education and religion	f 48,918,000	f 35,785,700	f 33,374,900
3. " Health Service	f 13,642,950	f 12,080,606	f 11,969,255

i.e., nearly one twenty-sixth of the total budget is spent for Health service work.

(*i*) *Cinchona plantation at Tjinjiroean* (Bandoeng).

Out of eleven species of Cinchona only *Cinchona ledgeriana* and *Cinchona succirubra* are now cultivated. *C. ledgeriana* which contains about 14.0 per cent of quinine is a delicate plant requiring very careful nursing, whereas *C. succirubra*, the quinine extent of which is only 2.07, needs very little attention. Being fairly strong it can stand all weather and insect-invasion. It has strong roots and it grows very well. When young the *ledgeriana* is grafted on to the *succirubra* and the result of the operation is encouraging. The graft grows quite well and it contains as much as 12.0 to 14.0 percentage of quinine.

The bark containing quinine is beaten out of a felled Cinchona plant. It is then dried, powdered and packed in bags to be sent to the manufacturer. Although there are several different plantations in Java—the manufacturer is only one. The manufacturer's contract of monopoly with the Dutch Government is a complex matter and of long standing. The manufacture of Quinine was shown—it consists of the following process:

(*a*) brown coloured powder of the bark is finely ground;
(*b*) it is then boiled with acid sulphuric and benezol for extraction of Quinine;
(*c*) the extracted coffee coloured liquid—containing Liquid acid Quinine is allowed to cool for 48 hours;
(*d*) when cold Quinine crystallizes;
(*e*) brown Quinine crystals are separated out and by process of repeated filtration they are purified into white Quinine sulphate.

Study Tour in Malaya

The Malaya Peninsula can be divided into three groups (1) Straits Settlements (2) Federated Malaya States (3) Unfederated Malaya States.

Straits Settlements	F.M.S.	Unfederated Malaya States
Penang	Perak	Kedah
Wellesley Province	Selangor	Kelantan
Dindings	Negri Sembilan	Tregganu
Malacca	Pahang	Johore
Singapore		

Its climate is equatorical, *i.e.*, it is equable, hot, moist and without extremes either of heat or cold. The rainfall is large and is evenly distributed throughout the year. The average rainfall of a year may be 150 inches, although it varies quite widely between 100 and 200 inches.

The natives—the Malays are Muhammadans, but much of the trade, consequently of the wealth of the country is in the hands of Chinamen. Besides the urban areas and industrial centres, the country generally is very sparsely populated with small colonies of Malays confined to the banks of the great rivers. People are shy and prefer to live in jungles cut off from all civilization and human intercourse. It is a rice-eating country, but unlike Java and India one finds rice cultivation sparsely distributed. Their rice is supplied them by Siam and Burma. The agricultural produce of the country is rubber, cocoanut, coffee and pineapple.

Malaya has a backbone of high mountains, with several parallel ranges on either side. The western side is more developed than the eastern, for it is there that a vast quantity of tin ore is found in the valleys. Malaya produces more than one-third of world's supply of tin and more than half the world's supply of rubber and the tin and the rubber have made the country very rich. Large portions of the country are either under reserved forest or yet unexplored.

Malaya has a problem of three mosquitoes, very much like Java. Instead of *aconitus* here *umbrosus* plays the same role between *sundaicus* and *maculatus*. These three vector species of anopheles have a definite choice of breeding ground. If one walks across the country from the sea-shore to the hill, he meets *sundaicus* as soon as he leaves behind the low lying shore with thick virgin forest flooded daily with tidal sea-water. With the rise of country *umbrosus* makes its appearance where *sundaicus* stops. Further one goes into the inland of Malaya the mountain ravines and streams will be found breeding *maculatus* but not *umbrosus*. This is why "species sanitation" is always possible. Of course there are instances where in half a mile circle one finds all the three dangerous species, as in Jugra.

A. sundaicus—its control is effected by cutting off admittance of sea water by automatic flap gates and screw shutters. Next important items of control are cleaning and trimming of breeding grounds. *Sundaicus* leaves the field as soon as salinity and vegetation are removed.

A. umbrosus appears to have a distinct preference for, though in no way restricts itself, to, peaty water. Its control consists in removal of all shade from the water and exposing it to direct sunlight. This really means that the entire breeding surface must be clean weeded so as to expose every tiny pool of water or the water all be defined in

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channels and these channels then kept open to sun-light by clean weeding.

A. maculatus breeds in sun-lit spring water or moving water of the inland. Its control is therefore carried out by burying all water underground in subsoil pipes, by maintaining all water under dense shade, by confining it to concrete-surface channel, by drowning or stranding of the larvae, by sluicing or by application of oil or Paris-green.

(*a*) *Singapore.*

The island has an area of 217 square miles with a population of 514,500.

Malays	Europeans	Chinese	Eurasians	Indians	Others
67,050	7,611	383,617	7,051	40,991	8,180

It has a total of 74½ miles of subsoil, 41¼ miles of concrete and 20 miles of *Kucha* drains (up to the end of 1932). The sum available for anti-malaria work in 1933 was $60,000 (approx. Rs. 93,750) of which labour cost $33,399, materials and incidental charges $2,926 and oil $7,125.

The larvicidal oil (malaria mixture) used in the Straits Settlements contains Kerosine oil—4 gallons, solar oil—16 gallons and fuel oil—20 gallons. Brushing of oil is slowly getting preference as it reduces the oil expenditure. Spraying of oil may be the better of the two but where economy is the pressing question brushing is an acceptable method.

While at Singapore besides attendance to daily field survey some interesting demonstration were held as follows:

(1) Five subsoiled ravines of Sir Malcolm Watson's —below the *Mount Feber.*

(2) Subsoils and inverts in *Lazarus Island.* Drainage is not in ideal condition.

(3) *Sundaicus* breeding ground in recently reclaimed area full of fissures and crab holes—subsoil pipes etc.—at *Civil Aerodrome.*

(4) Improvement scheme at *Grove Estate*—such as disposal of water by electric pump and etc. Splenic Index of Chinese Leather Tanning village—8.0%—spleen rate is always below 10.0% although *sundaicus* breeding all around.

(5) Subsoiled and boulder filled ravines—Drains open and underground,—municipal water reservoirs, etc.—at *Gunong Pulai* Johore Estate.

(6) Rural malaria control measures at *Bukit Timeh*—utilization of subsoil water for washing, bathing etc.

(7) Demonstration of oil mixture preparation and oil spraying with knapsack at *Oil Island.* (Asiatic Petroleum Coy's.)

(8) Anti-malaria drainage at *Naval Base,* (in 1933 *sundaicus* bred in fissures and crab holes lying on a reclaimed area and caused an outbreak).

(9) Subsoils and inverts at *Swiss & Turf clubs.* Utilization of subsoil water for swimming bath. Some faulty drains constructed by engineers shown.

(10) Subsoiled ravines in the *Cold Storage Dairy Farm.* Subsoiled water is used for bathing cattle, running Power house etc.

(11) Four miles of subsoils to drain two square miles of ravineous land at *Bukit Synume* in Johore Estate. The subsoiling has been overdone. Demonstration of clearing subsoil pipes of roots with rods and screws.

(*b*) *Klang.*

The following places were visited to study "species sanitation" of *A. sundaicus, A. umbrosus* and *A. maculatus.*

(1) Olahlimpit Rubber Estate is purely a *umbrosus* country. *A. umbrosus* breeds in slowly moving or peaty stagnant water shaded with shrubs. Drains overgrown with vegetation and choked with rotten dry leaves are suitable spots where *umbrosus* is almost always found. Here chemical larvicides are not used as the breeding grounds are kept well trimmed and exposed to sunshine.

(2) Kucha wells of Kampongs which are numerous in number in Kuala Langate breed *A. umbrosus.* When covered with algal vegetation they are real source of danger. Wells are inspected frequently and maintained clean.

(3) In the District of Jugra the Road side drains when covered with low marginal vegetations breed *umbrosus.* The far side of the drain is cleaned by the District Board but the near side is almost always left to fate. The reason for this differential treatment is frequent trimming of nearside makes the Road narrower and consequently weaker. If the weedy edge of the Road side drain is beaten by the sun—no *umbrosus* breeds—otherwise it is watched carefully.

(4) Long abandoned Jugra Town referred to in Sir Malcolm Watson's book was next visited—control of this town was then considered impossible within reasonable means. This is the place where three vector species *A. sundaicus, A. umbrosus, A. maculatus* played the havoc together. Much lamentable ruins of the old town were seen buried in the deep forests.

(5) Carey Island covers 30,000 acres. Nearly three-fourths of this are under rubber and cocoanut plantations belonging to the Jugra Land and Carey Ltd. It has a recruited population of 5,000. Its principal vector species are *A. sundaicus* and *A. umbrosus.* The parts of this Island which are still under aboriginal reserve containing a few Kampongs of Sakai are hyperendemic and sources of occasional danger to the protected labour population. Along with other minor anti-malarial measures the water table of the Estate is maintained at a low level by deep drains, bunds and tide gates.

As no attempt is made to exterminate non-malaria carrying mosquitoes all the European bungalows are mosquito screened to offer the officials and their families undisturbed rest.

(6) Haron Rubber Estate. One phenomenal spot shown where within one foot of radius *A. umbrosus* and *A. maculatus* were found breeding. Here the hill foot seepage stream joins the peaty drain overgrown with low jungle.

(7) Seafield Estate. This is one of the Estates that can boast of the great achievement of anti-larval measures carried out by Sir Malcolm Watson in his early days of reputation. The ravines were originally herring boned and oiled. In 1911 they were subsoiled, which worked well till 1924. In 1925 here and there seepages sprang up indicating choking of the pipe lines. It was therefore re-done in 1926

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which is now working satisfactorily. Here waters of all descriptions have either been buried in pipes or defined in concrete inverts. Bottom of the ravine appears like a smooth trough covered with thick growth of grass which is undoubtedly a great gift to that country.

(8) Ebar Rubber Estate—is purely a *maculatus* country—seepage drains in the Estate are maintained clean weeded—and regularly oiled.

(*c*) *Kuala Lumpur*—After visiting the different branches of the Institute of Medical Research, Kuala Lumpur, with Dr. A. Neave Kingsbury, the Director of the Institute, went to the Malaria Research Laboratory where Dr. Field was carrying out researches on the efficacy of synthetic drugs on different species of parasites. The day was profitably spent in studying treatment-charts, parasite-enumeration, etc.

(*d*) Penang—It is an Island of 108 square miles and a population of 182,613 (June, 1933).

Malays	Europeans	Eurasians	Chinese	Indians	Others
40,897	1,251	2,102	113,913	22,616	1,834

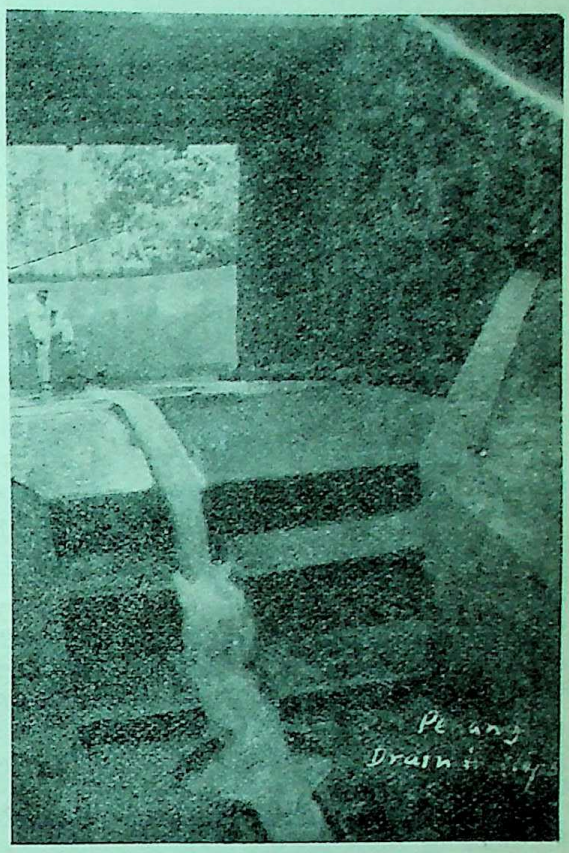
Malaria in Penang was soon felt to be one of the most difficult problems of the time when the Government had to make a liberal financial provision for undertaking anti-malaria work. A sum of $50,000 was first granted for anti-mosquito work in 1924 and the vote was repeated in 1925, rising to $75,000 in 1926 until 1932. The anti-mosquito vote for 1933 and 1934 stands at $60,000 every year. In 1926 on the appointment of a Chief Sanitary Inspector, the funds which had up till this time been controlled by the Public Works Department, were assigned to the Health Branch, who were subsequently responsible for all temporary and permanent anti-malarial works.

Works are generally carried out under the legal provisions of Ordinance No. 174 (Destruction of mosquitoes). This Ordinance endows the Sanitary Authority with adequate means of enforcement of all such anti-mosquito measures as may be necessary for the betterment of Public Health. In 1933 a sum of $3,119 was recovered from the private owners on whose land anti-malaria measures were carried out.

In the Penang Botanical Garden a fast rocky stream is weekly Paris-greened. It seems oil is more suitable for the stream than Paris-green. Use of oil is prohibited as stream adds beauty to the garden. Weekly spraying of oil would have certainly destroyed the marginal ferns and spotted the clean rocks. Frequent examination and weekly Paris-greening have maintained the stream larva free.

Some hill foot drains which are now oiled are waiting to be permanently dealt with at the earliest opportunity. Almost all the perennial springs, within half a mile of habitation have been buried in subsoils.

Here the choice between subsoil and concrete open drains is generally based on the following principles:



Penang Subsoil hill foot Stream opens on a concrete bed

(*a*) If habitation is fairly thick along the seepage line, the drain is open and not a subsoil. The house drains or its sides are led into the invert drain.

(*b*) Where a ravine or a foot hill is contour-subsoiled—the water before being drained out into open outfall is conducted sometimes into swimming tank, well, cistern or under a washing platform for the use of neighbouring population. This system of drainage popularizes the anti-malarial scheme and ensures closer co-operation.

(*c*) Sometimes the seepage is collected into an underground cistern and there from it is supplied to the near houses through galvanized metal pipes. If on analysis the water is considered drinkable—and if the demand for good water is felt a small periodical subscription is charged on each house owner who taps the cistern.

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In laying subsoil pipes—

(*a*) hard burned clay pipes of different calibres are preferred to unglazed porous clay pipes or re-inforced cement pipes, as clay pipes are cheaper and more durable (if hard burned).

(*b*) if a larger volume of seepage is to be dealt with instead of using pipes of bigger diameter, double or treble lines of 8 inches pipes are used. It is sound and economical, as they stand the surface weight well, they are much cheaper in price, and the carriage of pipes to work site is less costly.

(*c*) junction pipes such as Y,T,L etc., are made at the site as required and not purchased.

(*d*) the trench when dug and accurately graded is left open for observation for sometime.

(*e*) if the bottom of the trench is made up of soft and sticky clay, a layer of gravel, brickbats or cinders is spread.

(*f*) pipes are laid mouth to mouth in close apposition with a broad collar over each joint to prevent against root trouble and earth or rubbish entering the lumen of the pipes.

When concrete-inverts are correctly constructed, breeding does not generally occur. Then again the open drain, if connected with house drains discharging sullage, can never breed *A. maculatus*. In laying inverts, one should always bear in mind the grade, the size of shoulder, weep holes, gap between two pieces etc.

Some suitable small ravines with perennial flow sometime stone filled.

Some of the ravines near the Penang hill and Ayer Itam are flushed periodically by automatic sluices. Drainage and control of water at Penang the demonstration of which were given by Dr. Scharff, are all of permanent nature. If a perfunctory view of the anti-malarial scheme of this place be taken, it may seem expensive, but one can easily see that the permanent work of this nature is always cheaper in the long run.

Control by biological methods as described somewhere in the early part of this note was demonstrated by Prof. Williamson outside the municipal area. Biological control is cheaper but needs primarily very careful study of the fauna, flora and soil of the breeding ground and subsequent supervision by experts.

Amongst various biological and naturalistic control methods employed by Prof. Williamson the following may be mentioned as their application in this country is worth trial.

1. Introduction of larvicidal fishes, wate boatmen and large active water bugs in cle weeded ponds.

2. Increasing organic matter of the wat by packing streams or pools tightly with a green herbage near at hand.

3. Intensive agriculture requires freque manuring of cultivable land. Organic impur ties of this nature are inimical to the grow of some anopheline larvae. Direct and indire influence of cattle and pigs, which both cont minate and fertilize the soil and attra mosquitoes away from man is important in th connection.

4. Conversion of running streams b cross bunds at intervals into a series of pool It changes moving water to still water, alt its Hydrogen concentration and stimulat the growth of different varities of flora an fauna which perhaps are not congenial to th particular species of anopheles aimed at f extermination.

5. Periodical flushing of streams reduc the larval density very greatly both above an below the sluice by stranding the larvae abov and flushing them below.

6. Continuous agitation of the wat surface is unfavourable to the growth of larva of most mosquitoes. Conversion of a strea into a series of waterfalls produces thi unfavourable condition.

(*e*) *Malaria Scheme of F. M. S. Railway Gemas.*

Visit to Railway Health Officer's office a Kuala Lumpur and malaria control at Gema and Batudua (Gang hut No. 121) was not part of the Field study arranged under auspic of the League. This part of the study to was made to study the organization and th nature of the anti-malaria work carried out b the Federated Malaya States Railways.

The F. M. S. Railways are the propert of the F. M. S. Government. The main lin follows the West Coast of the Peninsula fro Singapore in the South to Prai (for Penang in the North, passing through Gemas. A Gemas 137 miles north of Singapore a lin branches to the East side of the Peninsula an terminates at Tumpat where it connects th Royal State Railways of Siam. The Railwa is of metre gauge and its total milage includin main and branch lines amounts to 1067 miles.

Gemas is an important junction and District Headquarters of the Railways. It i like most part of the mountaneous mid-Malay a ravinous and forest clad country. Th neighbouring area of this station is gettin slowly cleaned up. There is a history behin

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1. Unsanitated fish pond of Marsenda (Batavia) 2. Marsenda has splenic index of 100.0 (which is entirely due to unsanitated fish pond) 3. Tjihea plain Irragation Canal. (Splenic Index has dropped from 88.0 to 2.0) 4. Cinchona Succirubra Plants (quinine contents 2.0 p.c.) 5. Drains in Lazanus Island.(Maculatus breeding place —no malaria now) 6. Gunong Pulai, Johore 7. Olah Limpit Estate (Klang) is umbrosus country 8. Ravine of Seafield Rubber Estate

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each time the jungle was felled to clear the country since the opening up of the Railway. The Railway engineers felled the forest with the best of their motives to eliminate fever sickness, not knowing of course that admittance of sun-light could ever be directly or indirectly harmful to the Settlement. Fever incidence commenced to increase every year, as felling of forest in the neighbourhood was carried on. Dr. A. R. Wellington who was then the Health Officer of the section was asked to make a report on malaria at Gemas and its prevention. History repeated itself—it was demonstrated that so long the forest was virgin, the seepage pools and the streams which looked quite normal to this country were under the cover of thick jungles, and never bred the dangerous mosquitoes known as *A. maculatus*. Introduction of sun-light subsequent to destruction of virgin forests welcomed *A. maculatus*, the most dangerous anopheles of Malaya. The engineers' honest attempt of converting Gemas into healthy station worked otherwise—the station became unhabitable. Dr. Wellington through the authority of administrative head got the order passed that in future no felling and clearing should be done without reference to the Health Department. This became the starting point of the anti-malaria scheme at Gemas. The seepages in ravines already opened up were buried in subsoil pipes, drains were cemented, seepages were collected in concrete inverts, streams were oiled etc. Three years from 1925 to 1927 the scheme worked very well. Incidence of malaria dropped down almost to nil.

Control of Gemas is now carried out by the Government Health officer of Tampin. Just outside the Railway boundary the town of Gemas has grown up very well with the development of Gemas junction and increase of Railway population. There is a Government dispensary where both Railway and public populace are attended to. So control and treatments are both in the hand of the Government Health officer. The Senior Health Inspector who supervises the anti-malaria work of the Railway is responsible to the concerned Health officer of the Railways. If the Railway Health Inspector finds anything wrong in control, he draws his Health Officer's attention at once, who then communicates it to the Government Health Officer.

The Government, the State Railways, and the Rubber Plantations are working against malaria in close co-operation. As in some places the Government Health Officer is found doing anti-malaria work in the Railway premises, the Senior Health Inspector of the Railways is also known to have carried out some anti-malaria work on behalf of the Government. The question whether control should be carried out by the Government or the Railway in any particular case depends upon the importance of the station and convenience of the two parties concerned. The Rubber Estates, when the entire Estate or a portion of the Estate is controlled by either of the two former parties, accept debit for the cost of such control.

The medical man in charge of a dispensary or a hospital is supplied with a printed card for the report of malarial fever and in the event of his getting fresh infection of malaria he fills it and posts it at once. At the earliest opportunity investigation is arranged on receipt of the information. It is authoritatively reported that the expenditure of oil has been brought down to half by introduction of brushing system. Brushes are locally made by the malaria coolies of cocoanut fibres, narrow strips of plank from packing case and a piece of dry stick.

Here entomological portion of the anti-malaria work is carried out by the Government Entomologist, at the Research Institute, Kuala Lumpur. The Senior Inspector is unfortunately a Sanitary Inspector only, whose basic qualification is not sound enough for microscopical work, but it does not matter very much as the facilities exist for the quick identification of larvae at the Institute.

In the F. M. S. Railways unlike in Indian Railways, the permanent way gang is formed of recruited coolies. When the susceptible Tamil coolies of the permanent ways living in gang huts are left unprotected in hyperendemic region as the 'immuned' local coolies are done in India, they suffer so severely that on several occasions maintenance of the permanent way has been rendered extremely difficult. With introducution of control of gang huts, these difficulties have been greatly obviated. The Gang hut No. 121 which was visited is protected by anti-larval measures. *A. maculatus* is the vector species, which breeds in drains in Railway cuttings,—kacha wells, streams etc. After the breeding grounds are clean-weeded brushing of oil is the only active measure undertaken by the malaria department. Supply of drinking water to the Permanent Way Gang is made in numbered drums, by shunting water-trains when suitable water is not available locally.

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PRESENT TREND OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS

The recent British election has placed the Tories firmly in power at least for the coming five years. This has great international significance. There is every reason to believe that British foreign policy under the leadership of Premier Baldwin will play a very important part in world politics. To be sure, it is not possible for any one to make a prophecy on the exact developments of foreign relations of any nation, yet it is possible to discern the outstanding trends of foreign policy; and in this article I shall try to point out the trend of British foreign policy and as it may affect the world at large.

Although British Tories were never whole-heartedly in favour of the League of Nations and its policy of applying sanctions, yet the present British Government has adopted the policy of utilizing the League and applying sanctions against a nation, judged to be an aggressor, for two definite reasons: (a) First, British internal politics demanded that the Tories should make the issue of supporting the League of Nations as one of the principal issues of British Foreign Policy. A short time before the last election, in a private national vote, about twelve millions of British voters indicated that they were in favour of the League of Nations and for applying sanctions—including *Military* sanctions—against the treaty-breaking and *aggressor* nation. The Tories decided to steal the thunder of the Labourites and Liberals on the League of Nations issue and appropriated it as their own programme for the election. By doing so, the Tories championed *their real programme of increase of armaments—naval, air and land*—on the ground that if Britain were to support the League of Nations' policy of applying sanctions, then she should have larger navy, air-force and land armaments. (b) Secondly, the Tories decided that by using the League of Nations as the so-called instrument of collective peace, British statesmen will be able to use this world diplomatic machinery in isolating that nation which may oppose British interests. The British have used the League of Nations' machinery against Italy effectively to the extent of possibly starving the Italian people to submission to British dictation, regarding the growing Anglo-Italian rivalry in the Mediterranean, Africa and the regions of the Red Sea. The British have decided to keep control over the League machinery, so that it may be used against such powers as may threaten British interests—such as Germany, Japan and possibly Russia.

The immediate effect of this policy of using the League of Nations to isolate a nation, opposing British interests, is to adopt a policy which will force or induce the great Powers outside the League to follow British foreign policy as reflected through the League. This leads to the necessity of inducing the United States, Germany and Japan to follow a policy of supporting sanctions against Italy. Britain is at the present time less concerned about Germany and Japan supporting the sanctions of the League, because these two nations do not have enough of raw materials (such as oil) in their control to effectively oppose British policy of virtual embargo on raw materials. Should the United States refuse to follow the British policy of applying sanctions dictated by the League of Nations, then effectiveness of the League of Nations as an instrument of isolating a rival of Britain in world politics is much reduced. Therefore, the British authorities (official and non-official propagandists) are intent upon leading the United States to support the League of Nations. In this respect British statesmen have become signally successful as the present administration in Washington is following British direction on the pretext of promoting world peace by applying sanctions against an aggressor nation. *It is generally recognized that some of the Washington politicians and diplomats are induced by British statesmen to believe that if the United States follows the League of Nations by virtually applying sanctions against Italy, then in case of future necessity, the British Government would use its influence in utilizing the League machinery to apply sanctions against Japan to help the United States, provided the latter decide to follow a definite policy of curbing Japanese expansion in China.* Therefore, securing American co-operation in every possible way, without a formal Anglo-American Alliance, is the most important plank of British foreign policy. It is generally regarded that the U. S. State Department is pro-British and will help

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British diplomacy whenever it is possible. However, there are American statesmen who feel that American foreign policy must not be the tail-end of British diplomacy; and American public opinion is not entirely in favour of virtual Anglo-American Alliance, because they realize that such a policy may lead to a war in Europe and Asia in which the United States might be involved.

Re-assertion of Britain as the dominating factor in Europe, through a vast programme of re-armament, and also by playing great powers against one another, is the next important trend in British foreign policy. I shall try to illustrate this point by mentioning recent happenings of international importance. (*a*) After the World War, British authorities supported Italy, so long as there was Franco-Italian rivalry in the Mediterranean and Africa; but just as soon as M. Laval and Signor Mussolini decided to come to an all-round understanding and signed a friendly pact, the British Foreign Office decided to take steps to break up this Franco-Italian understanding, because a Franco-Italian combination would interfere with British supremacy in the Mediterranean. The first step taken by the British was to threaten France with retaliation. The British, in violation of the Stressa Agreement, by which it was decided that Britain, France and Italy would follow a common policy regarding Germany, signed a naval pact with Germany, by which the latter secured British consent to build up a navy which would be able to challenge French or Russian navy. After that the British intimated to the French that they must choose between the British and the Italians as their future allies and friends. The British made it clear that if the French wished to secure British support against Germany, then they must stand by Britain against Italy's programme in Ethiopia. The French did not dare to antagonize the British and had to agree with British programme. (*b*) The British are manipulating the Germans with the threat of isolating Germany completely, through the action of the League of Nations and active support of France and Russia, unless the Germans follow a policy which would be acceptable to British statesmen. It seems that German statesmen are anxious to support British foreign policy, with the expectation that Britain would not support Russia or France against Germany. (*c*) British statesmen are in a position to bring pressure upon Soviet Russia, by encouraging Japan and Germany in their anti-Soviet activities. (*d*) To be sure, Britain is opposed to Japanese expansion and yet she is playing Japan against the United States as we as Russia, by extending indirect support t Japan's aspirations, provided the latter does n interfere with British imperial interests i the Far East. Whenever American-Japane tension grows, on account of naval issues o Chinese questions, Britain tries to play the pa of a mediator and secures support from bot quarters to maintain her supremacy in certai parts of Asia. Growing Sino-Japanese tensio serve British interests; because the Chinese an Japanese seek British support in their policie Japanese-Russian rivalry helps Great Britai because such a situation prevents both Japa and Russia from making a common cause again Britain in Asia.

Regarding Britain's positive policy, is certain that British naval, air and lan armaments will be augmented to such an exte that no single power will dare to attack he interests in any part of the world; and becaus of this great strength, other nations would see British support in international politics. A things stand today, Britain will try to maintai her supremacy in the Mediterranean at an cost, with French and Italian co-operation i that is possible, and even in spite of their opposition, if that be the case. If France and Italy oppose Britain in the Mediterranean, the Britain would use the weapon of Germany against France. Britain will change positio of her naval base from Malta to Alexandria, s that her naval power will be more secure fro Italian attacks and it will tighten her contro over Egypt.

If Britain succeeds in securing Franco-Italian co-operation or French co-operation i the Mediterranean (after the settlement o Italo-Ethiopian conflict), then she will decid to encourage other powers to take steps to cur either Soviet Russia or Germany which may b regarded by British statesmen as a serious menace to British interests. It is quite possible that British Tories would first support Germany Poland and Japan to take actions which wil weaken Soviet Russia. When that is accomplished, they will try to curb Germany and Japan through the aid of the League of Nations and specially France and her allies against Germany and the United States against Japan.

Eventually Japan and Great Britain would come to grips on commercial, economic and political issues concerning China and Eastern Asia. But it seems that the British are willing to give Japan plenty of rope so that she will entangle herself in such a fashion that it will lead to her strangulation. British statesmen are not actively opposing Japan in her

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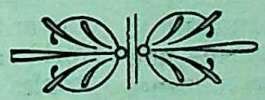
expansionist policy in Manchuria and North China, because they have more urgent problems in Europe and the Mediterranean region to solve now. *The control of the Mediterranean is the first requisite for maintaining British control over India and Egypt; and control over India is the foundation of British supremacy in Eastern Asia and the Pacific. Even the formidable Singapore naval base, without the support of India and Australia, would be powerless to cope with the growing power of Japan.* Furthermore, Japanese expansionist policy in China (especially her recent North China adventure) would transform China, Russia and the United States into determined foes of Japan. If Japan refuses to curb her ambitions in Asia, and continues to challenge British supremacy in Eastern Asia, then Britain, after setting her European house in order, will use the League of Nations, the United States, China, as well as Soviet Russia and the tremendous power of India against Japan. In such an eventuality Japan will be faced with the combined Anglo-American fleet, Russian land power and air forces, Chinese forces supported by Indian forces which might march through South China or Tibet towards Japanese-controlled North China. *In a future Anglo-Japanese conflict, India will play the part of a deciding factor, as was the case in the World War.*

Eventual conflict between Japan and Great Britain supported by the United States, Russia, China and other powers is not inevitable. This may be avoided, if British Tories and Japanese statesmen agree to come to an understanding and revive the old Anglo-Japanese Alliance. In fact, British Tories will be forced to come to an understanding with Japan, on Japan's terms, if British be faced with a powerful hostile combination of powers in Europe and effective revolts in Egypt and Asia and she (Britain) does not find wholehearted co-operation from the United States.

In short, re-assertion of Britain as the most dominant power in the world will be the trend of future British foreign policy. To assert this policy, Britain will try to maintain and augment her hold in Egypt and India and use resources, man-power and strategic position of these countries to the fullest extent, *even by making some minor concessions to the nationalists of these countries.* So long as the great powers of Europe continue to be hostile to each other and play into Britain's hands and so long as Britain can utilize Egypt and India and other Asian peoples to further her ends, and so long as Britain has nothing to fear from the United States, there is no reason to think that the ambition of British statesmen will be thwarted by any local opposition or any opposition from a single power.

The future peace of the world largely depends upon British foreign policy. British statesmen will not willingly give up their country's dominant position when challenged by any power. British statesmen want peace on the basis of *status quo,* maintaining the present British Empire and upholding British dominance in world politics. They will not hesitate to mobilize the immense power of the British Empire and enlist support of other nations to crush Britain's rivals. This has been the history of Britain's foreign policy. But there is no possibility of world peace on the basis of *staus quo. Unless rivalry between Great Powers ceases and they agree to allow other nations—weak and subjugated ones such as India and Egypt— to enjoy equal freedom, there will be international conflicts, in which Great Britain with her far-flung empire will be directly and indirectly involved. In such future conflicts of Britain, Egypt, India and other subjugated Asian peoples will be forced to make great sacrifices in men and wealth for the glory of the British Empire.*

Washington, D.C., November 24, 1935.



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POLITICAL UNIFICATION OF INDIA

By Sri AUROBINDO

A right knowledge of the facts and a right understanding of the character and principle of the Indian socio-political system disposes at once of the contention of occidental critics that the Indian mind, even if remarkable in metaphysics, religion, art and literature, was inapt for the organization of life, inferior in the works of the practical intelligence and, especially, that it was sterile in political experiment and its record empty of sound political construction, thinking and action. On the contrary Indian civilization evolved an admirable political system, built solidly and with an enduring soundness, combined with a remarkable skill the monarchical, democratic and other principles and tendencies to which the mind of man has leaned in its efforts of civic construction and escaped at the same time the excess of the mechanising turn which is the defect of the modern European State. But there is another side of politics on which it may be said that the Indian political mind has registered nothing but failure. The organization it developed may have been admirable for stability and effective administration and the securing of communal order and liberties and the well-being of the people under ancient conditions, but even if its many peoples were each of them separately self-governed, well-governed and prosperous and the country at large assured in the steady functioning of the highly developed civilization and culture, yet that organization failed to serve for the national and political unification of India and failed in the end to secure it against foreign invasion, the disruption of its institutions and an age-long servitude. Here again the first necessity is to get rid of exaggerations, to form a clear idea of the actual facts and their significance and understand the tendencies and principles involved in the problem that admittedly throughout the long history of India escaped a right solution. A great deal has been said and written about the inability of Indians to unite, the want of a common patriotism—now only being created, it is said, by the influence of Western culture—and the divisions imposed by religion and caste. Admitting even in their full degree the force of these structures,—all of them are not altogether true or rightly stated or vitally applicable to the matter,—they are only symptoms and we have still to seek the deeper causes.

The whole basis of the Indian mind is spiritual and inward turn, its propensity to se the things of the spirit and the inner being fi and foremost and to look at all else secondary, dependent, to be handled and det mined in the light of the higher knowledge a as an expression, a preliminary, field or or at least a pendent to the deeper spiritu aim,—a tendency therefore to create whate it had to create first on the inner plane a afterwards in its other aspects. This mentali and the consequent tendency to create fr within outwards being given, it was inevital that the unity India first created for hers should be the spiritual and cultural oneness. could not be, to begin with, a political unific tion effected by an external rule centralize imposed or constructed, as was done in Ro or ancient Persia, by a conquering kingdom the genius of a military and organizing peopl It cannot, I think, justly be said that this w a mistake or a proof of the unpractical tu of the Indian mind and that the single politic body should have been created first and afte wards the spiritual unity could have secure grown up in the vast body of an Indian nation empire. The problem that presented itself the beginning was that of a huge area contai ing more than a hundred kingdoms, clan peoples, tribes, races, in this respect anoth Greece, but a Greece on an enormous sca almost as large as modern Europe. As Greece a cultural Hellenic unity was necessar to create a fundamental feeling of oneness, he too and much more imperatively a conscio spiritual and cultural unity of all these peopl was the first, the indispensable condition wit out which no enduring unity could be possibl The instict of the Indian mind and of its gre Rishis and founders of its culture was sound i the matter. And even if we suppose that a outward imperial unity like that of the Roma world could have been founded among th peoples of early India by military and politica means, we must not forget that the Roma unity did not endure, and it is not likely tha a similar attempt in the vast reaches of Indi without the previous spiritual and cultural basi would have been of an enduring character: I

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cannot be said either, even if the emphasis on spiritual and cultural unity be pronounced to have been too engrossing or excessive and the insistence on political and external unity too feeble, that the effect of this precedence has been merely disastrous and without any advantage. It is due to this original peculiarity, to this indelible spiritual stamp, to this underlying oneness amidst all diversities that if India is not yet a single organized political nation, she till survives and is still India.

After all the spiritual and cultural is the only enduring unity and it is by a persistent mind and spirit much more than by an enduring physical body and outward organization that the soul of a people survives. This is a truth which the positive western mind may be unwilling to understand or concede, and yet its proofs are written across the whole history of the ages. But spiritual unity is a large and flexible thing and does not insist, like the political and external, on centralization and uniformity; rather it lives diffused in the system and permits readily a great diversity and freedom of life. Here we touch on the secret of the difficulty in the problem of unifying ancient India. It could not be done by the ordinary means of a centralized uniform imperial State crushing out all that made for free divergence, local autonomies, established communal liberties, and each time that an attempt was made in this direction, it has failed after however long a term of apparent success, and we might even say that the guardians of India's destiny wisely compelled it to fail that her inner spirit might not perish and her soul barter for an engine of temporary security the deep sources of its life. The ancient mind of India had the intuition of its need; its idea of empire was a uniting rule that respected every existing regional and communal liberty, that unnecessarily crushed out no living autonomy, that effected a synthesis of her life and not a mechanical oneness. Afterwards the conditions under which such a solution might securely have evolved and found its true means and form and basis, disappeared and there was instead an attempt to establish a single administrative empire. That endeavour, dictated by the pressure of an immediate and external necessity, failed to achieve a complete success in spite of its greatness and splendour. It could not do so because it followed a trend that was not eventually compatible with the true turn of the Indian spirit. It has been seen that the underlying principle of the Indian politico-social system was a synthesis of communal autonomies, the autonomy of the village, of the town and capital city, of the caste, family, *kula*, religious community, regional unit. The state or kingdom of confederated republic was a means of holding together and synthetising in a free and living organic system these autonomies. The imperial problem was to synthetise again these states, peoples, nations, effecting their unity but respecting their autonomy, into a larger free and living organism. A system had to be found that would maintain peace and oneness among its members, secure safety against external attack and totalise the free play and evolution, in its unity and diversity, in the uncoerced and active life of all its constituent communal and regional units, of the soul and body of Indian civilization and culture, the functioning on a grand and total scale of the Dharma.

The failure to achieve Indian unity of which the invasions and the final subjection to the foreigner were the consequence, arose therefore at once from the magnitude and from the peculiarity of the task, because the easy method of a centralized empire could not truly succeed in India, while it seemed the only device possible and was attempted again and again with a partial success that seemed for the time and a long time to justify it, but always with an eventual failure. I have suggested that the early mind of India better understood the essential character of the problem. The Vedic Rishis and their successors made it their chief work to found a spiritual basis of Indian life and to effect the spiritual and cultural unity of the many races and peoples of the peninsula. But they were not blind to the necessity of a political unification. Observing the constant tendency of the clan life of the Aryan peoples to consolidate under confederacies and hegemonies of varying proportions, *vairajya, samrajya,* they saw that to follow this line to its full conclusion was the right way and evolved therefore the ideal of the Chakravarti, a uniting imperial rule, uniting without destroying the autonomy of India's many kingdoms and peoples, from sea to sea. This ideal they supported, like everything else in Indian life, with a spiritual and religious sanction, set up as its outward symbol the Aswamedha and Rajasuya sacrifices, and made it the dharma of a powerful king, his royal and religious duty to attempt the fulfilment of the ideal. He was not allowed by the dharma to destroy the liberties of the peoples who came under his sway nor to dethrone or annihilate their royal houses or replace their archons by his officials and governors. His function was to establish a suzerain power possessed of sufficient military strength to preserve internal peace and

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to combine at need the full forces of the country. And to this elementary function came to be added the ideal of the fulfilment and maintenance under a strong uniting hand of the Indian dharma, the right functioning of the spiritual, religious, ethical and social culture of India.

There is no historical evidence that this ideal was ever successfully carried into execution, although the epic tradition speaks of several such empires preceding the Dharmarajya of Yudhishthira. At the time of Buddha and later when Chandragupta and Chanakya were building the first historic empire, the country was still covered with free kingdoms and republics and there was no united empire to meet the great raid of Alexander. It is evident that if any hegemony had previously existed, it had failed to discover a means or system of enduring permanence. This might however have evolved if time had been given, but a serious change had meanwhile taken place which made it urgently necessary to find an immediate solution. The historic weakness of the Indian peninsula has always been until modern times its vulnerability through the north-western passes. This weakness did not exist so long as ancient India extended northward far beyond the Indus and the powerful kingdoms of Gandhara and Vahlika presented a firm bulwark against foreign invasion. But they had now gone down before the organized Persian empire and from this time forward the trans-Indus countries ceasing to be part of India, ceased also to be its protection and became instead the secure base for every successive invader. The inroad of Alexander brought home the magnitude of the danger to the political mind of India and from this time we see poets, writers, political thinkers constantly upholding the imperial ideal or thinking out means of its realisation. The immediate practical result was the rise of the empire founded with remarkable swiftness by the statesmanship of Chanakya and constantly maintained or restored through eight or nine centuries, in spite of periods of weakness and incipient disintegration, successively by the Maurya, Sunga, Kanwa, Andhra and Gupta dynasties. The history of this empire, its remarkable organization, administration, public works, opulence, magnificent culture and the vigour, the brilliance, the splendid fruitfulness of the life of the peninsula under its shelter emerges only from scattered insufficient records, but even so it ranks among the greatest, constructed and maintained by the genius of the earth's great peoples. India has no reason, from this point of view, to be anything b proud of her ancient achievement in empi building or to submit to the hasty verdict th denies to her antique civilization a str practical genius or high political virtue.

At the same time this empire suffered the inevitable haste, violence, and artificiality its first construction to meet a pressing ne because that prevented it from being deliberate, natural and steady evolution in old solid Indian manner of the truth of deepest ideal. The attempt to establish centralized imperial monarchy brought with not a free synthesis but a breaking down regional autonomies. Although according the Indian principle their institutes and custo were respected and at first even their politi institutions not wholly annulled, at any rate many cases, but brought within the imper system, these could not really flourish under shadow of the imperial centralization. The f peoples of the ancient Indian world began disappear, their broken materials serving aft wards to create the now existing Indian rac And I think it can be concluded on the wh that, although for a long time the great popul assemblies continued to remain in vigour, th function in the end tended to become mo mechanical and their vitality to decline a suffer. The urban republics too tended become more and more mere municipalities the organized kingdom or empire. The hab of mind created by the imperial centralizati and the weakening or disappearance of the mo dignified free popular institutions of the p created a sort of spiritual gap, on one side which were the administered content with a government that gave them security and did interfere too much with their religion, life customs and on the other the imperial admin tration beneficent and splendid, no doubt, no longer that living head of a free and livi people contemplated by the earlier and t political mind of India. These results becar more prominent and were only final with t decline, but they were there in seed and render almost inevitable by the adoption of mechanical method of unification. The advar ages gained were those of a stronger and mo coherent military action and a more regularis and uniform administration, but these could compensate in the end for the impairment the free organic diversified life which was t true expression of the mind and temperame of the people. Meanwhile the empire serv well enough, although not perfectly, the end which it was created, the saving of the Indi soil and Indian civilization from that immen

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flood of barbarian unrest which threatened all the ancient stabilized cultures and finally proved too strong for the highly developed Græco-Roman civilization and the vast and powerful Roman empire. That unrest throwing great masses of Teutons, Slavs, Huns, and Scythians to west and east and south battered at the gates of India for many centuries, effected certain inroads, but, when it sank, left the great edifice of Indian civilization standing and secure.

It is a later downfall, the Mussulman conquest failing in the hands of the Arabs but successfully reattempted after a long interval, and all that followed it, which serves to justify the doubt thrown on the capacity of the Indian peoples. But first let us put aside certain misconceptions which cloud the real issue. This conquest took place at a time when the vitality of ancient Indian life and culture after two thousand years of activity and creation was already exhausted for a time or very near exhaustion and needed a breathing space to rejuvenate itself by transference from the Sanskrit to the popular tongues and the newly forming regional peoples. The conquest was effected rapidly enough in the north, although not entirely complete there for several centuries, but the south long preserved its freedom as of old against the earlier indigenous empire and there was not so long a distance of time between the extinction of the kingdom of Vijayanagara and the rise of the Mahrattas. The Rajputs maintained their independence until the time of Akbar and his successors and it was in the end partly with the aid of Rajput princes acting as their generals and ministers that the Moguls completed their sway over the east and the south. And this was again possible because—a fact too often forgotten—the Mussalman domination ceased very rapidly to be a foreign rule. The vast mass of the Mussulmans in the country were and are Indians by race, only a very small admixture of Pathan, Turkish and Mogul blood took place, and even the foreign kings and nobles became almost immediately wholly Indian in mind, life and interest. If the race had really like certain European countries remained for many centuries passive, acquiescent and impotent under an alien sway, that would indeed have been a proof of a great inherent weakness; but the British is the first really continuous foreign rule that has dominated India. The ancient civilization underwent indeed an eclipse and decline under the weight of a Central Asiatic religion and culture with which it failed to coalesce, but it survived its pressure, put its impact on it in many directions and .remained to our own day alive even in decadence and capable of recovery, thus giving a proof of strength and soundness rare in the history of human cultures. And in the political field it never ceased to throw up great rulers, statesmen, soldiers, administrators. Its political genius was not in the decadence sufficient, not coherent enough or swift in vision and action, to withstand the Pathan, Mogul and European, but it was strong to survive and await every opportunity of revival, made a bid for empire under Rana Sanga, created the great kingdom of Vijaynagara, held its own for centuries against Islam in the hills of Rajputana, and in its worst days still built and maintained against the whole power of the ablest of the Moguls the kingdom of Shivaji, formed the Mahratta confederacy and the Sikh Khalsa, undermined the great Mogul structure and again made a last attempt at empire. On the brink of the final and almost fatal collapse in the midst of unspeakable darkness, disunion and confusion it could still produce Runjit Singh and Nana Fadnavis and oppose the inevitable march of England's destiny. These facts do not diminish the weight of the charge that can be made of an incapacity to see and solve the central problem and answer the one persistent question of Fate, but considered as the phenomena of a decadence they make a sufficiently remarkable record not easily paralleled under similar circumstances and certainly put a different complexion on the total question from that put by the crude statement that India has been always subject and politically incapable.

The real problem introduced by the Mussulman conquest was not that of subjection to a foreign rule and the ability to recover freedom, but the struggle between two civilizations, one ancient and indigenous, the other mediaeval and brought in from outside. That which rendered the problem insoluble was the attachment of each to a powerful religion, the one militant and aggressive, the other spiritually tolerant indeed and flexible, but obstinately faithful in its discipline to its own principle and standing on the defence behind a barrier of social forms. There were two conceivable solutions, the rise of a greater spiritual principle and formation which could reconcile the two, or a political patriotism surmounting the religious struggle and uniting the two communities. The first was impossible in that age. Akbar attempted it on the Mussulman side, but his religion was an intellectual and political rather than a spiritual creation and had never any chance of assent from the strongly religious mind of the two communities. Nanak attempted it from the Hindu side, but his

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religion, universal in principle, became a sect in practice. Akbar attempted also to create a common political patriotism, but this endeavour too was foredoomed to failure. An autocratic empire built on the Central Asian principle could not create the desired spirit by calling in the administrative ability of the two communities in the person of great men and princes and nobles to a common service in the creation of a united imperial India; the living assent of the people was needed and that remained passive for want of awakening politial ideals and institutions. The Mogul empire was a great and magnificent construction and an immense amount of political genius and talent was employed in its creation and maintenance. It was as splendid, powerful and beneficent and, it may be added, in spite of Aurangzeb's fanatical zeal, infinitely more liberal and tolerant in religion than any mediaeval or contemporary European kingdom or empire and India under its rule stood high in military and political strength, economic opulence and the brilliance of its art and culture. But it failed like the empires before it, more disastrously even, and in the same way, crumbling not by external attack but by internal disintegration. A military and administrative centralized empire could not effect India's living political unity. And although a new life seemed about to rise in the regional peoples, the chance was cut short by the intrusion of the European nations and their seizure of the opportunity created by the failure of the Peshwas and the desperate confusion of the succeeding anarchy and decadence.

Two remarkable creations embodied in the period of disintegration the last effort of the Indian political mind to form the foundations of a new life under the old conditions, but neither proved to be of a kind that could solve the problem. The Mahratta revival inspired by Ramdas's conception of the Maharashtra Dharma and cast into shape by Shivaji was an attempt to restore what could still be understood or remembered of the ancient form and spirit, but it failed, as all attempts to revive the past must fail, in spite of the spiritual impetus and the democratic forces that assisted its inception. The Peshwas for all their genius lacked the vision of the founder and could only establish a military and political confederacy. And the endeavour to found an empire could not succeed because it was inspired by a regional patriotism that failed to enlarge itself beyond its own limits and awaken to the living ideal of a united India. The Sikh Khalsa on the other hand was an astonishiningly original and novel creation and its face was turned not to the past but the future. Apart and singular in its theocratic head and democratic soul and structure, its profound spiritual beginning, its first attempt to combine the deepest elements of Islam and Vedanta, it was a premature drive towards an entrance into the third or spiritual stage of human society, but it could not create between the spirit and the external life the transmitting medium of a rich creative thought and culture. And thus hampered and deficient it began and ended within narrow local limits, achieved intensity but no power of expansion. The conditions were not then in existence that could have made possible a successful endeavour.

Afterwards came the night and a temporary end of all political initiative and creation. The lifeless attempt of the last generation to imitate and reproduce with a servile fidelity the ideals and forms of the West has been no true indication of the political mind and genius of the Indian people. But again amid much mist of confusion there comes now a new twilight, not of an evening but a morning Yuga-sandhya. India of the ages is not dead nor has she spoken her last creative word; she lives and has still something to do for herself and the human peoples. And that which is seeking now to awake is not an Anglicised oriental people docile pupil of the West and doomed to repeat the cycle of the occident's success and failure but still the ancient immemorable Shakti recovering her deepest self, lifting her head higher towards the supreme source of light and strength and turning to discover the complete meaning and a vaster form of her Dharma.*

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* Compiled by Anilbaran Ray from Sri Aurobindo's *Defence of Indian Culture.*

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THE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIA

By GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

The question of the operations of non-Indian industries in India deserves careful and thorough examination. It is necessary to emphasise, at the start, the aim of a policy of protection of industries by tariffs and bounties. The very foundation of protectionism, as has been pointed out by eminent economists, is the idea of nationality. "The use of protection," observed Prof. Bastable, "is substantially a *national* apprenticeship." When Indians asked for protection, they did so in order to promote Indian enterprises with Indian capital and under Indian control. The Government of India in the initial stages understood the nature of this demand and agreed with it. Speaking in 1916 on the resolution which led to the appointment of the Industrial Commission, Sir William Clarke, the then Member of Commerce, said,

> "the building up of industries where the capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians is the special object we all have in view."

He deprecated the taking of any steps which might "merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your own boundaries." Similarly, Sir Frederic Nicholson said,

> "I beg to record my strong opinion that in the matter of Indian industries we are bound to consider Indian interests firstly, secondly and thirdly. I mean by 'firstly' that the local raw product should be utilized, by 'secondly' that industries should be introduced and by 'thirdly' that the profits of such industries should remain in the country."

The enrichment of the country, which is the real justification of a protective policy, depends, in other words, upon the earnings of the industry remaining in the country itself. The Indian Fiscal Commission also discussed this question in Chapter XV of their report. The Majority Report after discussing the usual objections to foreign capital differentiated between industries established in India behind tariff wall erected under a policy of protection and between industries which were in the nature of a monopoly or concession or to which some kind of pecuniary assistance is given from public funds or which is licensed to act as a public utility company. They were of opinion that while in the former case, no restrictions were either practicable or desirable, in the latter case "it is reasonable that Government should make certain stipulations" and "lay special stress on the Indian character of the companies thus favoured." For instance, they suggested that companies enjoying such concessions should be incorporated and registered in India with rupee capital, that there should be a reasonable proportion of Indian Directors on the Board and reasonable facilities should be offered for the training of Indian apprentices at Government expense. In this connection, they referred to the statement made by Mr. (now Sir) Atul Chatterjee on behalf of the Government in 1922, when he observed,

> "the settled policy of the Government of India, as I think we have mentioned more than once in this Assembly, is that no concession should be given to any firms in regard to industries in India unless such firms have a rupee capital, unless such firms have a proportion, at any rate, of Indian directors and unless such firms allow facilities for Indian apprentices to be trained in their work. This has been mentioned more than once and I can only repeat this declaration."

The majority of the Indian members of the Commission, who wrote a Minute of Dissent, were unable to appreciate the distinction sought to be drawn between companies getting Government concessions and companies establishing themselves owing to the tariff policy of the Government. They rightly pointed out that

> "under a policy of protection the right to establish an industrial enterprise behind the tariff wall is a concession in itself. There is really no distinction between Government granting subsidies and bounties out of money collected by them by way of taxation and allowing an industry to tax the people directly by means of higher prices resulting from protective duties."

They, therefore, recommended that

> "every company desiring to establish an industry after the policy of protection has been adopted in India should be subject to the same conditions as are recommended for companies receiving concessions, namely, that all such companies should be incorporated and registered in India with rupee capital, that there should be a reasonable proportion of Indian directors on the board and that reasonable facilities should be given for the training of Indian apprentices."

They had no objection to foreign companies in India obtaining the benefit of the protective policy provided suitable conditions are laid down to safeguard the essential interests of India. The Minute of Dissent foresaw the

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danger of foreigners establishing manufacturing industries in India within the tariff wall and while reaping the benefits at the expense of the Indian consumer and tax-payer to carry away the entire profit outside India. (*Vide* Paragraph 53 of the Minute of Dissent of the Indian Fiscal Commission). They, therefore, stated that

> "Indian capital should have full scope for investment in Indian industries and foreign capital should merely supplement it to accelerate the pace and to provide the early relief of the burden on the consumer. . . . . No foreign country should be allowed to monopolise the profits due to the policy of protection in India and at the cost of the Indian consumers."

It might be pointed out here that Section 5 of the Steel Industry Protection Act, 1924, laid down that no bounty in respect of steel rails, fish plates or waggons shall be payable to or on behalf of any company, firm or other person not already engaged at the commencement of this Act in the business of manufacturing any one or other of such articles unless such company, firm or person provides facilities to the satisfaction of the Governor-General in Council for the technical training of Indians in the manufacturing process involved in the business and in the case of a company unless (*a*) it has been formed and registered under the Indian Companies Act, 1913 and (*b*) it has a share capital, the amount of which is expressed in the Memorandum of Association in rupees and (*c*) such proportion of the directors as the Governor-General in Council has by general or special order prescribed in this behalf, consists of Indians. This policy was definitely accepted by the Government of India. When the Indian Radio-Telegraph Co., obtained a license from the Government, it was laid down in their agreement with the Company that 60 per cent of new capital should be reserved for Indians. In subsidising civil aviation, Government have approved and adopted the principle of reserving a majority of share capital and directorate for Indians. It might be recalled that the External Capital Committee also recommended the imposition of similar stipulations to safeguard Indian interests where definite pecuniary concessions such as bounty or subsidy is given and stated that it was the declared policy of the Government of India and the Indian Legislature. The External Capital Committee stated in their report that "it is more advantageous to India that its requirements for new capital should be supplied from internal rather than from external sources so far as internal capital is forthcoming" and that "India possesses a vast amount of dormant capital awaiting development which would be sufficient to meet a larger part of India's industrial requirements." That internal capital is available is shown by the remarkable growth of the sugar industry during the last few years and proves that once confidence is created by adopting the policy of protection, the difficulty in obtaining the requisite capital would largely disappear.

It might be observed here incidentally that apart from the question of protective duties India's general tariff, although framed for purposes of revenue, has been raised to a level especially after the surcharges on customs duties where it affords a varying degree of protection to many small industries of various kinds. In this sphere, non-Indian concerns have been established and have benefited by the revenue tariff which, because of the surcharges, has a protective effect. Several instances of the growth of such non-Indian enterprises could be cited. As regards the non-Indian industry developed behind a protective tariff wall, the most important example is that of matches. But in many other industries like soap, chemicals, shoe-making, sugar, etc., non-Indian companies have established themselves in India and, in several cases, are competing keenly with Indian enterprises. It was understood some time ago that Japanese interests contemplated the establishment of a sugar and a silk factory in India. It is obvious that such non-Indian concerns with their superior financial resources, longer experience and better equipment, technical skill and efficiency are able to oust their Indian competitors from the market and, in some cases, even exterminate them. Information regarding the capital, production, growth and methods of competition of such enterprises are not available and the Government should, therefore, collect full statistics and data in regard to all these matters and publish them at an early date so that the public might be fully acquainted with the nature of the whole problem. As was pointed out in the Minute of Dissent in the Fiscal Commission Report, when a policy of protection is adopted, it becomes essential that the Government of India should have, in the interests of the consumers, full information and complete control over industries established in this country. The extent to which non-Indian enterprises have established themselves in this country either as a result of the revenue or protective tariff is largely a matter of guess work and the first requisite, therefore, is to obtain full information regarding such concerns operating in this country, their affiliations and ramifications in other countries and their activities in relation to competing Indian enterprises. The argument is particularly strong in the case

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of industries receiving Government assistance either through protective duties or bounties. Protection after all involves sacrifice and cost and is resorted to as a means to national development of indigenous resources. If the consumer has to pay a higher price and the taxpayer to bear the burden of assisting an infant industry or a key industry, it is only equitable that the benefits from such industrial enterprises should remain in the country and not be lost to it. It has been suggested that the surplus profit granted to the external capitalist by governmental action at the cost of the counry should be recovered from him in some form of taxation or at least expended in some manner directly profitable to India. The Tariff Board on the Match Industry acknowledge that from the national point of view, the two adverse results of the establishment of a monopoly or quasi-monopoly by the Swedish Match Company are that profits instead of remaining in the country would be diverted abroad and that Indian capitalists would be deprived of a reasonable share in the industry. As the Tariff Board stated,

> "in the case of a company financed by foreign capital the additional profits which would otherwise remain in the country would be transferred abroad, while the company would also obtain those profits which in other circumstances would be distributed among Indian firms or shareholders. Further, if a monopoly is established by a foreign firm, the industry is closed to the Indian capitalists. In a country so backward as India industrially, the encouragement of *entrepreneur* class in all industries is a matter of considerable importance."

The Tariff Board, therefore, recommended that in the event of the Swedish Company using its large financial resources to attempt to extend its present share on the Indian market by means of unfair competition, Government should take necessary steps to safeguard the Indian industry. It is, therefore, essential that Government and the public should be in possession of full facts in order to know whether the share of non-Indian enterprises in such cases has been and is being extended and also whether this is being done by means of unfair competition. It will be recalled in this connection how a concession was granted last year to the Imperial Chemicals Co., a British firm, to exploit the mineral resources in the Punjab and it has been stated that the lease is for 50 to 60 years. No detailed information regarding the contract between the Government and the Imperial. Chemicals was given to the public, although interpellations on the subject were put in the Assembly.

It is needless to point out that in all countries the activities of foreigners in several economic spheres are restricted through legislation or administrative decrees and certain domestic spheres of trade are reserved for nationals. Numerous instances could be cited in support of such a policy. The problem in India, is, however, complicated by several factors, not the least important of which is the absence of an Indian nationality. The constitutional provisions in the Government of India Act outlined in Chapter 3 of Part V relating to Discrimination, etc., make it impossible henceforth to differentiate between British subjects and Indian-born subjects. The only concession made is that in regard to a new company to which any bounty or subsidy is to be given, the Federal or Provincial Legislature might lay down that (*a*) the company is to be incorporated by or under the laws of British India, that (*b*) such proportion not exceeding one half of the members of its governing body are Indian subjects of His Majesty and that (*c*) the company gives such reasonable facilities for the training of Indian subjects as may be prescribed. [*Vide* Section 116(2)]. As will be observed, these conditions are far less satisfactory than even the stipulations recommended by the External Capital Committee.

A discussion of this question, if it is to bear any relation to existing facts, must, therefore, take into account the constitutional provisions of the new Act and the impossibility of differentiating between British and Indian subjects so far as the industries benefited by the protective policy are concerned. Moreover, there are industrial concerns in which the position is not exactly easy to define. For instance, there are jute mills whose management is entirely non-Indian and yet in which a majority of the shares are held by Indians. There are also cases in which sterling debenture loans of protected enterprises have been raised in England or America and of amalgamation and combinations with non-Indian interests as in certain hydro-electric, textile and steel concerns. The position of Aden salt in the scheme of salt protection is also a peculiar one which requires careful consideration and solution. Generally, it might be stated that the criterion should be that of the controlling interests and if the controlling interests are in the hands of Indians, then the concern should be considered to be predominantly Indian in character.

As regards the methods to be adopted to deal with such non-Indian enterprises as are detrimental to national concerns, the first condition is, as already observed, to obtain full and reliable information. So far as the measures to safeguard Indian interests are concerned, the

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most important means that could be adopted are (*a*) quota and (*b*) differential excise duty as between Indian and non-Indian concerns. Both these methods were put forward before the Tariff Board on Match Industry and were discussed in their report. The Tariff Board did not favour the levy of a differential excise duty but considered that in case of unfair competition some kind of licensing factories and control of sales through an independent organiza might be feasible. It is desirable that this is should be clearly faced and presented before Tariff Board whenever they next consider scheme of protection in which non-Ind interests are likely to benefit or are likely come into the country for establishing compa in India in order to obtain advantage of tariff policy of the Government.

APPEAL WITH A VIEW TO A "HENRY BARBUSSE" FUND

PEACE is mankind's most precious gift. The most imposing progress in human history has been achieved in peace and it is in peace, that the greatest fruits of culture have been brought forth.

This gift is in danger. The forces of war, which were thought to be quelled once and for all, which never again, after the massacre of 1914-1918, were to launch mankind into such a catastrophe, are restlessly stirring once more.

There are those who would raise up war as youth's ideal, the glory of man's life; almost, they would have it as a doctrine of state. But men and women, all those who aspire to life, are straining every fibre against war and thinking with horror of the destruction which would threaten whole countries.

No. War shall not be, for it would mean the most terrible catastrophe at the cost of millions of sacrificed men and women.

Mankind can and must vanquish war. May a great ideological onslaught sweep over and change the face of the earth, that wherever hatred between nations is fomented and sanguinary preparations desperately pushed on, the Front of Peace may rear an insurmountable barrier!

But powerful means are needed for this propaganda, means to counter those at the disposal of the profiteers of war.

Henry Barbusse devoted his life to the struggle for peace; he wrote *Le Feu*, fin of books against the war; he wore out strength in the defense of peace. His name for ever bound up with peace. It is the livi symbol of man's will for peace. It is his nam which this fund must bear, this fund which want to gather together across the frontie over the barriers, separating nation fr nation, to make propaganda for peace, achieve the union of all peace forces.

The administration of this fund will submitted to the fullest public inspection. T names of the donors will be inscribed in *Golden Book of Peace*—a witness to go do to history of the sacrifices made to preser mankind from war.

We call upon upright men, those who ha nothing to gain and everything to lose fro war, those, fired by the greatness of sacrifice the cause of mankind, to help us in building this fund, which will be devoted to this cause. In the name of fathers and mothe we call upon young people; in the name young people, upon fathers and mothers, contribute to this fund, the most sacred mankind, the FUND OF PEACE.

ROMAIN ROLLAND
HEINRICH MANN
COUNT CARLO SFORZA
RAMANANDA CHATTERJE

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MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE

HANS FRIEDRICH BLUNCK

By CHRISTIAN OTTO FRENZEL

developments now taking place in the ical world of Germany, and which can be n every sphere of national life, have extend- nemselves also to arts and letters. It would be true to say that the State has *organized* arts: what it has done has been to form a of protectorate, the business of which is urther all promising art, that is to say, all which is in the interests of the nation. For reason the Chamber of Literature was ted.

The reasons for the far-reaching disputes e sphere of literature are deep-rooted, and little to do with the new national-socialist The world war had a vast influence upon literature of all countries and so, naturally, ermany too.

But it was not only with the arrival of the alled "war literature", that is to say, books were novels or personal accounts of the that the "war literature" started, for it really long before the "front generation" ed writing that there was a noticeable turn- to new aims and objects.

The "new literature", which was making f felt long before the war, was characterized a turning away from a materialist attitude nind. In place of this, there was a marked occupation with things of nature, with the hely life of the people and with the historic t. All these were to give a new driving er to modern life. During the eighties of the century, German literature, which placed worker as a great subject to be written about, s profoundly influenced by the French and rwegian "naturalistic writing" of Zola and en, and this type of literature was the direct e-runner of the present-day writing which es as its theme not merely one person or one ss, but the whole people, and which sets each ividual, as a representative of his class, in osition of equal importance with any other ividual.

To tireless exponents of the new literature ong, in the older generation, Hermann Stehr, o is still living, and Paul who died in 1934, d the women writers Ina Seidel and Agnes egel; but, above all, and of a younger neration, that of the war, Hans Carossa, Max ll, Friedrich Griese, Hans Johat, Kolbenheyer d Hans Friedrich Blunck.

Hans Friedrich Blunck is the president of the Reich Chamber of Literature in the new National Socialist State, but it is not intended here to enlarge on his capabilities as an official, but to speak of his writings, which caused him to be given his office.

Blunck, with the exception of a few juvenilia, has written all his books in the post-war period. His whole mind is steeped in folk-lore, and in spite of his wide values and genuine knowledge, it was extremely difficult for him to make his voice heard amid the changing fashions and careless appreciations of those years. His unshakeable faith in the German people finally brought him rewards, and his writings are of and for the German people. The manners and customs, the ancient stories, the great folk-lore of his country are intimately known to him and have been by him awakened to life. He has used his knowledge to give a new meaning and a new hope to modern people.

Blunck's work is divided into three sections: his fairy stories and legends of the lower Elbe district; his novels of modern trends and his novels dealing with Germans living abroad. He has also published poems and ballads, the latter mostly historical. His work is greatly distinguished; he has written simply and beautifully the fairy stories of the Elbe, that have been told from one generation to another by word of mouth. His great three-volume novel *Urvatersaga* (Ancestral Saga) deals with the early history of Germany and describes with a wealth of imaginative art the evolution of German character. His trilogy *Werdendes Volk* (Developing People) relates the history of south Germany from the time of the German conquest by the Franks, through the bitter religious quarrels of the Middle Ages and at last over the devastation of the Thirty Years War, that is to say, this book covers the whole period of medieval times in Germany. He has also written an historical romance *Die grosse Fahrt* (The Great Journey), which tells of the discovery of North America by Diederik Pining before the discovery by Columbus. Truth and imagination in this book are welded into a triumphantly successful piece of work.

It is upon Blunck's love for his country and his close approach to the people that his great success rests.

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HOW A "HARIJAN" CANDIDATE WAS DEFEATED

By R. S. PANDIT

December 3rd—polling day—was approaching and Prayag Dutt, the canvasser, tried to speed up the delivery of the candidate's cards.

"Who is this Hari," enquired the Brahman elector, an Advocate of the High Court, "and what is his caste?" Prayag Dutt canvassing on behalf of the Harijan candidate replied that the candidate was a Chamar by caste. Thereupon the Advocate spoke in his persuasive manner: "Why don't you Chamars stick to the ancestral work of shoe-making? It should pay well. Why do you want to stand for the Municipal Election—what can a Chamar do in the Municipal Corporation?" Prayag Dutt agreed that shoe-making would be profitable work. But he said: "We pure Chamars would never have given up the shoe trade but for the fact that in this city there are now a number of mongrel Chamars." "Who are these mongrel Chamars?" asked the Advocate, and Prayag Dutt replied: "A number of Brahmans, Khatris, and Baniyas have set up shops of imported boots and shoes and are making profits by underselling the hard-working Chamar in the shoe business." The elector felt disconcerted and perhaps in order to get rid of the canvasser expressed his willingness to vote for the Harijan candidate.

The local Congress Committee had decided to help the poor to win a seat during the recent Municipal Election at Allahabad from the Civil Lines, which includes a number of Bastis with hundreds of voters who are for the most part poor manual workers. With its modern roads, which serve the houses of the high and mighty, surrounded by gardens and lit with electricity, the Civil Lines area is a contrast to the Bastis of the poor whose huts are taxed by the Municipality, which has, however, never shown any anxiety to make a road or provide the poor with water or even oil lamps. During the rains water collects in pits in the dust tracks and little children die by drowning in the very midst of the Bastis.

The nomination of a Harijan candidate from the Civil Lines caused a flutter in the dove-cotes of orthodoxy. While some of the educated and respectable middle-class voters took this as a personal affront to their intellectual attainments, others regarded it as a challenge to caste superiority and the sacred principle of private property. The Adv Association sensed the coming danger i tively and some of the learned fraternity the writer to explain why the Congre dared to nominate a Chamar for a sea the Civil Lines. A Kashmiri Pandit a with vehemence that he would never t a Harijan candidate. His attention was to the fact that caste was immateria candidate was a Kashtkar (farmer), and a nationalist and was chosen by th Congress Committee as a straightforwar incorruptible man. Indeed, he was pers known to many as a faithful servant late Pandit Motilal Nehru. But the l Counsel was adamant. He said he wou prepared to vote for a Chamar or e Mehtar if the latter were "reformed Islam or Christianity!

The issue was thus side-tracked. I not one of religion or of caste. It was secular. The poor knew where the pinched and it was their right, if they so to elect as a representative from among selves one who would bring the grievan the poor and needy before the Municipal mittes and get them redressed as far as po The reactions of the so-called high caste the intellectuals revealed that they were unconscious of the sufferings of large nu of the so-called depressed classes or that refused to act justly towards masses o poor born within the fold of Hinduism were perpetually on the anvil under the of a hundred hammers.

The issue involved in Hari's candid was thus misrepresented. Hari's canv included enthusiastic students and Advocates who had volunteered their ser When they presented his card and appeal the high-caste voters they found that ma them forgot, in their anger, that the cand was set up by the Congress. One of Brahman Advocates was amazed that should have been asked to vote for a Ch He tore up the card and threw it in the of the Advocate canvasser.

At first in the Indian Clubs it was sidered a joke, but when the canvassin favour of Hari, the representative of working class, became increasingly succes

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the menace was considered too grave for the "high caste" to ignore it. The tension ended in a storm of opposition in the Civil Lines against the very idea of the candidature of a Chamar.

In the Civil Lines there are two seats for the Non-Muslim constituency, which is a joint constituency for Europeans and Indians, Hindus, Christians, Parsees and others. With one solitary exception, about 19 years ago when a Hindu was returned, the Civil Lines area has been represented heretofore only by Europeans, Anglo-Indians or Christians. The Congress Committee had set up a candidate to contest one out of the two seats with the *bona fide* desire to train the voters among the poor and manual workers to exercise their rights. Two Hindu candidates were in the field this year, besides three Christians, for the two seats. Municipal elections had heretofore evoked no enthusiasm in the Civil Lines, but this was a dangerous departure. Every house now discussed the pros and cons of this problem and opinion was sharply divided until the orthodox of all kinds combined and determined to reduce the support Hari had already gained by a vigorous campaign of counter canvassing. Single voting for the high-caste candidates was resorted to to secure the defeat of Hari. The substantial support already secured among all classes of voters, including Europeans, Parsees, Professors, Doctors, Advocates, Theosophists, Christians and others was thus neutralised. The working classes, such as the Kashtkar, the carpenter, the mason, the dhobi, the petty shop-keepers at street corners were easily divided by the agents of the high-castes. The poor lacked organization and their support was undermined, without much difficulty, by methods commonly employed in elections. The orthodox and respectable of all sections had combined to save religion and respectability from the menace of the Harijan. And they won.

THUS SING THE COUNTRYWOMEN IN THE PUNJAB

By Prof. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

The countrywomen in the Punjab sing thousands of songs with an unruffled devotion and childlike simplicity. There is, of course, a rich variety of purely indigenous tunes to which these songs—the time-honoured favourities of the fair sex—are originally put. The countrywomen's holiday-spirit is veritably reinforced by these songs and, as such, they furnish the strenuous routine of village-life with the Elysian thrills of joy.

Especially during seasonal festivals and various religious or semi-religious ceremonies the countrywomen are as free to sing as the birds of the air or the wind that bloweth where it listeth. Everywhere is seen a feast of happy faces and gorgeous colours—blue, rose-pink, sombre red, yellow, jet-black, and many others. Life passes before us like a kaleidoscope. The choice of songs, of course, differs according to the nature of the various gala days. The joy of these days minus the countrywomen's songs is, in fact, very inconsiderable. The colour of the holiday thrills is further enhanced by *Gidha*, a popular dance current throughout the length and breadth of the land of five rivers.

The countrywomen appear to be the true apostles of their native Muse and they have always been observing and comprehending the natural channels through which their national poesy has found an exact medium of expression. The spontaneous art of music is perennial, and the new fields of inspiring airs, which the countrywomen of these days have explored for the creation of contemporary songs, will be cultivated with great profit by their progeny, imbibing the true spirit of national song.

The characters, portrayed in these songs, old and new alike, represent types rather than individuals. Here we see the very soul of the rural Punjab, expressed by these types. They have the true air and light of the village-life, and in the words of the poet "live in description and look green in song." Such types, in no way less important, are, of course, very rare in the crowded towns, where life is full of complexities, and where their joys and sorrows are limited by restraint and convention. How inspiring is the simplicity of life which delights to gambol and frolic in Nature's company! Young women are seen singing of their healthy bridegrooms; their happy faces outshine the spring-flowers. The

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maidens strive to imitate the peacock-dance; how lovely they look chequered beautifully and richly with variegated flowers; their charmful process of throwing flowers on their languid sweethearts not only arouses them from sleep, but also awakens the sleeping poetry in our hearts. In autumn, when the berry trees bend down with the burden of their fruit, we see the girls making friends and going out to make a berry-feast; it revives sanguine hopes in their minds with a fair promise of redeeming their heart-felt desires and they are engaged in national song and dance. They compare their lovers with the parrots and pigeons, and their lovers in return compare them with the she-cranes. Again they sing of their lovers calling them their moons, and seek to hear from them songs describing the beauty of the twinkling stars. To some a newly-married bride appears on the scene as the morning-star, and to others she is marked as the golden ear of the wheat plant. There are lovers with tongues as sweet as sugar-candy, and bodies as fragrant as the sandal trees. The happy couples are seen enjoying national songs and dances on the banks of the native rivers; in their hours of inspiration they sing of the local landscape personifying each other as the Ravi and the Chenab. There are maidens who are elated with the hidden joy of their coming weddings and await the auspicious blessings of the Almighty Father in finding venerable fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law who keep many a she-buffalow for milk, curd and butter, and who are rich enough to provide them with a considerable number of orrnaments made of gold. But in spite of their long-cherished ambition they cannot help being overpowered by the predominating pathos, when they have to bid adieu to their parental dwellings for the new ones; we see their sad hearts depicted as streamlets of tears. They sing of their blessed travails when new sons appear on the scene. There are brides who sing of their spinning-wheels made of gold; some of them are seen making a demand for the spinning-wheels made of *Shisham* wood. How eager and impatient they become to go to their parents during the rains; it is the distinguishing characteristic of their filial and parental love. Women are seen shedding tears for the deceased ones: for the daughters who used to sing as sweet as the *Koels* do, and who have now flown away to sleep in the nest of Death: for the fathers who were *Subedars*: for the brothers who looked like highly polished logs of *Shisham* and *Sandal*: for the husbands who knew very well the language of their wives' dreamy eyes: for the fathers-in-law whose voice was remarkably majestic. The are minstrels' wives who lament and mourn the loss of influential villagers, the masters big estates, steeds and elephants, and bullock carts, well-celebrated for their broad-mindedne which taught them to offer most liberally gif of cows and steeds, and dole out gold and silv in charity; they pray for the eternal peace those happy souls, who can only be commem rated if strictly followed by their progeny their foot-prints of generosity and benevolenc

When they Sing of Nature

The direct and immediate contact with th benign and auspicious aspects of Nature mak village-life all the more sweet and charming.

An average countrywoman must acquai herself with the country flowers. Some of th flowers stand for New Life and Youth in folk lore, and thus become cynosures to the spell bound and love-swollen hearts. *Basanti Ph* is the Punjabi word for the spring-flower; it ha come to live as a symbol of ever-fresh youth:

> O how enchanting looks the spring-flower!
> 'O let me fully behold it'—exclaimeth my ey

In the crowded towns, where life is full o complexities, they hear the call for spring-cele bration only on the *Basant Panchmi* day, bu the countrywomen, who pass their days an nights just in the lap of Mother Nature, celebrat each day of the season as a spring-festival whe the New Season furnishes them with a cradle o beauty. Their blooming faces shine among th abundant flowers that adorn the local landscape and some one of them bursts into song:

> O how my heart aspires,
> To enjoy the charm of spring every day.

These are the days when *Sarhon* * blosso forth in its full charm. Everywhere are see the yellow *Sarhon* flowers. How inspiring i the yellow colour—the emblem of the spring The countrywoman admires readily the beaut and grace of the *Sarhon* flower when she trie to see it in the bridegroom's face:

> Behold thy groom,—O he looks no less than th *Sarhon* flower;
> You seem to be a lucky one, my daughter, but ho can it be predicted with a guarantee?

Some one may try to seek the *Sarhon* flowe on the pretty face of a village-bride:

> Lo! here comes *Chandkur*,† the moon-princess;
> O just behold, her face is like a *Sarhon* flower.

---

* Sarhon is a kind of mustard.

† *Chandkur* is one of the most popular names borne by the peasant girls in the Punjab. It is made up of two words, *Chand*, meaning "the moon," and *Kur*, meaning "princes."

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But beauty must pass away in course of time, and, lamenting over the departed youth, the beloved sings to the lover in a complaining mood:

O why didn't you turn up to me, my friend,
When I was just a *Sarhon* flower?

Attention is also paid to the efficacy of the *Motia* flowers:

O let me throw a *Motia* flower on my lover,
To arouse him from sound sleep.

The Author's Wife

She has been accompanying her husband in his travels for the representative collection of All-India folk-songs. The texts of the majority of the folk-songs, used in this article, were originally recorded by her from the living lips of the countrywomen

When *Genda* blossoms, the countrygirls sing of its youthful beauty and grace along with an innocent prayer for the long life of their brothers and parents:

O look at the charm of the *Genda* flowers
O just take one for thee, my friend.
O listen to me, O maiden, going astray from my side,
O listen to me, O maiden. coming close to my side,
Long live the brothers of the sisters,
Long live the parents of the daughters,
O look at the charm of the *Genda* flowers,
O just take one for thee, my friend.

How the linseed flower awakens the dormant appreciation when a bride sings:

O get my *Ghagra*‡ dyed, my love,
Like the flower of the linseed plant.

When the berry trees bear fruit, the girls go out to make a feast. These are the days when they make friends:

O the berries are ripe,
Lo! here comes the season of friendship.

A fair girl of exquisite stature is compared

A peasant bride in her national costume
She appears to be the true apostle of her native Muse

to an elastic shoot of the mulberry, and a rough peasant boy becomes a subject of satire:

O the peasant boy's bride is like an elastic off-shoot of the mulberry;
While he himself looks like a rough rod of wild acacia.

The 'units' of a sugar-cane stand for the sweethearts:

O the peasant boys will be delighted,
To have the units of a sugar-cane.

An ear of the wheat plant is often an emblem of a beautiful maiden:

O thou the ear of the wheat plant,
Thy sweetheart keeps many a handkerchief—O he'll just come to water the field.

‡ *Ghagra* is a particular garment, never worn by the unmarried ones.

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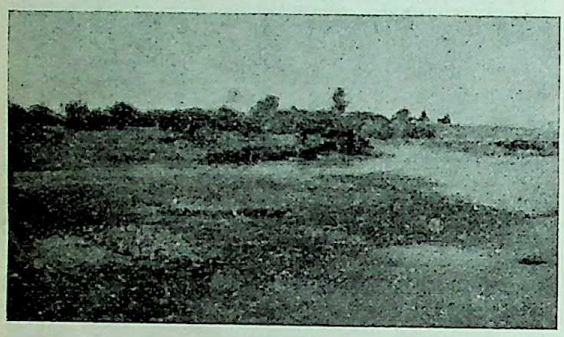
The peacocks have their own colour in the village-surroundings. Some of the girls dance as the peacocks do:

Come, O moon-queen, come,
Let's perform the peacock-dance.

But most of the girls have a genuine liking for the pea-hens rather than the peacocks. This is perhaps the background of the following song:

O prepare a star-studded foot-wear for me
And embroider on it a few pea-hens.

Koonj is the Punjabi word for the she-crane. It is the beau ideal of feminine beauty as well as symbolical of girls in the native folk-lore. A migratory bird, the she-crane comes down to the plains in winter, and in summar it goes back to the hills, just like a girl who bids adieu to



A landscape
The direct and immediate contact with the benign and auspicious aspects of Nature makes the village-life all the more charming and sweet

her parental nest to go to her new home after the wedding. The masses suppose that *Raj Hans,* a particular kind of swan, takes pearls and its lady-love—the she-crane—has also acquired this habit. The following song, originally sung by a village-swain who compares himself to a *Raj Hans,* should be studied in this light:

O just pick up the pearls,
O my she-crane, having such an exquisite body.

Here is a duet:

The peacock exclaimeth: 'Year after year you come over here, O she-cranes, like the wayfarers who bid adieu to their home. It is that your country is ill-civilized and ugly, or you are love-stricken?'
The she-cranes reply: 'Our country is, of course, civilized and beautiful, nor are we love-stricken. The food allotted to us is so mercilessly scattered by the Almighty Father that we come over here year after year leaving aside our children in the hills.

The wild pigeon often stands for cupid and the parrot for the lover:

It hath made its nest on thy bosom,
Look at the wild pigeon, (O youthful maiden)!
It hath made its nest on thy plaited hair,
Look at the naughty parrot, (O young maiden)!

The wild pigeons are also depicted as unfaithful lovers:

They are no more than the wild pigeons,
Clap thy hands once and no more are they seen.

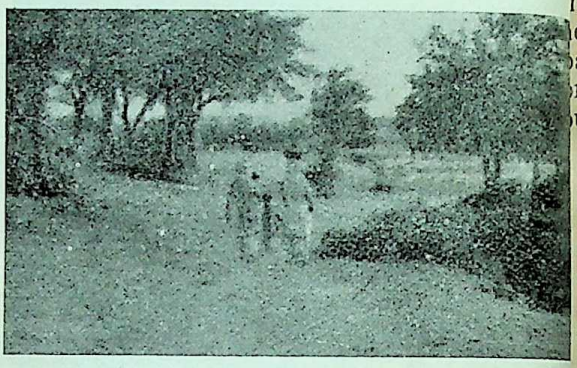
The she-pigeon may stand for a lady-love:

Lo! Lachi flew away like a she-pigeon,
From the green fields of wheat.

The kite's nest is, of course, so high that human hands can not approach easily to the eggs lying there. Some one may compare lady-love to the kite's egg:

O just behold my *Chandkur,* the moon-princess,
Lo! She is no less than a kite's egg.

There are innumerable songs of this type.



Country Mother going towards the river-side along with her children. They sing as they walk
The villages, situated amidst the lovely scenes and sites of river-side landscapes, are furnished with many a sylvan shade. The simplicity of life in these villages is not lacking in genuine repose, and the daughters of the soil sing and dance to the natural rhythm to which their native rivers generally flow

When they Sing of their Rivers

The hearts of the countrywomen in the Punjab—the land of five rivers—are, of course, as fertile for song-harvest as their plains for corn. There are innumerable songs depicting the countrywomen's love for their well beloved rivers—the beauty-spots of the rural Punjab. The villages, situated amidst the lovely scenes and sites of river-side landscapes, are furnished with many a sylvan shade. The simplicity of life in these villages is not lacking in genuine repose and the daughters of the soil sing and dance to the natural rhythm to which their native rivers generally flow.

The Chenab is wonderfully immortalized in the countrywomen's songs. It is celebrated in songs not simply for the vivid green foliage of its landscapes, nor for the cool shade beneath the trees that adorn its banks; it has become sacred to them for, it is the place where *Hir* and *Sohni*—the immortal heroines of Punjab

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lklore—executed the ever-new play of Love. her hour of inspiration an average daughter the soil pays a homage of praise to *Hir* and *honi* and celebrates the Chenab.

My heart always goes to the Chenab;
How I wish to make an abode on its bank.

Again:

Let us go to the Chenab, my love,
Let us go to the Chenab,
We will perform the peacock-dance there,
Let us go to the Chenab.

Next to the Chenab comes the Ravi:

Even the slightest touch of the memory of her parental nest, where the simplicity of life was in no way marred by convention, makes the bride long for her parents. It is generally her brother who comes to take her to the parental house. In the commemoration of her brother's blessed coming, the sister wishes to build a hut on the Ravi:

I have just crossed the river

The hearts of the countrywomen in the Punjab—the land of five rivers, are, of course, as fertile for song-harvest as their plains for corn

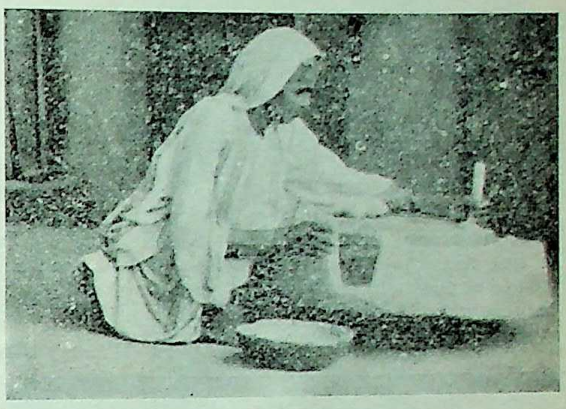
On the Ravi-bank, O mother-in-law,
We may build a hut,
O, if some one from my papa's land
Comes to the door of our hut.
Many come and go, O mother-in-law,
But never comes my mamma's son.
On the Ravi-bank, O mother-in-law,
We may build a hut.
O if someone from my papa's land
Comes to the door of our hut.

Here is a duet originally sung by a happy couple:

'Here flows the Ravi and on its waves floats a *Chulai* flower.
Had I not been born, then could you be ever married, my lover?'
'Here flows the Ravi and on its waves floats *Ganderian*,* my love,
Hadn't you been born, O I couldn't easily get a lady-love.'

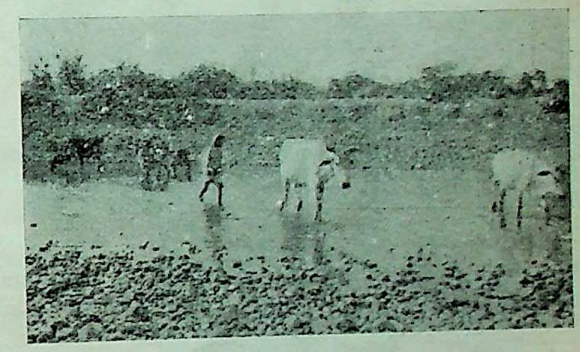
The Ravi is the symbol of the bride, and the bridegroom is depicted as the prince of the Chenab, or the Chenab itself:

Why dost thou snatch away our Ravi,
O thou the prince of the Chenab?
Thou art my Ravi and I am thy Chenab,
O my fair darling!
Hand in hand we sing and dance daily,
O my fair darling!



I sing as I grind

The beauty of the river-bank landscape is all the more endeared when the dark-eyed dreamy girls are seen there fetching pitchers full of water. They have a gesture and pose,



A water-side scene

The rivers are, of course, the beauty-spots of the rural Punjab—the land of five rivers

as old as their tradition and culture. They sing as they walk. One of the most interesting themes of these songs is to compare Love with a river:

Here flows the river of Love, my friend,
Here flows the river of Love;
Don't be drowned, O innocent one,
Here flows the river of Love.

When they Sing of Love

Love has always been worthy of commemoration in songs. Such is its ever-new rhythm! Both men and women have a genuine liking for the inspiration they derive from it. It lives in all walks of life and is abundant everywhere.

* A small piece of peeled sugar-cane.

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As evident from a large percentage of Punjabi love-songs, the woman's love for her man is considered to be the unsurpassable symbol of true love. It is so even in the works of the Sikh Gurus and various other saint-poets of the Punjab, who represented themselves as women with God as their husband. Here is one of the most popular Sikh songs; its author—the Great Guru Govind Singh—appears in the role of *Hir*, the peasant-princess of the Punjabi folk-lore:

> O go to my dearest friend and relate to him the story of his worshipper like me: 'How painful it is (my friend), to be covered with a quilt when thou art not by my side. I just live the life of *Nagas*, the naked ones. As for myself, the goblet has turned into a spear (without thee, my friend), and the cup seems no less than a sword. Ah me, how painful is the butcher's killing knife! I always suffer. Far superior to me is thy dirty hut, O my friend (Ranjha), to the palaces of the *Kheras*.'*

When an old granny spins
The spinning-wheel has its own music. It has been coming from the ancient mothers

Says Prof. Puran Singh:

> 'Our lyrics and love-hymns are always symbolically sung by a woman. Poetry is a nymph. . . . . It is the peasant-princess Hir who paints the beauty of the eye-brows of Ranjha to us. . . . In the Vedic hymns, God is described as Purusha, the Man, and all humanity, recipient of His grace, inspiration and love, is shown as a woman waiting for Him. . . . . This art has been sustained in the Punjab.

There are many patterns of Punjabi love songs, current among the countrywomen. Here is a set of two-lined love-songs:

> My sweetheart is sugar candy,
> How sweet appear his talks!
> My sweetheart is just a sandal tree,
> I am a-thrill with the delight of the scent.
>
> I seek with joy in moonlit night
> The foot-prints of my love.
>
> The dust beneath thy feet is sacred to me, love,
> I besmear it on my fair bosom.
>
> The world enjoys the face of the pretty cre moon,
> My moon is my sweetheart.
>
> O do come to the garden, my love,
> I would hear thy songs about the twinkling
>
> Ranjha is the swan of Heaven,
> Hir forebodes the pearly string.
>
> Ranjha is the moon of Heaven,
> Hir presents the morning-star.
>
> O my Ranjha is the celestial moon;
> Direct from God have I got him.

* The family in which Hir was forcibly married.

Reminiscences of the days of Chivalr

There are scores of semi-historical s furnishing us with the reminiscences of the d of chivalry. Thousands of young men w go to the battle-field whenever there was a in order to defend the country against for invasion. Mothers and sisters in th days of chivalry addressed their sons as (*lit.* hero); many of the daughters of the are still the mothers and sisters of the he who are well-known soldiers of the Indian ar and have given a brilliant proof of their val in various battle-fields. But the original se of the word *Vir* is no more and it has co to live only as 'dear' or 'brother.' Howe optimistic have been the soldiers' wives, Punjabi proverb, *Sipahi di bahuti sadai ra* —'a soldier's wife is always a widow'—v depicts their outlook. There is, of cou nothing like timidity behind the self-express of the countrywomen, but how can they h being overpowered by the predominating pat of the tragedy which can happen any mome whenever the cruel hand of Death smatc away the fighting soldiers from the sta Prof. Puran Singh says that every-day life the old Punjab was always threatened by forei invasions and therefore:

> "It was the lover of the woman—the man—w became as rare and precious as he was brave fearless. Sisters and mothers (and also wives) him alive one moment; the next, the fair young died on his sword."

Then came the hour of mourning, but

> "Most of the tragic lamentations rose from heart of the mother."

The following song is a dialogue betwe a recruit's wife and her mother-in-law; former is naturally very sensitive while

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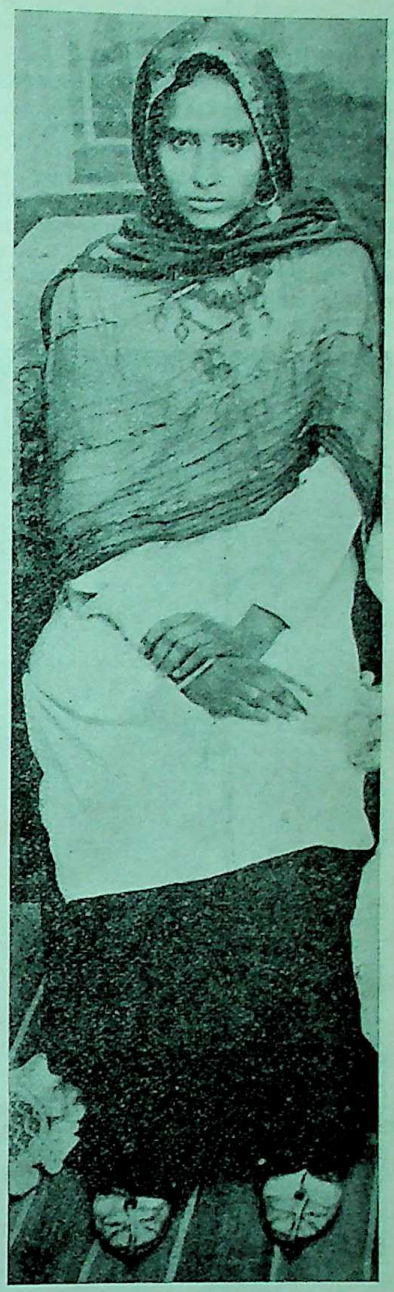
latter—the mother of the hero—is remarkably optimistic. A translation cannot, of course, give an adequate idea of the pathetic atmosphere created by the tune to which the women originally sing it:

'My love—thy son, O mother-in-law, leaves for Jammu to join his rank!'
'Neither backed up by me, nor by thee, my daughter-in-law willingly he leaves for Jammu to join his rank.
Engage thyself with all thy heart in silk-embroidery; the recruit will return victoriously with immense wealth.'
'Thy rotten silk is full of knots, O mother-in-law and what can a sad bride like me understand of embroidery?'
'Be content with the plain fare, daughter-in-law, it is thy own home; the recruit will return victoriously with immense wealth.
'Ascend to the top of our roof, daughter, and look around; see if someone comes homeward.'
'He rides on a blue horse, and is clad in white, O mother-in-law; Lo! someone comes homeward.'
'Whom does he resemble and like whom is he dressed, daughter, whose soldier comes homeward?'
'He resembles my *Nanad** and is dressed like my *Dior*,* O mother-in-law, my soldier comes homeward.'

The victorious soldier is no less than a king to his proud wife—the king of her heart as well as the hero-king of the battlefield. Every soldier is expected to follow the high ideals of chivalry, and one who is morally weak, however brave and fearless he is, is always disregarded. Here is a song which portrays a soldier who inclines to go astray from the marital vows, and his wife is seen appropriately checking his weakness:

'In whose yard grows the lemon, O queen—my life,
In whose yard grows the lemon?
In whose yard—O in whose yard, O queen—my life,
The *Champa* flowers blossom in abundance?'
'In my yard grows the lemon, O king—my life,
In my yard grows the lemon;
In the gardener's wife's yard, O king—my life,
The *Champa* flowers blossom in abundance.'
'Who takes the lemon-juice, O queen—my life,
Who takes the lemon-juice?
Who wears—O who wears, O queen—my life,
The *Champa* flowers in abundance?'
'I take the lemon-juice, O king—my life,
I take the lemon-juice;
The gardener's wife—the gardener's wife, O king—my life,
Wear *Champa* flowers in abundance.'
'The hot water turns cold, O king—my life,
The hot water turns cold;
O just approach to me, O king—my life,
And take thy bath in the palace.'
'In the palace, I wouldn't take my bath, O queen—my life,
In the palace, I wouldn't take my bath;
I'll do so in the gardener's wife's house, O queen—my life,
Rather than doing so in the palace.'



The queen of Punjabi love-song
As evident from a large percentage of Punjabi love-songs, the woman's love for her man is considered to be the unsurpassable symbol of true love. Poetry in the Punjab is "the peasant-princess Hir who paints the beauty of the eye-brows of Ranjha to us"

'Ready for thee I have, O king—my life,
Superior rice and she-buffalow's milk;
Approach to me, O king—my life,
Let's make a feast in the palace.'
'In the palace, O queen—my life,
I wouldn't share the feast,

* *Nanad* is the term for the husband's sister, and *Dior* for his brother.

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I'll do so in the gardener's wife's house,
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'Come down, O rain-cloud—my darling,
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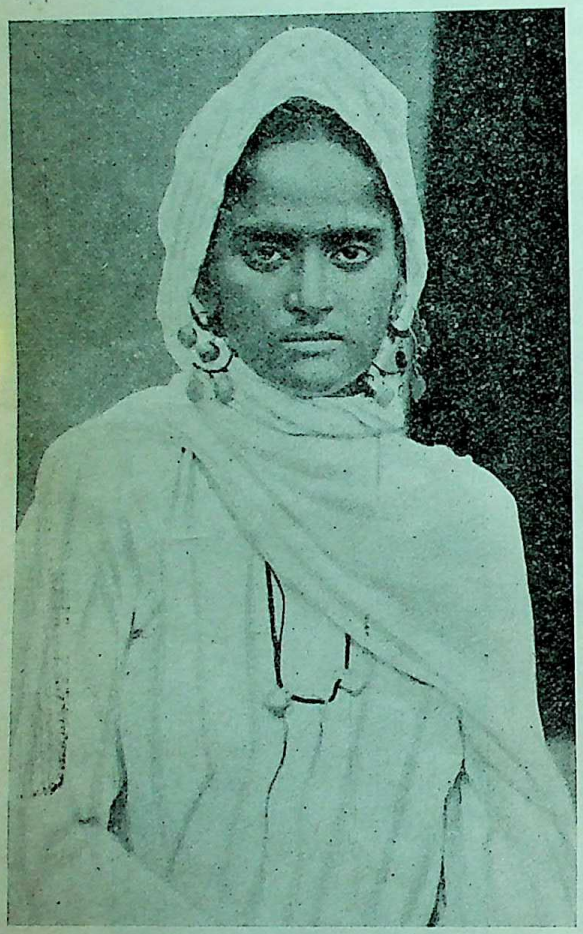

A village-beauty
Such types are not very rare in *Trinjans* or 'the spinning-parties'

Wake up at once, O queen—my life,
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And open the door at once;
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When they Sing while Spinning

The spinning-wheel has its own music. It is handed down from mothers to daughters, and the daughters of the soil in the Punjab still have a genuine liking for the auspicious labour of spinning. *Charkha* is the Indian word for the spinning-wheel; an average countrywoman possesses her own *Charkha* and sits to spin whenever she is free from other house-hold duties.

Try to picture to yourself a group of countrywomen and girls, assembled together for spinning. *Trinjan* or *Tinjan* is the Punjabi word for this spinning-party, imbibing the true spirit of competition. They may fix any time for it in the day, and occasionally they join in *Trinjan* even a few hours before day-break. Some are mothers, happy or sad as the goddess of fortune has made them; but they can sing as they spin even if they are sad: some are newly-married brides; they are ever-eager to sing, and in the realm of their songs they enjoy the happy play of 'hide and seek' with the inspiring sentiments of love, beauty, and youth: some are mature virgins, overpowered with the hidden joy of their coming weddings; they have their own songs, appropriate to their taste, knowing no restraint. Such picturesqueness! Such dark-eyed dreamy types! Such an indescribable feast of native grace! All these are, of course, the living symbols of ancient tradition and culture. Along with the chorus-music the 'sisters of the spinning-wheel' often enjoy solo-singing, too. Spontaneity, freshness and originality are the very heart-beats of these songs which breathe the psychological depth of the women's inner life. Here we find a wide range of home-spun themes representing their own lights and shades.

In some of these songs the moon stands for the lover and the countless stars for the hours of long separation:

O moon! rise and display thy light;
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It is all made of gold: but silvern is its *Gujha*,*
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(To be concluded)

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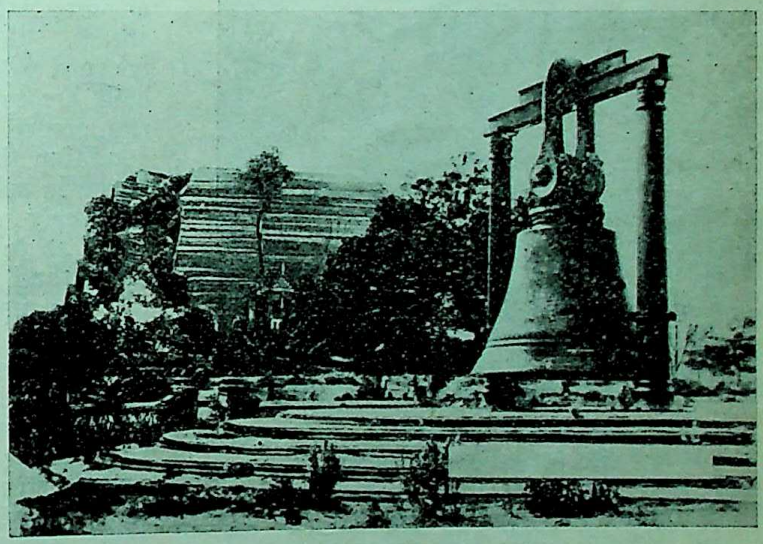
MINGUN

THE GRAVEYARD OF A KING'S COLOSSAL AMBITION

By K. B. IYER

In the annals of Burma the name of King Bodawpaya stands out as one of its most powerful monarchs and yet as an unhappy, ill-balanced combination of contrary qualities that in the aggregate contributed more to the unhappiness of the people. His reckless daring and boundless ambition were only in keeping with his imperious arrogance and restless energy. While he promoted a literary revival and undertook costly construction projects for the glory and benefit of his country, he involved it in long drawn-out ill-planned, campaigns against neighbouring powers that ended in depopulating and enervating the nation. He who made the smoking of opium and the killing of an ox or buffalo a crime punishable with death did not scruple to massacre hundreds of his subjects at the slightest suspicion of disobedience or treachery. He built pagodas by the dozen, sent out a costly mission to Gaya for a Bodhi branch; brought the famous Mahamuni image from Arakan and installed it with a splendour and magnificence almost unparalleled. But, doubt and scepticism seizing him, he contemplated a change of faith. Abruptly changing again he proclaimed himself Arimittya, the new Buddha. He subjugated Arakan and actually claimed Bengal on the ground that at one time it was a tributary to Arakan. He refused to treat with the Viceroy



The Mingun Pagoda, one of the world's biggest pile of bricks. The cracks in it are visible. The bell, the second largest in the world weighs 90 tons. A shed has been put over it

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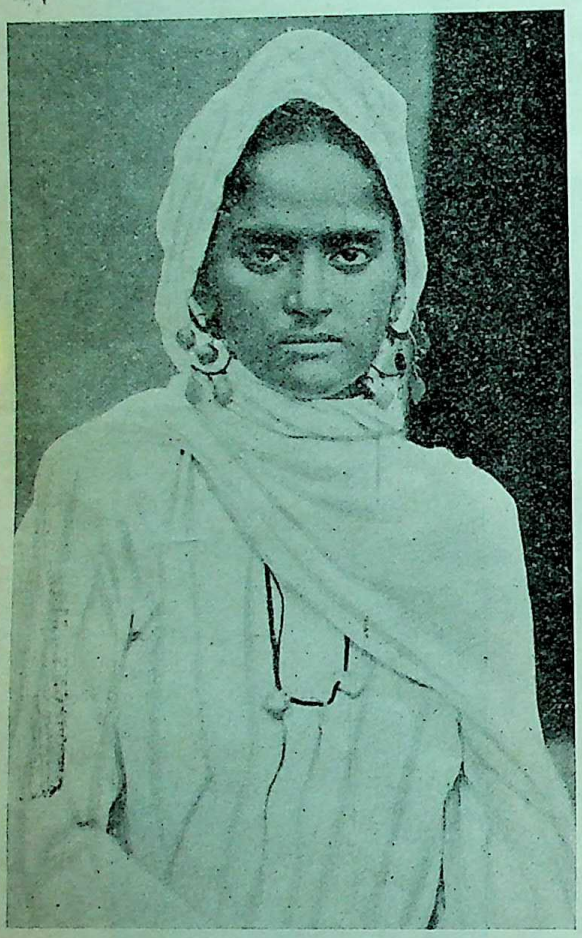

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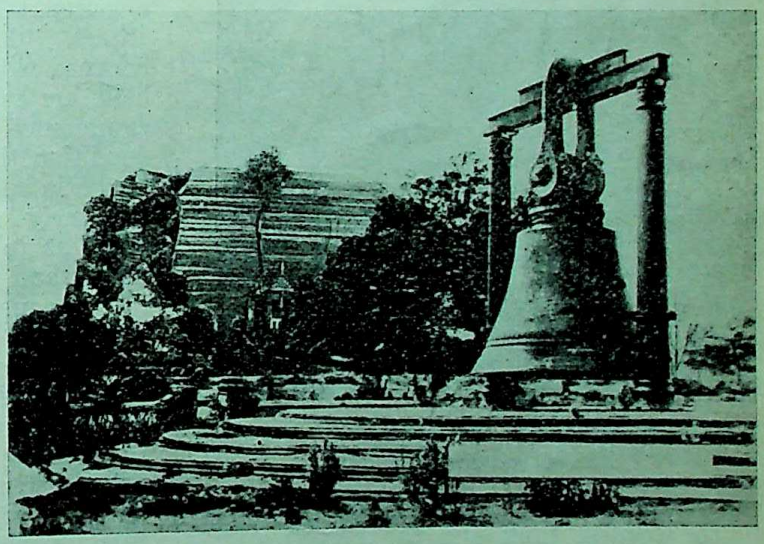

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of India, not being the equal of the "Lord of the White Elephant," and cherished wild dreams of conquering India and China, which were only thwarted by his repeated failures in the Siam campaigns. He was a grandiose Moghul, with Napoleonic ambitions and daring but with limited powers and resources and spoiled with a sense of pride that bordered on eccentricity.

Fancying himself the greatest and most powerful monarch on earth, he decided to leave his "golden foot-prints" on the sands of time. He would do something worthy of himself, something that would stagger future generations into stupendous admiration, something about which they would keep on talking for eternity. He would immortalise himself as the greatest builder. Immediately he put into execution the

A front view of the headless griffin, 95 ft. in height, The biggest in the world

construction of the "biggest pagoda, the biggest bell, the biggest tank and the biggest pair of griffins." No matter, how the people suffered under famine and constant wars, the will of the "Lord of the White Elephant" should be carried out.

The site chosen for these superlative structures was at Mingun a picturesque spot, a little to the north-west of Mandalay on the great river Irrawaddy. There the river is in one of her most expansive moods, studded by sand-banks islands that break it up into ambient serpentine windings. On one side stretches Mandalay, the capital of Burmese kings, still the unofficial capital of the race, a busy hive, its waterways thronging with timber-rafts, sampans and steam boats. On the other side, stretches a range of hills, its undulating outlines crowned by the pearl-white morning clouds. The sand banks slightly veiled in vapourous mist, the rays of the early sun here and there breaking this magic web of gauze and creating shimmering patches on the water surface that glitter magic discs, the splash, splash of the tiny oars like baby beatings on the deep, broad bosom of the river, the even flow of the boatman's long-drawn-out ditty as he tows you up stream; these exercise a magic spell as you approach the historic monument.

Almost overlooking the river and at the entrance of the pagoda are a pair of griffins (chinthes) the usual gate-keepers in the pagodas of Burma. These are huge monsters in brick, sitting on their hind legs and in that posture 95 feet in height. Their appearance has been rendered further hideous by the earthquake of 1838 which sundered their heads which lie broken and scattered. Creepers and huge plants springing from the deep fissures on them give them the appearance of jungle-covered hillocks. The brick work was plastered over with glazed coloured stucco, patches of which remain still intact. Their huge elephantine backs are adorned with ornamental trappings. Their eye-balls are said to have measured 13 feet in circumference. Even in their ruined and broken condition they remain the biggest griffins. The barbaric splendour of these monsters and their extremely dignified pose and demeanour are such, as to extort the admiration of the commoner and the art connoisseur alike.

The pagoda itself stands on a vast courtyard. The lowest base 450 feet square, rises in terraced basements. The outer one has a narrow perambulating corridor, paved with stone slabs with makara or crocodile water-spouts set in the walling of the next higher basement. The pagoda-structure proper is a huge unfinished pile of bricks, 165 feet in height, less than a third of what it was intended to be. The king himself personally superintended the construction and for over a decade countless artisans and villagers were pressed into service, while the king's men scoured the country for more men and more money to complete this white elephant in brick

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The exaction fell so heavily on the people that when in 1797 the king's officers demanded more bricks for the construction of the pagoda, village after village in Arakan beat the war drum and the people rose wholesale under the leadership of one Nga Chin Pyan. Soon a prophecy rose that "the pagoda is rising but the country is ruined." It reached the "golden ears" of the king. His faith in the supernatural put a check on his insensate ambition and he abandoned the project, lest his proud dynasty should come to an end. And there it remains in an unfinished condition, one of the biggest brick-ruins of the world, decidedly inferior in its architectural qualities to the two adjacent pagodas at Mingun. The earthquake of 1838 rent this structure and parts of it are crumbling ruins. Its huge, deep, cracks and summit are overgrown with trees and shrubs. A great dream shattered to smithereens! At the base are four niches at the cardinal points sheltering four Buddha images.

The bell intended for this shrine was finished. It weighs about 90 tons and is the second largest in the world. Its outer height is nearly 12 feet and the external diameter 16 feet 3 inches. The earthquake which came to undo the work of the king tried its destructive hands at the bell too. The supports gave way and for a long time this giant bell rested on the ground, the world never hearing the resounding tone of the great bell of king Bodawpaya. A few years back, it was lifted up and slung on an iron beam, with a pucca shed over it.

It was at Mingun while supervising the construction, the king fancied he had a vision and then proclaimed himself the new Buddha. But a recalcitrant clergy and laity were in no mood to accept this preposterous pretension. He realised that there was a limit even to kingly powers. His fanciful dream shattered even as did his pagoda and griffins. Mingun, the graveyard of his ambition and hopes, still continues to attract a steady stream of visitors and the foreign tourist seldom misses it.

THE PAST. PRESENT AND FUTURE OF INDIAN EDUCATION

By SASADHAR SINHA, Ph.D.

A century of English education in India is sufficiently good ground for taking stock of its achievements. How far is modern India its creation, and contrarywise how far is it responsible for keeping India medieval are questions that require to be answered. For modernness and backwardness are irreconcilable terms; India cannot be both modern and backward at the same time. This element of contradiction in Indian educational progress is a mind-sign of much that is contradictory in Indian life. Modern India is a composite entity, made up of the most diverse elements, the most modern and the most primitive; the motor car and the bullock cart rubbing shoulders in the towns are its visible symbols. Compare some of India's outstanding personalities, the finest flowers of modern India, with the pathetic figure of an Indian peasant, ignorant and superstitious, withal, virtuous and hard working. Typically Indian both, but whence is this difference?

Modern Indian education is not only alien in origin and ideals, but its methods are those which instead of reconciling the cultured and the uncultured, as in all progressive countries, drive them ever wider and wider apart as days go by. Instead of creating harmony out of discord, order out of chaos, it makes confusion worse confounded. The spectacle of India, a house divided against itself, is thus no anomaly. It is in the very nature of things.

Like many another vital need of Indian life, Indian education is faced with a double problem. Quantitatively it is at its very beginning; it has barely touched the hem of the Indian population. Of late, even in this respect, changes are perceptible. The plea of financial stringency, so far held out as an excuse for the tardiness of educational progress, is slowly giving way to wider considerations of policy. Firstly because it is wiser to pay lip-service to public opinion on this question than be looked upon as reactionary and secondly because higher education no longer enjoys the same favour with the powers that be that it once did. Instead of viewing the growing political consciousness as a natural development, it is regarded as the evil fruit of higher education, frustrated ambition and the like. The introduction of universal elementary education is still a distant ideal, but signs are not lacking that attempts are being made definitely to put back the clock of higher education. To try to put a brake on India's political aspirations is in any case a belated effort, but the cause for real concern lies elsewhere. Under the

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cloak of fostering elementary education, the educational progress of the country may be seriously jeopardized.

The qualitative inferiority of Indian education is even more serious. The deficiency of numbers may be made good in time, but the evil legacy of an inferior or wrong kind of education is not easily wiped out. Quality, however, is a comprehensive term which may mean many different things. It may connote the actual material content of the education given, or its method, its ideal or finally the medium of instruction, a feature unique in the case of India.

Taking the above in the reverse order, one must agree that the one single factor which bears the major responsibility for the backwardness of Indian education, both in its qualitative and quantitative aspects, is the medium of higher education in India, namely, English. It has made education the privilege of a small coterie, and stamped it with intellectual sterility. Form has taken precedence over subject matter. Education instead of being the cradle of creative thought and activities has, with honourable exceptions, been the burial ground of all thoughts and activities. The cheap gipe levelled at the "failed B.A.'s" by India's educators shows as much want of good taste as shallowness.

"It was because," writes Tagore in a significant passage in his *Reminiscences*, "we were taught in our own language that our minds quickened. Learning should as far as possible follow the process of eating. When the taste begins from the first bite, the stomach is awakened to its function before it is loaded, so that its digestive juices get full play. Nothing like this happens, however, when the Bengali boy is taught in English. . . . While one is choking and spluttering over the spelling and grammar, the inside remains starved, and when at length the taste is felt, the appetite has vanished. If the whole mind does not work from the beginning its full powers remain undeveloped to the end."

Happily, the Macaulayan attitude, to which even educated Indians fell victims in the past, that everything Oriental is inferior to the Occidental, that the highest achievements of the human, that is, Western mind is incapable of transmission except through the medium of a Western language, in this case English, has been shorn of its old-time assurance. Even as it is, Indians have justified their mind and character. But was this worth the price?

The ideal of education at once raises the larger issue of human civilization. The nineteenth century assumption that civilization w peculiarly European instead of an essentia co-operative product of all historical peop has left its impress on educated India throu English education. It has had two contradi tory effects. On the one hand, a class of India were alienated from their parent culture, a looked abroad for inspiration, and despise their own people in imitation of their rule while on the other, another class react violently against everything Western, carryi their zeal for national self-assertion to t length of buttressing up everything Indian, n because it was of value, but because it w Indian. Unavoidable though they were again the existing background, they were both u healthy manifestations, clearly demonstrating, demonstration was necessary, that on the ide plane at any rate, English education had faile of its purpose. The fostering of self-respe is one of the prime functions of educatio Education which detracts from self-respect ca never be productive of social good. It mus either encourage self-assertion to the point o arrogance or humility to the point of self-abase ment. And both are familiar spectacles i modern India; they are the two sides of th same shield.

Nor is this all. The ideal of educatio being conceived too narrowly, utility was, a it still continues to be, its chief test and justi fication. Education in its light-bearing aspec that is, in so far as it leads to knowledge fo its own sake has been unduly sacrificed to fruit bearing at its lowest level—administrativ employment. It has produced clerks an lawyers galore until there is overproductio but little more. Indeed, it cannot be otherwis as long as education continues to be an adjun of the administration of the country. The rela tive barrenness of India's political, social an cultural life is its most eloquent testimony.

Although closely connected with its ideal the method of Indian education is yet distinc In short it may be characterized as primaril theoretical and largely literary. The adminis trative tradition of education still persist Thus even the teaching of science fails in it main purpose. It does not evoke the scientifi spirit. Nor has it any relevance to practica life. The evil is more fundamental than mer divorce between theory and practice. In th absence of scientific spirit, the pursuit of scienc as an end in itself, which alone can ensur contribution of value to science, is still th exception rather than the rule; while withou scientific agriculture, industry and the lik scientific education must perforce remain sterile

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In other words, the method of Indian education suffers from the very limitation of its ideals.

The too narrowly utilitarian outlook of Indian education, as pointed out above, is bound to bring its own nemesis. Its very aims limit it to a curriculum whose main object is to produce an army of clerks of tolerable efficiency. The importance given to English in the high school and University curricula, for instance, is out of all proportion to the other subjects of study. First, because English being the administrative language of the country its acquisition is indispensable, while secondly, its use as a medium of instruction at the high school and University makes it the *primum inter pares* of the subjects taught. Subjects like mathematics, history and geography, for instance, not to speak of scientific subjects like chemistry, physics or biology receive scant or no attention at all in the schools. They are neglected in inverse proportion to their importance for administrative employment. On the other hand, the vernaculars of the country are looked at askance throughout all stages of education. It is primarily a question of economy of time and energy. The average pupil after having spent the best years of his youth in acquiring a difficult foreign language, not only to follow instruction at school or college, but also to make it the only language in which he is capable of expressing his thoughts in later life, if at all, has little time and less energy to probe deeper into the subject-matter of his studies. The content of Indian education is thus bound to be shallow and it has little to do with the individual pupil's personal capacity. The bookishness of Indian education, the inveterate vice of cramming to which Indian children are heir, are inherent in the system. It is the line of least resistance for the average pupil. Whatever he learns he invariably associates with its form which is English. The mould is more important than the content; bookishness and cramming are the inevitable sequel. Mentally therefore he remains immature throughout his school and university career, and later life does little to cure this. All personal initiative, the true sign of life, is killed in his youth. He is the victim of a vicious system of education without parallel.

The prevailing education in India has not been without its critics. One of its most original criticisms came from Rabindranath Tagore, with its appeal to Indian cultural traditions and freedom. A more conservative reaction came from the late Swami Sradhanand in the Punjab. Tagore however had, so to speak, his feet firmly planted on the ground, and consequently his attitude towards the problem of Indian education took a modernistic form. This is a difference of capital importance which it is essential to take into account for a proper understanding of modern India. The idea fostered by unsympathetic critics that Indian national awakening is essentially a reaction against the spirit of modern science, or against the West, as it is sometimes crudely put, is as untrue of the facts as it is mischievous. The leading spirits of India see, and see only too well, that India's salvation lies in modern science, in the inculcation of the scientific spirit, and the application of science to India's daily problems. What goes by the name of English education in India has stultified itself by killing the appetite for knowledge and stifling curiosity, the very breath of science. Hence the revolt; hence the insistence on national education, modern in spirit, but national in form, serving the larger interests of life, away from the narrowly utilitarian.

With each successive wave of the national movement, the changing outlook on Indian education has taken more and more definite form. The national movement indeed is only one facet of the spiritual *malaise* for which the thwarting of the intellect is responsible. Emotion and intellect which would normally flow out in creative impulses—in art, literature and music, science and philosophy have sought outlet in political unrest.

The national wakening of India has affected the outlook on education in two ways. In the first place, by focussing the attention of the country on the importance of education as the regenarator of national life, and secondly, by bringing into sharp relief the shortcomings of existing education. The national movement in its turn has been affected by this change of outlook. This is shown by the shift of emphasis from formal politics to economics, that is, to the realization that the political struggle which neglects economic amelioration of the country must end in futility.

The increasing attention to economic and technical studies; the corresponding industrial progress of India cannot fail to attract the attention of any observer, however casual. The fostering of research in Indian antiquities at the different universities is helping at the same time to re-establish Indians in their own estimation. The vicious method of imparting knowledge in an alien tongue also bids fair to come to an early end. This is a change of major importance in the history of Indian education. The first step has been taken towards the emancipation of the Indian mind and the release of

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creative energy the prime function of education.

India's backwardness can now be assigned its true setting. It is both absolute and relative; absolute because of the lack of education for the vast majority; relative because of its qualitative inferiority. There is no direct relation between education and progress in India. In her case, progress instead of being a function of education, as normally has taken place by reacting against it. It is a reflex of the growing political consciousness of India. But even here it is hampered at so many different points that comprehensive educational reform must be integral in any political reform of the future. Education must take its rightful place in Indian life as a vehicle of progress.

THE DESIRABILITY OF UTILIZING THE NATURAL HYDRAULIC RESOURCES OF BENGAL

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I propose to speak to you this evening on "The desirability of utilizing the natural hydraulic resources of Bengal." Bengal was mostly built up by the rivers and, in some parts, it is still being nourished by them. Even in the rest of Bengal, there is no dearth of water resources, but the problem is one of distribution which has to be solved if the growing deterioration in health and productivity of the soil is to be arrested and the old prosperity restored. The subject of my 'talk' is thus vitally connected with the rural development of Bengal, which is being so widely discussed in these days. It is a very comprehensive subject, as it includes within its purview, not only the direct sources of water such as the rivers and the local rainfall, but indirectly, also the natural assets of Bengal, by means of which these direct resources could be brought to the use of man. It will also be necessary to consider the problems which these direct sources of water, either due to the operation of natural causes or by human interference, have given rise to and how best these could be solved. In short, the subject brings within its purview all the highly complex problems in rural Bengal that the Irrigation Department is trying to solve. The natural sequence of my 'talk' would therefore be to briefly review these problems and then to consider what natural resources are available and how best these could be utilized for their solution.

The problems vary in different parts of Bengal. Thus in Western Bengal, specially, in Bankura and Birbhum Districts and the western portions of Midnapore, Burdwan and Murshidabad districts, the most pressing demand is for irrigation. Though in normal years the total rainfall may be considered to be more or less adequate, its distribution is erratic and during the latter half of September and in October the rainfall is usually insufficient to meet the requirement of crops. In consequence, the outturn is usually poor even in normal years and in years of scarcity, occurring, say, once in 5 to 7 years, there is a total or partial failure of crops. Again, the rayats can hardly afford to use any artificial manure and the productivity of the soil is gradually decreasing. Canal Irrigation is also required to increase the productivity of the soil, as the silt carried by the rivers in Western Bengal, particularly the Damodar, the More or Mourakshi, the Ajoy, the Dwarkeswar, etc., is very rich in manure. Thus irrigation is required to enable the rayats to obtain in normal years adequate return for their hard labour on the fields by timely distribution of water suited to the requirement of crops and by manurial value of silt deposited by Canal water and in years of scarcity to ward off the almost famine conditions which would otherwise prevail in those parts.

In the eastern portion of Western Bengal also irrigation would be useful, but the most pressing need is to improve its sanitary condition and to increase the productivity of the soil by means of flood flushing of which the area has been deprived by means of embankments and to restore the network of rivers within the area which, being deprived of the flushing from the parent streams, have badly deteriorated and can no longer serve as efficient drainage channels. The ideal solution would, no doubt, be to remove the embankments and to restore the natural conditions prevailing before the embankments were erected. But owing to large vested interests such a solution is hardly practicable except in isolated areas where local conditions permit it. The next best solution would be to provide escapes at suitable places in these embankments, improve the drainage channels and to flush the area during floods. This will be the most practicable approach to natural condition and is likely to improve the sanitary conditions. Though the occurrence of floods, when only flushing will be possible, may not always synchronize with the time when crops will require water, it is expected that the manurial value of silt carried and spread over the fields in the process of flushing and the improved drainage of the land will ensure much richer harvest and increased prosperity to the rayats as compared with the present condition.

The problem in Central Bengal is more or less similar to that in the eastern portion of Western Bengal, *viz.*, the demand is for flood flushing and improvement of drainage facilities. But unlike that area the present situation has been created not so much by means of embankments but by nature, *viz.*, the

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diversion of the Ganges flood down the Padma channel. Being deprived of the Ganges spill this area is not only rapidly deteriorating in respect of health but the productivity of the soil is also gradually decreasing. The network of spill channels which orginally used to distribute the Ganges spill over this area and keep it in health and prosperity are now dead or dying. The most pressing need for this area is to improve these dying rivers and to restore the function allotted to them by nature, *viz.*, to draw from the Ganges a portion of the floods now running to waste, distribute it over the land, thus improving its sanitary condition, and after the silt, very rich in manure, has been deposited over the fields and increased its productivity, to drain the water into the sea.

The southern portion of Central Bengal, *i.e.*, the area lying within tidal influence, has not yet deteriorated to this extent. The area is traversed by the lower reaches of these spill channels and though owing to the desertion by the Ganges flood, they can no longer continue their beneficent activity of flushing the area with silt-laden sweet water and raising the delta from above, similar work is being done by nature to a certain extent with the help of silt-laden water from the sea through the agency of the tides, except where man has interfered by prematurely reclaiming the land by means of embankments. In these latter areas, the position is gradually becoming more and more serious, as not being able to spill, not only are the channels rapidly deteriorating by the deposition of silt carried with the tides, but land, which is well below high tide level and which should have been gradually raised by this silt, cannot rise. In consequence, difficulties of draining these lands are gradually becoming more and more acute. The solution is partly of a preventive nature, *viz.*, removal of existing embankments as far as practicable and the prevention of further embankments along tidal channels. But the main solution with which we are concerned this evening, is the restoration of the Ganges spill referred to above, which, on its way to the sea through these channels, will flush them and keep them efficient by transporting back to the sea the silt deposited in their beds by the tides.

In Eastern Bengal, none of these problems have yet arisen, as the country is still being annually flushed by the silt-laden floods of the Ganges and the Jamuna and is being kept in health and prosperity. In the north-eastern portion of Eastern Bengal, for instance, in Mymensingh District, drainage difficulties are no doubt being experienced owing to the diversion of the Brahmaputra flood through the Jamuna channel and consequent deterioration of the old Brahmaputra passing through the Mymensingh and Dacca districts; but these are nothing compared with those experienced in Central Bengal. Along with the tidal portion of Central Bengal, Eastern Bengal possesses, as important natural asset, the network of navigable channels and the demand is to conserve and improve these natural resources.

In Northern Bengal, Irrigation is necessary in the western portion but the most pressing need is the resuscitation of the moribund rivers which can no longer serve the country as drainage channels and damage to crops due to waterlogging and Malaria are the results. In this case, also the present situation has been created not by the acts of man but by the desertion of the area by the Teesta river. Prior to the diversion of the Teesta to its present course along the north-eastern extremity of this area in 1787, it used to distribute its waters through the Atrai, Jabuna, Karatoya and Punarbhaba and keep Northern Bengal in health and plenty. Deprived of the upland floods carried by the Teesta which is now running to waste into the Brahmaputra, these rivers of Northern Bengal are now dying and are unable to function efficiently even as drainage channels. The most pressing problem in Northern Bengal is to resuscitate these dying rivers so that they can at least serve as efficient drainage channels.

Having stated the problems and indicated in very broad outlines their solution, I shall now proceed to consider what natural hydraulic sources are available and how best these could be utilised.

In Western Bengal, utilization of local rainfall for purposes of irrigation by means of bunds is possible only to a very limited extent in the western parts of Bankura district, where the country being undulating, some sites for bunds or natural storage tanks are available. But generally speaking the valleys are shallow and the storage capacities that could be made available would be small. In the Bankura and Birbhum districts, there are also a large number of excavated tanks or ponds which are being utilized for irrigation by "lift." These tanks were excavated long ago when labour was cheap but they have badly deteriorated by silting. Though in view of the present rates of labour, restoration of these tanks cannot be considered as profitable commercial undertakings, their value in a year of scarcity can hardly be exaggerated. They are also the only sources now available for irrigating *rabi* crops. It is therefore suggested that the villagers should utilize their leisure time in improving these tanks. In times of famine, when it is necessary to start relief operations, the authorities entrusted with the control of these operations should also see that restoration of these tanks and bunds forms an important item in their programme.

But the natural resources on which we have to mainly depend to meet the demands for irrigation and flushing in Western Bengal, are the rivers, such as the Subarnarekha and the Cossye in Midnapur district, the Silye and Dwarkeswar in Bankura district, and the Damodar, the Ajoy, the More (Mourakshi), the Dwarka, the Pagla, the Brahmani, etc., in Burdwan, Birbhum and Murshidabad districts. These rivers have their sources in the Chota Nagpur and Santal Perganas hills and their catchment areas not being very far from the area to be irrigated, the incidence and distribution of rainfall are more or less similar. Thus though these rivers bring in very heavy floods at times, the times of occurrence of floods do not always synchronize with the time when irrigation is required. Specially in September and October when rain usually fails in Western Bengal and irrigation is required these rivers also bring in rather scanty flow. For this reason irrigation by means of daily flow of these torrential streams is possible only to a very limited extent and the cost is proportionately rather high, as the necessary diversion and cross drainage works will have to be made to suit the maximum flood discharge, which is usually very high.

If it were possible to impound higher up in the river valleys even a portion of these floods which are now running to waste to supplement the daily flow of these rivers in times of scarcity, their irrigable capacities could be enormously increased and the cost also would proportionately be rather low. South-Western monsoon seldom fails in Bengal and even in a bad year there will be sufficient flood discharge available for storage in June to August for utilization in September and October. This is a special advantage of storage schemes in Bengal, as in other parts of India,

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for instance, in Madras, water has to be stored in October to December for utilization during the next transplantation season, *i.e.*, in July and August when rain usually fails. Not only is there considerable loss due to absorption and evaporation during dry months but stored water has to be supplied at a time when the requirement of crops is the maximum. In Bengal, on the other hand, the stored water will have to be utilized mainly with a short time after impounding, involving very little loss, and as the requirement of crops in September and October, when irrigation is mainly required, is the minimum, a very high storage duty can be realized.

It has been calculated that while in Madras 1 M. cft. of stored water can irrigate only 5 acres, it could irrigate over 30 acres in Bengal. Though storage schemes are usually costly, this special feature ought to make them rather profitable undertakings in Bengal. Besides for reasons explained before, irrigation on a large scale is hardly possible from these torrential rivers without storage and for rabi and sugar-cane irrigation, storage schemes provide the only solution. This is another important feature which requires special mention. Bengal is lagging behind other provinces as regards sugar industry which, owing to high duty recently imposed on foreign sugar, is bound to develop in India. Cultivation of sugar-cane on a large scale is not however possible without irrigation from storage, as sugar-cane requires water throughout the year and in Western Bengal not only is there no rain during the dry months but the rivers also run practically dry. In these days of low prices of paddy not only would the storage schemes considerably improve the economic prosperity of the rayats by enabling them to grow more valuable rabi and sugar-cane crops but by developing sugar industry, they will also solve to a certain extent the unemployment problem, which is growing rather acute in Bengal.

But though storage schemes are likely to be rather profitable undertakings in Bengal, so far we have been able to discover only two good sites for storage dams, *viz.*, one across the Dwarkeswar river at Suknivasa in Bankura District about 15 miles above Bankura and the other across the More (Mourakshi) river at Mossanjore in Naya-Dumka district about 21 miles above Suri. Preliminary investigations for both these schemes are being made and it is expected that about 200,000 acres of paddy in Bankura and Burdwan districts, could be irrigated by the former and 4,32,000 acres in Birbhum and Murshidabad districts by the latter, besides irrigation of rabi crop and sugar-cane almost to the extent upto which cultivation of those crops would be possible within the area commanded. The site for the proposed dam at Mossanjore is almost an ideal one, being a narrow gorge (about 2,000 ft. wide) bounded by hills on either side through which the More is descending from the Dumka plateau into the plains of Western Bengal. Though the site lies within Bihar and Orissa, it is of no use to that province. On the other hand, it may prove to be a very valuable asset for Bengal, if the B. & O. Government would only permit its utilisation.

Further investigation may no doubt reveal the existence of suitable sites for storage dams across the upper valleys of some other rivers, specially the Subarnarekha, the Ajoy and the Bansloi and in view of the overwhelming advantage of storage schemes future investigations should proceed on this line. As regards flow irrigation schemes, *i.e.*, irrigation by daily flow without storage, the Cossye in Midnapur district, the Damodar in Burdwan district and the Bakresw in Birbhum district, have been fully tapped to irrig about 80,000, 1,80,000 and 10,000 acres respective and it does not seem possible to extend irrigation these sources any further without the help of stora

Several other flow irrigation schemes in Weste Bengal have been investigated but owing to the prese financial stringency, their construction has not been put in hand. Apathy of the rayats to apply irrigation leases and the present method of accounti which takes into consideration only the direct reven realised from irrigation projects, ignoring the increa of indirect revenue which these projects bring in improving the economic condition of the people a increasing their purchasing power, are also standing the way of development of irrigation in Bengal. may be mentioned that the present Irrigation A stands on a voluntary basis; that is to say, it is entire optional to the rayats to apply for canal water. Raya are however mostly illiterate and can not appreciat the benefit of canal irrigation in the shape of time distribution of water and the manurial value of si carried by canal water. They no doubt realize th value of canal irrigation in an abnormal year of ver low rainfall, but as this occurs only once in 5 or years, they feel shy of entering into a binding contrac for a long period and prefer to gamble with the rainfa till the last moment.

No irrigation project can under the circumstance be made a financially sound concern unless th voluntary basis of the present Act is changed an the rayats are made to take canal water every yea in view of the extra yield expected from the manuri value of silt and equitable distribution of water suite to the requirement of crops. Justification for thi principle of compulsion is that irrigation provides th main solution for the economic uplift of rural Beng where more than 80 per cent of the people ar dependent on land. And if the present method c charging a fixed water-rate is substituted by a suitabl system of sharing with the rayats only the extra yiel caused by irrigation, there should not be any complain on the ground of price fluctuation during the pendenc of the lease, which appears to me to be quite a legiti mate objection under the present system. The ris involved under this arrangement, *i.e.*, whether th project would be financially sound or not, is all on th side of the Government, while the rayats will surel stand to gain by taking in a share of the increase yield which they have not earned but which has bee caused solely by irrigation at Government cost.

For the purpose of flushing the eastern portion o Western Bengal the sources of supply are the sam rivers which in their upper reaches have to be tappe for irrigation. The area is flat and has probably bee built up by the silt carried by these rivers—particularl the Cossye in Midapore district and the Damodar an the Ajoy in Burdwan district. But before the lan could be sufficiently raised by nature, it began to b reclaimed by flood embankments long before the British occupation. In those days these embankments do no appear to have been efficiently maintained by th Zemindars and breaches were frequent. Though thi caused temporary inconvenience and damage to th people, the land used to be flushed occasionally by silt-laden floods and the health and productivity of the soil did not deteriorate to the extent that it has done now. Evil effects of these embankments were not, of course, realized in those days and for more efficient maintenance they were gradually taken over by Government

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and improved with the object of preventing breaches as far as possible. In consequence, though the breaches are now less frequent and the protection enjoyed by the people is now more thorough, this very fact has brought into prominence the evil effects of these embankments.

Breaches are now rare and even when they occur they are closed immediately so that the land has been deprived of even the limited flushing with silt-laden flood water which it was enjoying when these embankments were being inefficiently maintained by the Zemindars. In consequence, not only the health and productivity of the soil are rapidly deteriorating, but the difficulty of draining these areas is becoming more and more acute. For the embankments have not only prevented the gradual rise of the land by silt deposit during flood flushing but on the other hand it is actually becoming gradually lower though at a very slow rate, due to the loss of surface soil washed away by the rains. To make the case worse, the floods confined within embankments and unable to spill and deposit on the land as was intended by nature, are depositing a portion of the silt contents within the river beds which are gradually rising, connoting higher and higher flood level. The irrigation Engineers in Bengal are thus faced with the most unenviable situation created by the gradual lowering of land to be drained and rise of river beds into which the drainage has ultimately to be disposed of and in some area, it has already become impossible to drain by gravity, as in Sabong Moyna Circuit in Midnapore District.

The position is undoubtedly very serious and unless a bold policy of improvement is followed, this tract will, in course of time, revert to swamps and jungles from which it was prematurely reclaimed in the olden days. The ideal solution would be to remove the cause of the deterioration, *i.e.*, the embankments and raise the land and increase its productivity by the silt of these river floods which is very rich in manure; and where possible, this solution should certainly be adopted. Millions of tons of this silt is now running to waste along with the floods and the land for which this silt was intended by nature is starving. Above tidal limits where the water is sweet such natural flood flushing need not necessarily destroy crops, for along with the removal of the embankments the flood level will also fall considerably lower as compared with its present level, which has been artificially raised owing to the river being confined within embankments. Besides, the floods of these rivers in Western Bengal are short-lived and do not last more than a few days at a time. In years of high floods crops may be damaged during the transition period, *i.e.*, till the land has been sufficiently raised but the loss will be more than compensated by the increased yield in normal years due to the manurial value of silt and the improvement in health.

In most of the areas, however, owing to important vested interests, such as existence of Railways, towns, etc., such uncontrolled flood flushing is hardly practicable and here we must be satisfied with limited flushing as may be found possible by drawing the flood water through regulated escapes to be built on these embankments. It is quite possible to introduce such limited flushing in the area lying between the Cossye, the Silye and the Rupnarain rivers in Midnapore district and that lying between the Damodar, the Banka and the Hooghly rivers in Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah districts. For the latter area, contour survey was recently made and it is under contemplation to place a special officer to do the necessary investigation and prepare the estimate. In the first place, the network of channels which formerly used to serve both as spill and drainage channels but have now badly deteriorated by being cut off from the parent rivers by means of embankments, have to be improved. For the area is already waterlogged and we cannot possibly introduce any flood water unless adequate drainage outlets have been provided. After the improvements of these drainage outlets, regulated escape will have to be constructed at suitable points in the embankments to draw the floods from the Damodar and Cossye, the same through these channels. It will also be necessary to construct a network of minor channels for equitable distribution of this water over the land.

In Central Bengal, where the problems and their solution are more or less similar, the source of supply for the purpose of flushing is, of course, the Ganges. Central Bengal has been built up by the silt carried by the Ganges, which in the olden days used to distribute its waters mainly through the Bhairab, which probably constituted the easternmost branch and the Bhagirathi which, in the lower reaches, trifurcated into three main branches, *viz.*, the Jamuna, the Bhagirathi (or Hooghly) and the Saraswati. But since the diversion of the Ganges flood through the Padma channel in the 15th or 16th century, these rivers began to deteriorate.

The Bhagirathi, which once constituted the main channel of the Ganges, now remains practically cut off from this river except during floods and even then the share of the Ganges flood it now receives is almost insufficient as compared with what used to pass before the diversion. In consequence, its western and eastern branches, *viz.*, the Saraswati and the Jamuna are now dead and the Bhagirathi also would probably have shared the same fate but for the rivers in Western Bengal which have their outfalls into this river and tidal flushing in the lower reaches, which, thanks to the frequent dredging of bad shoals by the Calcutta Port Trust and other conservancy measures, is being allowed as freely as is possible. But in the upper reaches, the river is fast deteriorating and even in the lower reaches its condition is not free from anxiety, as further deterioration will threaten the very existence of Calcutta as a Port.

The Bhairab also is now dead, having been cut through first by the Jalangi and then by the Mathabhanga. These two spill channels of the Ganges opened comparatively recently, as if being repentant of the mischief caused to Central Bengal by the diversion of the Ganges flood, nature tried to make good the losses with the help of these channels. And undoubtedly they did a lot of good for a time. But they are also fast deteriorating and though not completely dead yet, can no longer draw sufficient water from the Ganges to be able to spill over the land nor to keep their distributaries alive. The large number of distributary channels, such as the Nabaganga, the Chitra, Kobadak, Betna, Kodla, etc., which used to distribute this spill equitably over the entire area have also died or are dying, resulting not only in the progressive impoverishment of the soil but acute difficulty of drainage and waterlogging. Practically the whole area traversed by these channels, is highly malarious and unless the old condition of flushing by the Ganges flood can be restored, this area will also share the same fate as predicted in case of embanked areas of Eastern Bengal, *viz.*, revert to swamps and jungles.

The principal spill channels which are not yet completely dead and on which we have to depend for

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the purpose of drawing from the Ganges and carrying a portion of her flood for flushing this area are the Bhagirathi, the Jalangi and the Mathabhanga. In view of the apparent tendency of nature to enrich the Padma at the expense of these rivers, the question of primary importance to be considered in connection with their improvement and that of their offtakes is not so much the danger of uncontrolled openings as is apprehended in connection with the removal of embankments in Western Bengal, but whether an appreciable portion of the Ganges flood can at all be induced to pass through them in preference to the Padma, of which the hydraulic conditions are of course much more sufficient.

The Late Sir William Wilcox advocated the constructions of a barrage across the Ganges with a view to induce a portion of the Ganges flood to pass through these channels. Though it is no doubt a very sound proposition technically, the cost of the barrage together with that of river protective works that would be necessary to prevent outflanking and their maintenance would be so heavy that those who have to finance the scheme may not be disposed to seriously discuss it in the present economic condition of Bengal. We have therefore to consider the question of improvement of these rivers even without the barrage.

The first consideration is whether nature has permanently forsaken this tract or its desertion by the Ganges flood is only a temporary phase.

It may be mentioned in this connection that in the process of building up the delta the river oscillates within wide limits: first flowing on one sde and after the riparian tracts have been raised to a certain extent it bursts through its banks and flows through the comparatively lower areas of the contiguous tract, and so on. After these latter tracts have been raised the process is reversed to raise still higher the tract which has been raised before. This is perfectly consistent with the natural conditions governing the flow of a river which, following the immutable laws of nature, always tends to take the line of least resistance. The lower land not only gives it better hydraulic slope but by providing better facilities for spill and consequently abstracting larger portion of its silt burden helps to maintain the river in a more efficient condition, than if it has to pass through higher land. It is therefore reasonable to expect that after the Ganges has raised the tract through which she is flowing—she will again turn her attention to Central Bengal and the present decadent rivers of these parts will improve.

Reference may also be made in this connection to the report by the Committee presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. C. J. Stevenson Moore on the "Hooghly river and its Head waters." The Committee stressed the importance of the Ganges freshets carried by the Nadia Rivers (Bhagirathi, Jalangi and the Mathabhanga) for the preservation of the Hooghly and came to the conclusion that these rivers pass through successive phases of deterioration and improvement and that there is no definite proof that they have permanently deteriorated to any great extent. We may have to wait for decades or perhaps centuries before nature turns her attention to Central Bengal and ends the present phase of deterioration of these rivers. But having regard to this finding of the Committee, it does not appear to be unreasonable to expect that it may perhaps be possible to accelerate the end of the present "temporary" phase of deterioration and the advent of that of improvement by artificial action. And the problem not only affects the decadent tracts of Central Bengal, the very existence of which as a place for human habitation depends on its satisfac solution, but also the interests of the Port of Calc and the maintenance of the Hardinge Bridge, w would be comparatively easier if an appreciable por of the Ganges flood could be diverted above the br to pass through Central Bengal.

Recently I had occasion to inspect the offt of these rivers and was impressed by the vast cha that are taking place in the regime of the Ganges. danger of outflanking of the Hardinge Bridge to pre which more than a crore of rupees is being spen the Railways authorities on the necessary protec works, is really the effect of the changes that are ta place higher up the river. Near the bridge tendency of the river appears to be to take the co as existed in 1868, *i.e.*, to flow along its southern fl The next bend higher up where the main cu strikes the opposite or north bank is at Sara and reflex bend higher still in the south bank com the present offtake of the Mathabhanga near Jal village. It is reported that some years ago the entr of the Mathabhanga was masked by an exten char, but a very wide and deep channel is now hug the south bank and violent erosion is going on for m on either side of the offtake, which is also shewin definite tendency to face the parent river downstr —an indication that the Mathabhanga will prob improve if other conditions are favourable. In here also the Ganges appears to be trying to take course followed in 1868 when the Mathabhanga quite a vigorous river. Similarly the positions of present Jalangi offtake at Akrigunj and the Bhagir offtake at Nondia appeared to be favourable tho not to the extent observed in the case of Mathabhanga. I gathered this impression from observation only and it is not of course possible express a definite opinion without a survey show these changes, as the river is much too wide to visualised with eye observations alone.

But mere improvement of the offtakes is enough; it merely shows the tendency of nature. be able to fully utilize these tendencies to our adv age, it is necessary to improve the carrying capaci of these channels and provide suitable outlets or tributary channels of adequate capacity, and o facilities for spill over the country side. For unless increased discharge that could be drawn in view the favourable position of the offtakes, could carried by these channels and disposed of, no mate improvement over the present condition can expected. As regards the Mathabhanga, suit outlets are available such as the Kumar, the Nabagan the Chitra, the Kobadak, the Kodla Benta, Ichhamati, etc., which, though in a very bad condit could be improved at a comparatively small cost. for the Jalangi and the Bhagirathi such outlets have to be provided.

In their lower reaches these channels are t and except where free tidal flushing of their spill a has been interfered with by premature reclamati their condition is not so bad and they are still serv the purpose of drainage and communication—a v valuable natural asset, which should be preserved all cost. Mere tidal flow, unless reinforced by sup of upland water, cannot, however, maintain any chan for an indefinite period. Tides in these parts carry large proportion of silt with which nature is trying raise the delta now deserted by the Ganges flo

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but it is only a question of time when the spill areas having been raised up to tide level, this silt, unable to spread over the land, will deposit in the channel bed in larger and larger quantity and will finally choke it. A gutter channel will probably remain for draining the local rainfall but the channels will no longer be fit for navigation. Besides, with the reduction of pressure of sweet water from above the salt water limit is also being pushed up these channels and a serious situation is likely to arise if the upper reaches of these channels continue to deteriorate and the supply of sweet water is further reduced.

The improvement of these channels and the diversion through them of a portion of the Ganges flood thus appear to be necessary even in the interest of the tidal portion of Central Bengal, though its present condition is not quite so bad as that of the upper areas. With the help of a copious supply of sweet water, it will be possible not only to maintain these tidal channels permanently but also to push down the salt water limit and extend cultivation more and more towards the sea-face even without embankments, as is the practice in Eastern Bengal.

Together with the tidal portion of Central Bengal Eastern Bengal possesses very important natural resources in her navigable channels, the value of which in promoting trade and providing facilities for cheap communication can hardly be exaggerated. We have first the principal highways, *viz.*, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Maghna, providing water communications with the bordering provinces of Behar and Assam. Then we have the network of feeder channels connecting these as in water-ways with the trade centres including Calcutta, one of the important ports in the world. Again, in Eastern Bengal, which is inundated by the floods of these rivers, it is possible during the monsoon to carry goods by water practically from every village to the nearest feeder channel and from there to one of the principal highways for transport to the several trade centres. This is perhaps unique in the history of the world, for, though there are other countries possessing natural waterways I do not know of any where the system of internal boat communication has been so thoroughly planned by nature as in these parts. Apart from its value to trade, it is also providing employments to hundreds of thousands of people, the importance of which in a province like Bengal where the pressure of population is already being felt, can hardly be exaggerated.

The importance of censerving and improving, where possible, this valued gift of nature is therefore obvious. As regards the principal highway, no attention is really needed except during the dry months, when it may be necessary near bad shoots to train the available flow through particular channels so as to increase the depth of water to suit the requirement of navigation. A large quantity of the discharge of the Ganges and her tributaries is however being utilised for irrigation in the upper provinces and so long as it is extracted during the monsoon months it does not seriously matter, as there is plenty to spare. But further extraction of low water discharge of these rivers should be a matter of serious concern to Bengal and Behar, as not only is this likely to endanger navigation in the Ganges during low water season but after the improvement of her spill channels in Central Bengal, we shall require more and more of this discharge to pass through them to keep them efficient.

It therefore seems necessary to keep an eye on the future development of irrigation schemes in the Ganges basin in the upper provinces and as the interests of these provinces are likely to conflict with those of Bengal, the necessity for the establishment of a representative body to adjudicate those interests has to be considered.

But the main problem with which we are faced at present in the matter of improving facilities for communication by water is with regard to the feeder channels connecting these principal highways, specially with Calcutta. In the olden days, when the Bhagirathi was in better conditions, Calcutta was, of course, directly connected by water with the Ganges. Later as navigation through the Bhagirathi became more and more difficult the Jalangi and the Mathabhanga were being utilised for the purpose. These rivers no longer give access to the Ganges, except during the rains and it is doubtful if they can be improved sufficiently within reasonable cost to restore the old facilities for navigation. We have therefore to depend solely on the tidal channels in the Sundarbans to get access to the Ganges from Calcutta. But in the absence of upland water supply and due to premature reclamation of spill areas, these channels are fast deteriorating and the steamer route through the Sundarbans is being gradually shifted more and more towards the sea-face. I have already said that along with the improvement of the rivers in Central Bengal in their upper reaches and the diversion through them of a portion of the Ganges flood their tidal reaches will also automatically improve and with the copious supply of upland water thus available a solution will be found to maintain these tidal channels on a permanent basis, which is so vitally necessary in the interest of inland navigation in Bengal.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that to shorten the distance by water between Calcutta and the Ganges, the Madaripur Bil Route was opend early in the present century. As the name indicates it was a passage about 20 miles long cut through a series of bils connecting the Madhumati at Manickdah with the Kumar river at Fatahpur and through that river and the Ariel Khan with the Ganges. The scheme was highly successful, as the spill of the Ganges and the Madhumati after depositing the silt on the bils and the country-side lying to the north and west of these channels was sufficient to give them a thorough flushing which was more or less self-maintaining. This route practically monopolised the whole volume of waterborne traffic between Calcutta and Behar and Upper Assam and apart from immense benefit to trade it was also yielding decent revenue to Government. But to meet the demand of the growing heavy traffic it was considered necessary to widen the bil route, which, in consequence, began to draw more and more of the available spill supply at the expense of the Kumar, which, for want of sufficient nourishment, is now being starved to death and navigation is no longer possible during the dry months. It is a highly complicated subject and cannot be probably dealt with in a short evening talk. But I mention it just to indicate that in this case also we have got the requisite natural resources in the large volume of flood water now running to waste in the Ganges and the Madhumati and the problem is one of diverting a portion to feed the Kumar, which is starving to death for want of adequate supply.

While speaking on the subject of communication I wish to sound a note of warning, specially to those of you who live in areas which are still being favoured

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by nature in the shape of annual flood flushing. We hear talk of extension of railways in these parts, for instance, rail road to Barisal, to Madaripur and between Dacca and Aricha, etc. Imporvement of facilities for communications is certainly necessary as this is a vital factor in the cultural and economic uplift of a nation. But rail roads in these parts have to be carried on high embankments materially interfering with the flushing arrangement devised by nature. We should not therefore repeat the mistakes made in the case of Western Bengal, and, instead of embanked roads or railways, our policy in future should rather be to meet the demand for communication in these parts by improving the existing waterways and making new waterways where none exists at present.

As regards Northern Bengal, I must confess that our information is rather scanty, as it is only in recent years that this area has been brought within the purview of the Irrigation Department. I have already stated the problems, but in the absence of adequate data it is hardly possible to indicate a definite solution. The Western portion of this area is traversed by the Mahananda, which is a river of fair size and can be utilized to meet the demand for irrigation and also for flood flushing to a certain extent. The other rivers such as the Atrai, the Jabuna, the Karotoya and the Punarbhaba, after their desertion by the Teesta, which used to feed them originally with silt-laden water from the Himalayas, have now badly deteriorated and can not serve even as efficient drainage channels.

The area has been built up mainly from the north by these rivers but is also being raised partly by the Jamuna from the east and the Ganges from the south so far as it is commanded by the flood level of these rivers. In consequence, there is an extensive depression in the middle, in the heart of which lies the Chalan Bil. It is becoming extremely difficult to drain this area and in years of heavy rainfall, it suffers considerable damage. It appears to be possible to improve the drainage of this area by clearing the outl channels leading to the Jamuna and improve t Karotoya and other rivers to serve as efficient draina channels. Though this would certainly be an improv ment over the existing condition, it will not help raising this area, for which purpose flushing by sil laden water is essential.

It might have been possible to utilize the Bor for this purpose and raise a portion of this depressio by the silt drawn from the Ganges. But the Railwa authorities feel rather nervous about the developme of this river, which might, in their opinion, endang the safety of the Hardinge Bridge. We have therefo to depend mainly upon the Teesta for the supply silt-laden water and to restore the old condition, *i.e.* resuscitate the Atrai, the Punarbhaba and the Karotoy as far as possible. There are sufficient resources for th purpose, as the Teesta brings down enormous flood which are now running to waste, into the Brahmaputr As these rivers were once fed by the Teesta, level also will probably be suitable. But it is not possibl without investigations to express any opinion as t whether such diversion, which will certainly neces sitate the construction of a barrage across the Teest at an enormous cost, would be a financially soun proposition.

I have not made any attempt to give you an idea of the cost of the various proposals discussed this evening; nor is it possible to do so without detailed investigations. Nature has been rather kind to Bengal and has given her water resources in abundance which are now being mostly wasted. Her soil is also mostly soft alluvium and presents no engineering difficulty in its excavation either for the purpose of improving moribund channels or for making new ones. It is now left to us to utilize these resources if the growing deterioration in health and productivity of the soil has to be arrested and the old prosperity of rural Bengal restored.

EDUCATION IN DARJEELING DISTRICT

By X

Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong, as hill-resorts, are well known to visitors from the plains. But the number of people who go there and return can scarcely know of the state of affairs prevailing in those Himalayan regions which directly form a part of the Indian Empire or belong to such States as Sikkim or Bhutan.

Those who take the trouble to roam about this region are on the one hand attracted by the natural beauty and the childlike simplicity of the hill people, on the other hand, they are invariably disgusted with the appalling superstitious customs and manners of the people due to the lack of scientific education now available to the more fortunate inhabitants of the plains. No doubt the British Missionaries in their own way have done and are still doing spendid work in the matter of spreading education but hardly any big effort has up till now been made by the Indians to move in the same direction.

To give briefly an idea of the problem, it is necessary to speak of the total population living in the Darjeeling District and their racial characteristics. The population of this Himalayan District is composed of Nepalis, Bhutias, Lepchas and tribal Mongolians—people who have no fixed abode but roam about with the change of the climate The total population is about 400,000 and their education is managed by a few State and Missionary High Schools at Darjeeling, Kurseong, Siliguri and Kalimpong. There are some minor English schools and lower Primary schools in towns which are managed by the different municipalities and district boards. There are also a few elementary schools in some of the tea estates. So far

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Y. M. B. A. School at Darjeeling

Sikkim is concerned, there is only one high English school in its capital, Gangtok, controlled by the State, while there are a few elementary schools of the Missionaries in the interior of the State. So far as Bhutan is concerned, there is no school either of the State or of the Missionaries. That gives an idea of the state of affairs so far education of this part of the Himalayas is concerned.

It has been found from experience that if the present mode of living of the hill people of this area and their manners and customs are not to be disturbed violently then a form of education should be evolved and imparted which may enable them to lead a simple, honest, religious and healthy life. Religious teachings along with industrial, agricultural as well as secular education are the primary need of the hour and with these objects in view a Buddhist Bhikkhu Rev. S. K. Jinorasa who lives in Sikkim has been in Calcutta and seen eminent educationists and public men, in order that some effort may be made to educate the hill people on the lines indicated.

It is understood that the Bhikkhu's initial effort has so far been successful to the extent of giving a start to this scheme by building a school house at Bhutia Busty in Darjeeling town at his own expenses and by establishing an Association to be called "The Young Men's Buddhist Association" there with a fee of Rs. 10 as annual membership. It is further understood that Mr. J. K. Birla and Mr. Sri Prakash have already agreed to serve as a Board of Trustees of the Association. Among the members of the Association are Raja S. T. Dorji, Prime Minister of H. H. the Maharaja of Bhutan, Sardar Bahadur Laden La, Kumar T. N. Pulge, Rai Sahib B. M. Chatterji, B.A., B.L., and Mr. S. Sanyal, M.A., B.L., Government Pleader.

Under this Association two L. P. and Middle English schools besides the one at Bhutia Busty imparting education of the type necessary for the hill people at Alubari in the Darjeeling District and the other at Chakung in Sikkim, about 16 miles from Darjeeling town, are functioning. The maintenance of even these few schools has been rather difficult for the organizer, who spent a sum of Rs. 13,000 from his own private funds and Rs. 12,000 by loan for the purpose. At one time the situation was made so difficult for him by the creditors that the timely help of Rs. 4,600 by Mr. J. K. Birla, the generous Marwari gentleman of Calcutta, enabled him to tide over it. Although for such troubles the work at neither of the institutions has suffered, the Bhikkhu S. K. Jinorasa has again come to Calcutta to explore all avenues for the carrying out of his scheme by meeting public-spirited gentlemen of British India and educationists with an appeal to take up this national work of educating the hill people of the Himalayas who are gradually being depressed by the economic forces to give up their time-worn ideas and mode of living and are becoming a new problem, which, if unsolved, will, in course of time, far from helping the regeneration of India, retard her progress and full development.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

MANASARA ON ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE: *Sanskrit text with Critical Notes. Pp. XXIV+14 +510+311. 37s. 6d. Architecture of Manasara, translated from original Sanskrit. Pp. LIX +793. 37s. 6d. Architecture of Manasara: Illustrations of Architectural and Sculptural objects. Pp. 70+ Plates I—CXXXV (Architectural) CXXXVI—CLVII (Sculptural) 60s. (Vols. III—V of Indian Architecture) Oxford University Press, 1933.*

Professor Prasanna Kumar Acharya has now completed his study of Hindu Achitecture by adding to his *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* and *Indian Architecture according to Manasara Silpasastra* the Sanskrit text of the *Manasara,* edited with critical notes, a translation in English of the Architecture of *Manasara* and a collection of one hundred and fifty-seven illustrated Plates in line and colour.

Full recognition has already been accorded by all students of Indian art and science to the fundamental value of Professor Acharya's earlier contributions to the elucidation of the Sanskrit texts on architecture and the invaluable character of his *Dictionary* is admitted on all hands. The three new volumes which are now available form an indispensable part of his undertaking. They present the material on which the results stated in his earlier works were based, and they afford the means for further investigation into the many obscure issues which still remain to be solved. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the difficulties of producing a satisfactory text of such a work as the *Manasara.* It has been necessary to prepare the edition from eleven manuscripts, not one of which presents a readable or trustworthy text. It is clear, however, that, even if we had much older manuscripts than those which have been preserved, we would still find a text written in very defective Sanskrit. It is plain that the writers on technical science, whether medicine, or mathematics or architecture, were far from being proficient in Sanskrit, and, after making all those conjectures which the state of the manuscripts renders legitimate, we are left with a text which, in many places, not merely violates the rules of Sanskrit grammar, but offers the most serious difficulty of translation. The editor has most wisely shown the utmost caution in his reconstruction of the text. has made such amendments only as are indispensa for the constitution of an intelligible text; he marked these clearly in the text itself and he given in full all real various readings in his authorit It is most improbable that any manuscripts will come to light which will enable us substantially improve the style of the *Manasara.*

The translation of a work of this type prese endless difficulties, and the utmost credit is due the author for the energy with which he has reckon with the problems presented by the text. Even most cursory examination shows how impossible it without the aid of the translation and the expla tions given in the *Dictionary* to understand with precision the directions of the text. An indispensa adjunct to the translation and the *Dictionary* al is afforded by the volume of illustrations of archit tural and structural objects. It is impossible exaggerate the importance of this feature of the wo The author describes the difficulties which he exp enced in obtaining the means of producing th illustrations, and our most grateful thanks are due Mr. H. Hargreaves, who placed at the disposal Professor Acharya the services of Mr. S. C. Mukhe a graduate in Sanskrit, who had received training the methods and principles of Graeco-Roman modern architecture. The material is now availa for an investigation of the question whether the ext monuments of Hindu architecture are based on methods and principle which are set forth in *Manasara.* It is interesting to note that the great difficulties were experienced in securing the servi of a Silpin to supply the sculptural drawings in line in colours. It is hoped that the same artist may available to execute the remaining sculptural dra ings, some three hundred in number.

The labour involved in this great work has be lightened by the encouragement of many scholars, it will be of particular interest to see whether work in making available the true doctrines of ancient Hindu authorities can be turned to practi benefit for India and for its people. The Ruler Oundh, whose interest in Indian culture and art is w known from his contributions to the great edition the *Mahabharata,* intends to build a house accordi to the directions of the *Manasara,* and it may w

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be that modern India has something to learn in this as in other matters from the achievements of its past.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

ENGLISH

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN MYSORE: *By K. N. Kini, Bangalore Press, Bangalore. Pp. viii+205. Price Rs. 2.*

Mysore has always been one of the most advanced Native States in India in the matter of educational progress. It has developed an all-round and sound system of education of which it can be really proud. The problem of vocational education has received closer and more systematic attention in Mysore than anywhere else in India. In his book Mr. Kini has given us a valuable and detailed survey of the efforts of the State to develop agricultural, commercial and industrial education on modern lines. The survey is illuminating and interesting reading. It will be read with profit by every student of Indian education and economics.

The book opens with a brief review of the American system of vocational education which Mr. Kini had the opportunity of studying through a scholarship grant given by the Mysore State. The economic and occupational conditions in Mysore being markedly different from those in America any total transplantation of ideas or institutions from there to this country would be impracticable and futile (and Mr. Kini rightly warns us from doing that). In spite of this in certain respects, I think, U. S. A. serves a better model to us than any other Western country excepting Russia. U. S. A. is neither wholly agricultural nor industrial, whereas England and most of Western European countries are mainly industrial. As a result the problem before U. S. A. has been to co-ordinate agriculture and industry. India's problem is similar. She cannot remain for ever the producer of raw materials nor can she become industrialized to the extent to which England has been. Thus in India it is our task to change from a purely agricultural state to one where both agriculture and industry are blended in a wholesome proportion.

The first few chapters of the book deals with the history of industrial, commercial and agricultural education in Mysore. As a result of a systematic and progressive policy inaugurated in 1862 Mysore has today a network of vocational schools of different types. In the fifth chapter Mr. Kini has discussed the basic theories of vocational education and his discussion shows the extent to which he has been influenced by American writers. The English Board of Education has published some very valuable pamphlets and reports on the subject. I wonder if Mr. Kini consulted these, he would have found interesting materials therein.

In the sixth chapter Mr. Kini has put forward proposals for a complete system of vocational education up to the secondary stage. This chapter ought to be read by everyone interested in the subject.

Mr. Kini has also discussed the problems of training of teachers for vocational schools and of vocational guidance too. His suggestions regarding vocational guidance are worthy of consideration by every educational authority in India. His book is indeed a valuable addition to the educational literature of India and I congratulate him on its production.

ANATH NATH BASU

ANCIENT VERSUS MODERN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM: *By Dr. Bhagavan Das, D.Lit., Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. 1934. Price Re 1-8.*

Dr. Bhagavan Das criticizes the experiments of Fascism and Communism and offers the Institutes of Manu as a much better, happier, nobler code to follow than either the Leninism of Russia or the Fascism of Italy. Reduced to essentials, man's primary constituents cannot be successfully perverted for any length of time. The hunger for religion is with man as much a necessity as the hunger for bread; to attempt to root out this idea, according to him, is to try the impossible. It is here that the Bolshevik ideal is, according to him, wrong; in trying to root out religion, family ties and ownership of private property, seeking as it does to go against the primary instincts of man which are to be guided and surely not to be suppressed. The other ideal which is gaining ground in modern Europe is the fascist ideal. Capitalism is another menace, and prior to the two '-isms' discussed above; its evils have been so manifest that communism and fascism have grown by way of reaction.

If, however, the evils of capitalism are so patent, those of communism and fascism are easily to be found out on examination and discussion. Each of them is an extreme view of life, and each fails to see life steadily and see it whole. The lack of balance in all of them is almost surprising and may be only explained as due to the necessity, almost inevitable, of showing us the excellence of harmony in life. Such a harmony is taught above all in the ideal of life presented in the Institutes of Manu, a critical study of which is sure to prove beneficial to all thinkers on state and society. Manu has provided for four classes of men in the state, in accordance with four primary functions of life—thinking, acting, desire and work. Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras are thus more or less to be found always in every society and instead of heriocally attempting to level all class distinctions we should rather try to admit to ourselves the existence of these four classes—and see that each arrogates to itself nothing but its own functions. Thus the earthly emoluments are generallly fixed for each and the State is to manage its expenses from one tax, the income-tax, generously levied on all classes, specially the Vaisyas who increase the wealth of the State. It is never a case of Brahmanism as is generally and nonetheless erroneously the idea, but a State in which the four classes are nicely balanced against one another. Retirement after fifty will qualify for work as a legislator, disinterestedly seeking the good of the society.

Dr. Bhagavan Das has the courage of his conviction, and his learning and sholarship as well as the general sanity of his outlook commands respectful attention from his readers. But one feels tempted to exclaim in Dr. Das's own words: "Even less fine but strong new clothing is better than the most splendid old garments if they have become irreparably tattered." Of course, he wants us to fix our attention only on the main principles on which Manu bases his code; and so far he is quite justified. Difference, often very wide, there must be between our angle of vision and his; but when all is said and done, modern thinkers on state and society—at least the commonsense man in the street—will lose nothing and gain much by shutting up their Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mussolini for the time being and studying the dusty Institutes of old Manu just for a while. And for this incentive let us thank Dr. Das.

P. R. SEN

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A RECOVERY PLAN FOR BENGAL: *By S. C. Mitter, B.Sc. (London), M.L.C. Demy 8vo., 699+xxii, cloth gilt, with a map in a back cover pouch.*

Economic Planning has latterly become first-class news copy all over the world. The idea of so arranging and utilizing the natural and human resources of a nation as would yield the maximum usefulness to its nationals, was first boomed in the twentieth century by the Russians as an original economic invention. Many other nations adopted the cult of Planning after the Russian Five-Year Plan got going.

History, however, does not give credit to Russia for this innovation. Planning has been done by many nations at different stages of their history for one purpose or another. Japan, for instance, put through a scheme of planning, with phenomenal success, in the nineteenth century, and changed over from her own medieval existence into full modern and Western nationalism. It is, however, not my intention to compare *Meiji* with *Gosplan* in this connection.

Economic Planning is a very necessary thing in a nation's economic life. The economic machine, if built up haphazardly and run without a plan, breaks down easily, results in waste and causes great suffering to the workers of a nation. The present world-wide economic crisis is a good example of planless economy. Mr. Mitter has done exhaustive labour to present before his readers a detailed picture of Bengal's economic life and to suggest means whereby it can attain the fullest vitality and productive power. In agriculture he has tackled the problem of every crop. How particular crops *are* grown, stored, manufactured and put on the market and how these *should* be done. The side lines of agriculture, *e.g.*, orcharding, vegetable gardening, dairy and poultry farming, growing fodder, etc., are not overlooked. Irrigation, agricultural finance and indebtedness and co-operation have received their proper share of attention. Pisci-culture has received a thorough analysis. The Industries have been divided into their three natural groups, cottage industries, small industries, and big industries and enquired into with painstaking care. Labour, Marketing, Financing, Research and Education, Transport, etc., have all been discussed in detail and commented upon. In short, *A Recovery Plan for Bengal,* gives one a complete picture of the existing economy of Bengal, its defects and possibilities and suggestions for effecting improvements in all fields. As a compendium of information relating to every branch of economic activity in Bengal Mr. Mitter's book will be found very useful by all students of the economics of Bengal.

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

LONDON'S HEART-PROBE AND BRITAIN'S DESTINY: *By Ayube M. Edun. London. Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd. 29, Ludgate Hill, E. C. 4. Price 6/- net. Pp. vii+212.*

The author, who is an Indian hailing from British Guiana, went on a visit to England a few years ago. He tried to observe English life with a critical eye, and came to the conclusion that there is something fundamentally wrong about her social and economic organization, which has to be set right before England can, once more, regain her position of cultural leadership in the world. He is optimistic enough to believe that such is her destiny, if she takes to the right path.

The author's observations on the condition of London's poorer population will be an eye-opener to many. His style is free and easy; but as there are frequent lapses into superficiality and a readiness to philosophize, it takes away materially from the orig charm of the book.

THE SHASTRAS ON UNTOUCHABILITY: *V. G. Desai, with a foreword by M. K. Ga Harijansevaksangha, Nainital. Price 1 anna 3 Pp. 24.*

This booklet of 24 pages contains a resume of original in Marathi of Mahamahopadhyaya Shri shastri Pathak of Dhulia. It contains numerous qu tions from various scriptures proving that unto ability as practised today, has no support in Shastras. The quotations are very significant, but chapter and verse of each has, unfortunately, not given in every case. As Mahatma Gandhi says, anti-untouchability worker should be without booklet, for it will enable him to combat all orthodox argument in so far as it has any conne with Hindu Scriptures."

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BHEDABHEDA: *P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A. Published by Srini Varadachari & Co., 190, Mount Road, Ma Pp. 366. Price Rs. 5/-.*

This is an exposition of the philosophy *Bhaskara*—"a more or less neglected side of Veda as Prof. Radhakrishnan puts it. But the title of book is somewhat misleading, for Bhaskara's is not only School of Bhedabheda (or difference—non-di ence). Nimbarka also held the same view and probably better known as an exponent of this vie

We have it on the authority of Prof. Rad krishnan that, as an exposition of Bhaskara, the auth work is "very competent and careful." In some of chapters, however, we have little more than a com tion of others' opinions. To take one example random, in chapter X, the author only presents with a series of quotations from different writers hold conflicting views about Spinoza's system, and atten nothing beyond this.

There is an index and an almost equally long of *errata* at the end of the book.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY FOR THE YE ENDING MARCH 1930, *Bangalore, 1934, Pp. 1-5 plates I-XXIV.*

This is the second volume of the new series of *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Dep ment,* inaugarated by the present Director, Dr. M. Krishna. Dr. Krishna has already established reputation as one of the most distinguished of Ind younger archaeologists, and under his able guida the State of Mysore is gradually creating an envi record. The present work consists of five pa I Administrative, II Monuments, III Numismat IV Manuscripts, V Inscriptions. Parts II and V sub-divided into sections according to the provenan of the monuments and inscriptions. The volume a contains twenty-four illustrations, a list of inscripti arranged according to the dynasties and dates, th appendices and an 'Index' all bearing eloqu testimony to the care for details that characterizes the works of Dr. Krishna. In the year under revi excavations were continued at the now famous site Chandravalli, where thousands of antiquities w recovered. Trial excavations carried out at Brahmag that is the site near the Asokan inscriptions Siddapura, revealed evidences of occupation of the s

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om the fifth millennium B.C. to the Chalukyan times. s the learned explorer's conclusions on the results of he excavations are tentative, it would be uncharitable o discuss them in detail. The results of further xcavations will be awaited with interest. Trial renches were also dug at a place called Kittur and esulted in the discovery of brick structures, confirming hereby the theory that the site contains the ruins of Kirttipura the capital of the ancient kingdom of unnad.

Part II is devoted to a consideration of arious monuments. The most important section of his part is the account of the magnificent temples at Halebid, the ancient Dorasamudra. The account is ccompanied by a sketch map of the place. At first ve find a general description of the Hoysalesvara emple, and a brief historical account. Then follows wo out of thirty-five heads under which the monuments are proposed to be studied by the Director; the est had to be left out for want of space. Two plans f the great temple together with several well-selected lates facilitate the study of one of the most ornate tructures of southern India. In part IV a very useful ummary of a Kannada manuscript named *Hydernamah*, eing a biography of Hyder Ali written by a Hindu fficer of his has been published. Part V is devoted to ext, translation, transliteration and notes of various scriptions collected during the year under review.

A. C. BANERJI

DEEPMALA OR INSPIRATIONAL PASSAGES ELECTED FROM UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION DDRESSES: *By Murarisharan Mangalik of the rovincial Educational Service; Lecturer in English, the raining College, Agra; sometime State Scholar for tudying Western Methods of Education; formerly eadmaster, Government High School, Nainital. oreword By Prof. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-hancellor, Andhra University. Published by The ndian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, 1934. P. 295.*

The sub-title of this admirable compilation is ertainly open to objection as the compiler himself has nticipated in the preface, for, if he has spared no pains o select those speeches and part of speeches which are aspirational, the number of speeches keyed to a far ower level is not small. But of course, they are all timulating and thought-provoking; and the author eserves gratitude and admiration for his novel conception and choice selection. The speeches not only ome from such eminent thinkers, philosophers and cholars as Dr. Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, Sir J. C. Bose, ir Ashutosh Mookerji, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and others ut are also the specimens of the best and noblest houghts they have given utterance to. The book will ertainly be valued by students, publicists, and general ook-lovers as a store-house of inspirational and timulating passages and also as containing a valuable ecord of different outlooks of so many different great nen on education and life.

The printing and get-up of the book are good.

B. CHAUDHURI

LAW OF HEARSAY EVIDENCE: *By Ugar ain Jain, LL.B.*

A crude attempt to explain philosophically the Law nd Theory of Evidence, especially hearsay evidence.

THE LAW AND PROCEDURE OF MEETINGS N INDIA: *By Sohrab R. Davar. Pp. XXX+333. xford University Press. Price Rs. 6.*

As Mr. Justice Wadia of the Bombay High Court bserves in the foreword, "the book is a useful compendium of the principles of law and the rules of procedure relating to meetings." The book is full of information on the subjects dealt with—and the information is both theoretical and practical; it is not enough to know how meetings have been or can be conducted, unless one also learns how best he himself can conduct a meeting. The book has been divided into 3 parts; Part I dealing with company meetings, Part II dealing with Public meetings and Part III dealing with Clubs, societies and trade unions *etc.*; and it deals with the whole law relating to different types of meetings from an Indianized standpoint. It will be found to be as useful to a busy lawyer as to the company secretary. We have got one suggestion to make, which we think will enhance the usefulness of the book to the Lawyers of provinces other than Bombay, namely in the Table of Cases to give all the references, where the same case happens to be reported in more than one law report, and in the case of older English decisions to give the corresponding references to English Reports or Revised Reports.

J. M. DATTA

SANSKRIT

1. *VAJASANEYI PRATISAKHYA* OF KATYAYANA WITH THE COMMENTARIES OF UVATA AND ANANTABHATTA, *edited by V. Venkatarama Sharma, Formerly Fellow in Sanskrit, University of Madras.*

2. THE *RIGVEDABHASYA* OF SKANDASVAMIN. (*First Astaka*). *Edited by C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil (Oxon.) Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras.*

We have received these two important books from the University of Madras, which are included in its series as Nos. 5 and 8.

The *Vajasaneyi Pratisakhya* with the commentary of Uvata has already undergone at least three editions. Yet, there was a necessity of another edition. The present edition, which is neatly executed, is therefore welcome. But it leaves much to be desired. Its special feature is that it supplies us with a commentary which is published for the first time. It generally follows Uvata, and as such has not much independence or special importance excepting some cases where difference in readings throws some light on the text. The glaring defect of the edition is that references to examples from the Samhita are not given, nor are accents shown on the words, even where they are absolutely necessary. It could very easily be done, and in fact it is done in the previous editions. Another defect of the edition is that there are many misprints.

Even a few years back it was generally believed that Sayana's *bhasya* was the only *bhasya* on the Rigveda. But within about a decade it has been discovered from the recent researches of a few scholars of the country that there are many commentaries and Sayana was not the earliest commentators of the *Rigveda*. One of those scholars is Dr. Raja of the University of Madras. In some of the sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference he told us of his researches on the discovery of commentaries and the commentators other than Sayana, such as Madhava, Skandasvamin, Udgitha, etc. According to the same scholar there are at least four Madhavas who wrote commentaries, three of them on the Rigveda and one on the *Samaveda*.

For the present we have received from him in the volume before us a part of Skandasvamin's commentary

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on the Rigveda. It comprises only the first *Astaka* (I 1—121) of the book. The MS. of the whole of the commentary is not yet available. But fragments of some subsequent portions are found and Dr. Raja is preparing an edition.

The first *adhyaya* of the work is already published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, but, as will be evident from a comparison, there is a marked difference between the two texts.

Skandasvamin's commentary is not so elaborate or extensive as that of Sayana. Yet, sometimes it is very helpful and criticizes Yaska and even the author of the *Pada* text finding fault with them, and in some cases he seems to be justified.

As a commentator of the *Nirukta* Skandasvamin has been made well known by Dr. Lakhmansarup's publication of his commentary (Skandasvamin-Mahesvara) so far as has been available. And, it is now through Pandit Sambasiva Sastri of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and specially Dr. Raja, who is preparing also a comprehensive study of his works, he will be well known also as a commentator of the *Rigveda*.

The usefulness of the book is marred by the great number of misprints, some of which are not noticed in the List of Corrections. We wish the get-up had been better.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

GUJARATI

BUDDHA CHARITA: *By Narsing Rao B. Divatea, B.A., C.S. (Retd.). Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Pp. 128 : Cloth bound with coloured plates. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1934).*

Episodes from the Light of Asia: This is how the author describes this collection of poems on incidents in the life of Buddha. Sir Edwin Arnold's Light of Asia is a classic on the subject in English. Its charm as a piece of poetry is inimitable. The pleasure it gives is ethereal. Shall we say that the present collection contains verses—which though translations from Arnold's poems—in no way fall short of all that is good and charming—uplifting—in Arnold's own work. The spirit has been so well imbibed and the inspiration so well caught, that one could hardly realize that it was a translation and not an original work, but for the author telling us so. He has in order to complete the chain of episodes in Buddha's life till his return back to his home, incorporated in the collection a fine poem of another poet—the late Botadkar—and thus showed an appreciation—by considering him fit to sit with him —which is at once unique, and generous. The notes given at the end are scholarly and betray a deep study of the subject. The structure of the verses is of the old type of Gujarati poetry, and the poet's facile pen is at home both with the new and the old phase of our verse literature. We welcome this valuable addition to Gujarati literature.

VAKTA BANO : *By Muni Maharaj Shri Vidya Vijayji. Printed at the Lohana Mitra Steam Printing Press, Baroda. Paper cover. Pp. 111. Price Re. 0-10-0 (1934).*

The Muni Maharaj in this small book has given practical hints to one who aspires to become a speaker. The suggestions are based on his own experience implemented with opinions and directions gathered fro old and new books on the subject. Each chapter h got at the end a summary of the lessons imparted it, and this is the most useful part of the book. Anyo who is inclined to follow these hints will soon real how useful they are, because of their simplicity. The is nothing complex or difficult about them.

GUJARAT NI LAGNA VYAVASTHA AN KUTUMB SAMSTHA : *By Mrs. Sarojini Meh M.A. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Socie Ahmedabad. Pp. 263. Paper cover. Price Re. 1-((1934).*

This book which describes the modes of marria in vogue in Gujarat and the structure of the family i in the province, was in its origin a thesis written Mrs. Mehta which brought her—her M.A. degree. order to make her research as complete as possible, s took the trouble of visiting several villages to get h information first hand; and the result is a history a a storehouse of accurate statements throwing amount of light on the subject, on the basis of whi an anthropologist can work, as well as a sociologist. was necessarily written in English but the translatio under notice is if anything better, inasmuch as th writer was at home in developing her subject in h own mother-tongue.

K. M. J.

ENGLISH-KANARESE

SAYINGS OF BASAVANNA : *By M. Venkate Iyenger, M.A., Punblishers: Veerashaiva Taru Sangha, Gadag. Price As. 4.*

While we know so much of continental literatu of Europe, our knowledge of the literatures of o neighbours, *e.g.*, of the different vernaculars of Ind —especially of the Dravidian languages—is ve limited. So every attempt that is made to populari and spread the contents of these literatures amo the people at large must needs be highly appreciate The Kanarese people are therefore to be congratulat for their efforts in bringing to the notice of the wo the literary output of the Kannada people—old a modern. Of the work done in this direction by the as well as by others mention may be made of t following. The History of Kanarese Literature b Rice is a very useful publication. Mr. Narasimh charya has brought together much interesting a important information regarding Kanarese literature his *Lives of the Kanarese Poets*. The *Quarte Journal of the Kannada Literary Society* gives alo with every number a brief summary in English the articles published in it. The book under revie contains the text and translation of a selected numb of the thought-provoking sayings of Basava (12 century), the famous reformer of the Veerashaiva se These sayings would be read with interest and pro even to this day. These are accompanied by short b useful introductory and explanatory remarks whi help the reader in easily grasping the significance these enigmatic sayings. The reading public wou feel indebted to Mr. Iyengar for bringing to th doors this treasure of Kannada literature in such handy volume and at so cheap a price.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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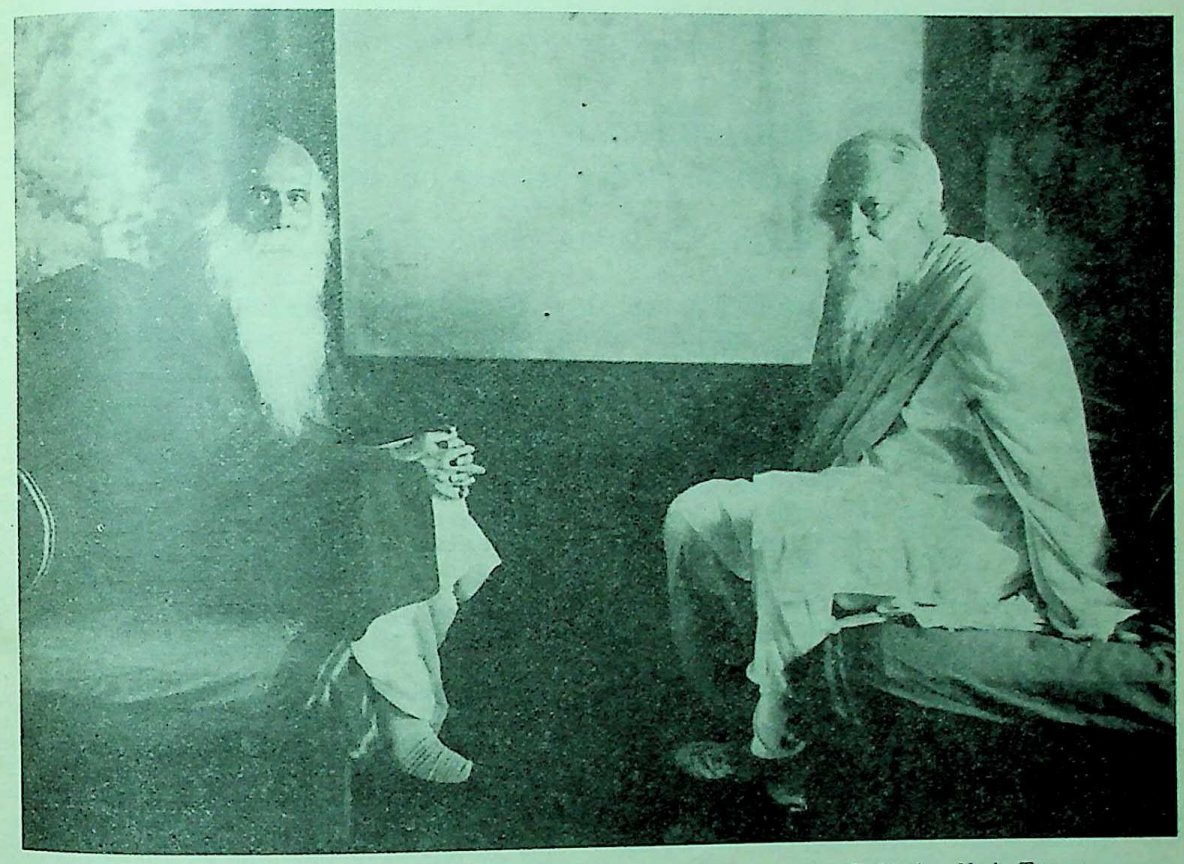
DR. SIR BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL

A SHORT TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE AND ADMIRATION

By Sir MICHAEL E. SADLER

May one of his pupils (for pupil I was during the years 1917-19 and shall always revere him as one of my *Gurus*) express in a few words love and admiration for Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, and gratitude, which grows with the years, for his guidance in my thought and for what he taught me during many long and intimate discussions about education and about the needs and genius of India.



Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore

He was, indeed, guide, philosopher and friend to me. More than fifteen years have passed since we last met in the flesh. But the feeling of his presence is still strong in my mind. So close was the friendship which he allowed to grow up between us, that I can still turn to him as if I were at his side and can hear the kindly tone of his voice. Guru indeed he was to me, and I bless his name. There are streets and lanes in Calcutta, there are paths and terraces in Darjeeling, which were the background of our talks. And, as if I were still in Bengal, I can see what I saw then and hear once more what I then heard.

In several volumes of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, and notably in volumes 7, 9, 10 and 12, there are writings from the pen of Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal which are of permanent value and will, I hope, be reprinted (at least in part) in any future issue of his works. A report, like that of the Calcutta University Commission, may wear the look of a Mausoleum. But it is really an Arsenal. Much, written sixteen years ago by Indian statesmen, scholars and philosophers, is

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published in these volumes, especially in the volumes containing the Evidence and Documents which has not lost its force through the lapse of years. The historian will in future turn to many pages of these volumes for precious materials contributed by Indian scholars and publicists who had deep knowledge of India's needs and faith in India's future. And among the documents to which he will turn with eager attention, are the replies to several of the Committee's questions, written by Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal.

The linguistic skill which many Indian scholars show in their command of the English Language is deeply admired. This power of speaking or writing in, a language not his own, Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal possesses in a degree. But even more remarkable than command of the English vocabulary is the that, in English, he writes a style of his His English has the distinction of his sonality. When you read one of the characteristic sentences in an essay written him in English, you say to yourself "*Th* written by Dr. Seal and no one else but Dr. could have written it." Every word, as we the cast of thought which determined choice and order of his words bears the auth mark of his personality.

That personality we honour and love. salute him with reverence and gratitude.

December 4, 1935.

GIRIJABHUSAN MOOKERJEE

A LONG-FORGOTTEN CONGRESS ORGANISER

By SATYA JIBAN MOOKERJEE

India is just going to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Indian National Congress. An authentic history of its birth and gradual progress will, no doubt, be re-compiled by experts under the auspices of this Jubilee Celebration. But there is every chance of missing facts in the compilation of history of such an old and important Institution as this, unless they are supplied by men who knew them. The poet justly said—

> "Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
> And waste its sweetness in the desert air."

This is truly applicable to the short life of the late Babu Girijabhusan Mookerjee, a long-forgotten Congress organiser. Babu Girijabhusan's activities in the field of Congress lasted only for a brief period of two years, when he was carried off by the cruel hand of death. Among the three Bengali delegates who took part in the deliberations of the first Indian National Congress held in Bombay in the year 1885, Girijabhusan Babu was one. The other two gentlemen, namely, the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the then President-elect and the late Babu Narendra Nath Sen of the *Indian Mirror*, had been blessed with their long lives to become famous for their future activities towards the political freedom of their motherland, but Girijabhusan was cut off in the prime of life at the age of 38.

Girijabhusan's brief life as depicted by then contemporary newspapers has culled in the following extracts:—

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* said on Oct., 1887,

> "The news of the death of Babu Girijabh Mookerjee of this city has come upon us li thunderbolt. . . . His untimely death . . . personal loss to us and a loss to the country. was a distinguished graduate of the Calcutta Un sity . . . obtained the Prem Chand Roy C studentship in 1872. . . . He declined the very offer of a Deputy Magistrateship by Sir G Campbell, as he intended to join the bar. . . . was a member of the Asiatic Society, did very u work on the Board of Directors of the Hindu Fa Anunity Fund, was a very hard-working membe the Central Text Book Committee, and the In Association. He worked very hard for the Nat Congress at its sittings both at Bombay (1885) Calcutta (1886) and took part in the delibera of the Press Association which was organized on occasion of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi. B joining the High Court he was for over 8 mont touring political missionary and with indefatig zeal and earnestness moved from town to town village to village throughout Bengal, preparing minds of the educated classes for political re The privations and hardships of the journey see have impaired his health. He was a patient, ear but silent worker, and disliked nothing so muc fuss or noise. He was for many years the Editor of the *Nababibhakar* in its palmy days, was remarkable for a liberality of views and a s of strict impartiality."

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The Indian Mirror of 18th October, 1887, said,

"He was one of the foremost working members of the Bengal National League, and laboured much in connection with the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta last year. The success of the Congress was in no small measure due to his efforts. He indentified himself lately with many national movements, and his loss is an irreparable one."

The vernacular paper *Bangabasi* of the th Kartik, 1294 B.E., said:—

"Owing to the fall of the 'Somaprokash' on account of Act 9, Girijabhusan Babu started the *Nababibhakar*. Under his care and direct sopervision *Nababibhakar* had a wide circulation and secured a very high place among the then contemporary vernacular newspapers. . . . Girija Babu was deputed by the Indian League to educate the minds of the people for political reform and his zeal was such that he almost had to give up his practice as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court in order to fulfil his duty of a political missionary and slowly and unostentatiously he carried out his schemes with much success."

Sir Bepin Krishna Bose of Nagpur in his *Stray Thoughts on some Incidents in my ife'* (p. 174) has written.

"The first Congress had been held at Bombay in the year previous. Its next sitting was announced to be held at Calcutta in December, 1886. Girijabhusan Mookerjee, who was my College friend, was one of its Secretaries and organisers. . . . In those days it needed no small courage to take part in political movements in our Province. The Congress, just then brought into existence, was looked upon with distinct disfavour by the official hierarchy. . . . Girijabhusan was carried off by the cruel hand of death and my native country (Bengal) lost in him one of the brilliant young men and a selfless worker."

Sir Alfred Croft, the then Director of Public Instruction, wrote in a letter dated the 14th June, 1889 to the Government,

"Nor should I pass over in silence the names of those members whose loss we have to deplore, namely, . . . Babu Girijabhusan Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., whose work in the committee until they were removed by the hand of death was of the highest value and importance. . . ."

The history of the Congress will remain incomplete, if the name of such a martyr is not included, who almost succumbed to the privations and hardships of his journeys of a political missionary in October, 1887, just before the sitting of the third Indian Congress.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

THE STORY OF ITS FOUNDATION

By BHUPENDRA LAL DUTT

THE Indian National Congress completes its iftieth year on the 28th December, 1935. ittle do the present-day relations between the overnment and the Congress suggest that the atter was brought into being with the blessings f the former. But fifty years ago this did appen. To a retired member of the Indian ivil Service, Allen Octavius Hume, belongs he credit of inaugurating this All-India organization. But his original idea was to have an annual gathering of the leading men of India for the discussion of social and other non-olitical problems affecting India,' and it was eserved for the British Sovereign's representative and highest executive officer in India, Lord Dufferin, Viceroy and Governor-General 1884-1888, to suggest that the annual gathering hould discuss the administration and give xpression to the grievances of the people. To many of us today it appears to be a puzzle hat, of all persons, the head of the administration had a hand in the ushering in of a body of critics. But Lord Dufferin was a statesman of no mean order and we may rest assured that the situation at the time demanded such a course.

The Indian National Congress cannot claim to be the first political organization in India. India is a big country and it comprised within its geographical boundary States of different size, status and importance, grading from the vast Mughal Empire to the small village principality, and the British sovereignty is not the result of a single move on a single day. From the acquisition of the *Dewani* of Bengal, a minor share in the civil administration of a frontier province of the Mughal Empire, by a company of British traders to the proclamation of a British Sovereign as the Kaiser-i-Hind is no short story. During this long period covering more than a century there was no dearth of criticism of British administration in India but there was no method, no system, everyone had his own way. If Maharaja Nanda Kumar,

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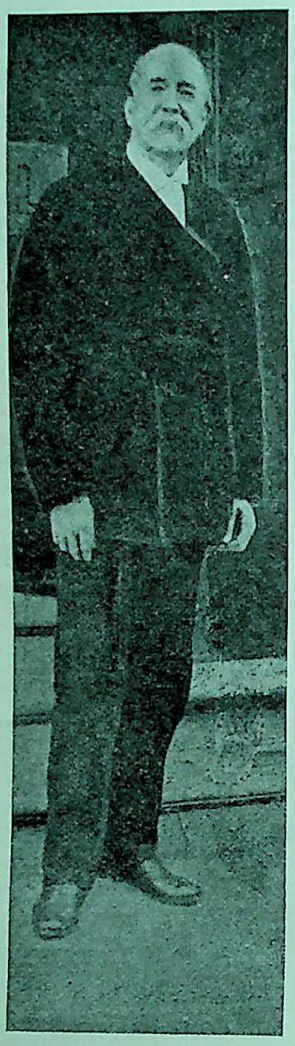
Minister of the Nazim of Bengal, looked to the British Parliament for redress long before that august body dreamt of claiming any sovereign right over an inch of Indian soil, the illiterate indigo cultivators practised non-co-operation in their own crude way many years before the gospel of this new faith was expounded by the saint of Savarmati. Indeed a new institution



A. O. Hume

developed in India in the Press, and the Government felt disturbed so much so that from 1799 to 1834 it was placed under strict censorship. During the short administration of Sir Charles Metcalfe the Press regained its freedom and it lost no time in zealously taking upon itself the responsible task of imparting political education to the people of the land. The preaching of the Press was not lost upon the country. In course of twenty years a political body was established in Calcutta. The Zaminders always claim to be the leaders of public opinion and they were the first to orga The British Indian Association was start 1851 under the inspiration of Ram Gopal G Harish Chandra Mukherjee and Rajendra Mitra and others. It would be an insu the memory of Kristo Das Pal if it is not g fully acknowledged here that, 'though m piece of the landholders, this Association r failed to champion public interest of the p when called upon to do so.'

In less than a quarter of a century a dynamic force entered the arena of politi India and it was at once discovered that British Indian Association could not go the w length. Surendra Nath Banerjee desired remain a member of the Indian Civil Se but fate ordained otherwise. Providence pl him in close touch with the students of Be and he was not slow to take full advan of the situation. 'The political advancemen the country,' thought he, 'must depend u the creation among our young men of a gen sober and rational interest in public aff The beginnings of public life must be impla in them.' And Students' Association was es lished in 1875 with Ananda Mohan Bose President. The elders thought that yo Surendra Nath was playing with fire, whil thought that educational and political work interlinked.

Surendra Nath could not be satisfied the Students' Association alone,—he require wider field of activity. He felt that an asso tion to represent the views of the educ middle class was a desideratum. Says he:

> There was indeed the British Indian Associ which, under the guidance of the great Kristo Pal, who was then Secretary, valiantly upheld popular interests when necessary; but it was essen and by its creed an Association of land-holders. did an active political agitation, or the creatio public opinion by direct appeals to the people, a part of its recognized programme. There was the clear need for another Political Associatio more democratic basis. . . . .

That the British Indian Association not quite sufficient to help the nation in forward march to political advancement admitted on all hands. Pandit Iswarchan Vidyasagar and Dwaraka Nath Mitter conte plated to establish an association, but w unsuccessful. Sishir Kumar Ghose and Sambhu Chandra Mukherjee started India League. It is not for us to discuss Surendra Nath did not join hands with Si Kumar. He and Ananda Mohan Bose est lished an association of their own in July, 18 Surendra Nath exhibited wonderful control o his mind on the occasion when he attended

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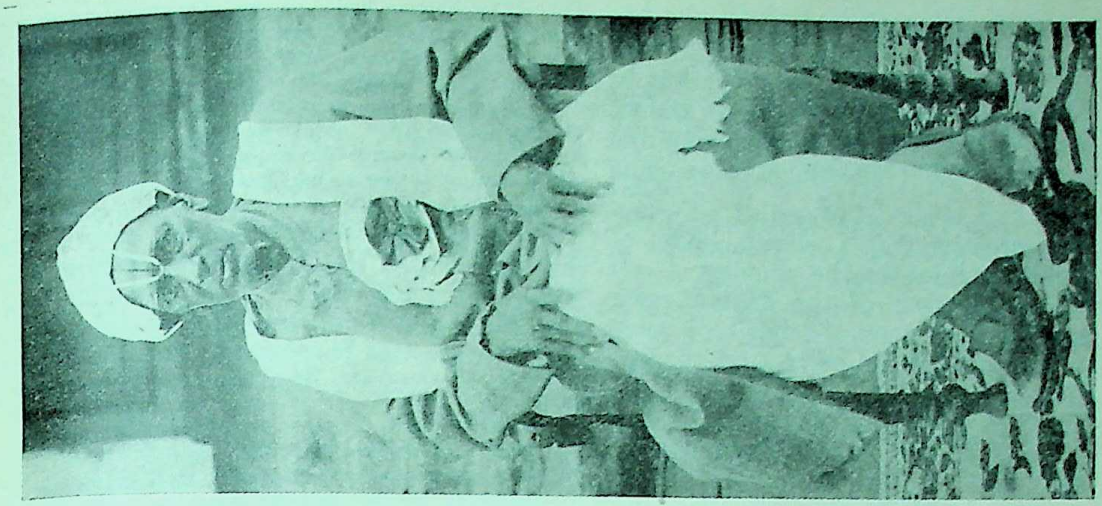
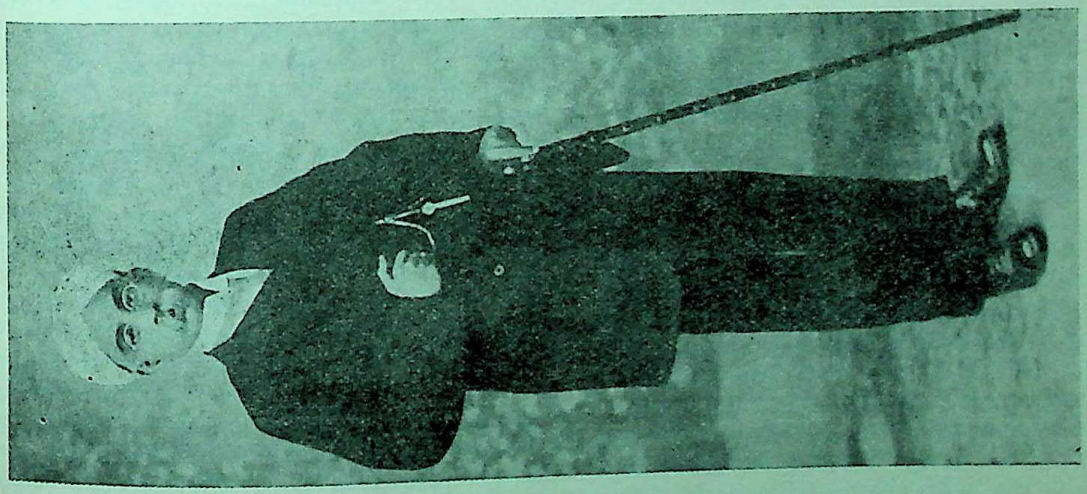


C. Vijairaghabacharier
Nagpur 1921

Badruddin Tyabji
Madras 1887



Narayan C. Chandravarkar
Lahore 1900

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inauguration meeting under the shadow of a great bereavement, his son having died that very morning. Surendra Nath kept himself in the background, he was neither the President nor the Secretary, but worked zealously for the Association with the following programme before him:

(1) the creation of a strong body of public opinion in the country,
(2) the unification of the Indian races and peoples upon the basis of common political interests and aspirations.
(3) the promotions of friendly feelings between Hindus and Muhammadans, and
(4) the inclusion of the masses in the great public movements of the day.

This Indian Association may very well claim to be the British Majesty's Permanent Opposition, though Lord Dufferin reserved this appellation for the body to come under his benign blessing. This Association was the first to offer, as we shall see, organized opposition to the British Majesty's Bureaucratic Government in India. Bold expression of public opinion there was, but want of organization makes such boldness look audacious. The year 1876, the year in which this Association was started, witnessed such a tragedy. The erection of a memorial in honour of a departing Viceroy is a time-honoured custom and when Lord Northbrook was leaving India, a meeting under the presidency of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was held in the Town Hall to consider the erection of such a memorial. Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mukherjee, a moving spirit of the newly-founded India League, came to the meeting with nine others, mostly of the League, and Mr. Mallic, their spokesman, but not a member of the League, gave notice of an amendment which was nothing short of a vote of censure upon the outgoing Viceroy. The whole meeting was 'thunderstruck' and Dr. K. M. Banerji, the President of the League, in his anxiousness to make himself 'clear' before the Lieutenant-Governor, came with the proposal that votes be taken whether the amendment should at all be allowed to be considered. The inevitable followed. Dr. Mukherjee's band, the 'immortal ten,' as Kristo Das called them, alone voting in favour of considering the amendment. Loud was the condemnation hurled upon their heads, Keshub Chandra Sen leading and the *Hindu Patriot, Indian Mirror, The Bengalee* following. *The Statesman* could not see eye to eye with them and remarked:

> The meeting had a clear right to determine whet it would listen and whether not; but the Chair ought not to have refused to put the amendment. . The Babu should have been allowed to offer amendment, and any others he had to propose, the meeting had a full right to decline to hear to speak thereto. We notice the matter since it be useful to our young Republic to know the rule such matters.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, which was this time edited by Babu Sishir Kumar Gho another moving spirit of the League, blam Mr. Mukherjee, not because he raised a d cordant note but because he did not take su cient care to make the tone loud enough to be ignored:

> It has been said that Babu Sambhu Chandra is the bottom of this movement. If it is so, he has reason to be ashamed of it. . . . . He should have gone there, or if he had gone there at all should have gone with sufficient force to carry point. In this Nineteenth Century, men are judged by their motives, but success, and so t poet says:
>
> Treason never succeeds, and for this reason,
> If it succeeds, who dares to call it treason?
>
> But look to the other side of the question. Th is the first time in the annals of important publ meetings in this country, that ten men are foun conscientious and energetic enough to oppose movement. . . . There was the sure prospect of defeat and no prospect of reward, but yet inspite all, amidst hisses of many, they boldly fronted th Lieutenant-Governor himself to press their views up the public. We only wish there were many su tens in our country. The political significance of th action of the ten can scarcely be over-rated.

It is no wonder that the India Leagu with K. M. Banerji as President and Sish Kumar Ghosh and Sambu Chandra Mukherje as members could not stay on for lon But let us see how Surendra Nath organ ized. Within a very short span of tim the Indian Association was called upon t justify its existence and it did not la behind. Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State fo India, ordered the reduction of the age-limi from 21 to 19 years, for the open competitiv examination for the Civil Service. The India Association took up the challenge. Th attempt in England to exclude Surendra Nat from entering the service even though he wa successful in the examination, on the questio of age and that 'for an insignificant lapse o his part he was hounded out of the service were still fresh in the memory of every publi man. That was indeed a personal affair, an might be cast aside, but here was an attempt 'a deleberate attempt to blast the prospects o the Indian Candidates.' The Indian Associatio at once began to work for an All-India move ment and Surendra Nath was elected 'Specia Delegate' to visit the important places o

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India to organize an all-India memorial to be submitted to Parliament. So devotedly did Surendra Nath work that Sir Henry Cotton wrote in his *New India*:

> The Bengalee Babus now rule public opinion from Peshawar to Chittagong; and, although the natives of North-Western India are immeasurably behind those of Bengal in education and in their sense of political independence, they are gradually becoming as amenable as their brethren of the lower provinces, to intellectual control and guidance. A quarter of a century ago there was no trace of this; the idea of any Bengalee influence in the Punjab would have been a conception incredible to Lord Lawrence, to a Montgomery, to a MacLeod; yet it is the case that during the past years the tour of a Bengalee lecturer, lecturing in English in Upper India, assumed the character of a triumphal progress; and at the present moment the name of Surendra Nath Banerjee excites as much enthusiasm among the rising generation of Multan as in Dacca.

Sir Henry has greatly underrated the work by taking it as triumph for Surendra Nath personally and of Bengal provincially. It is the beginning of the all-India conception of Nationalism. However, thanks to the munificence of Maharani Swarnamoyee, well known as 'Lady Bountiful,' of Cossimbazar, the Indian Association managed to send a deputation to England in 1878, and thanks to the oratorial gift of Lal Mohan Ghose 'the deputation . . . was attended with an unexpected measure of success.'

The year 1877 opened with the great Delhi Durbar when Victoria, Queen of England and of India too since 1858, was declared Empress of India. The Press was invited and young Surendra Nath was there as representative of the *Hindu Patriot*. He was not the person to let an opportunity slip, and organized, nay, led, a deputation to the Viceroy on behalf of the press representatives assembled there. But this did not improve the situation. The Vernacular Press Act was on the Statute book in April 1878. It 'came as a bolt from the blue,' 'it was passed the very day it was introduced.' Not a single dissentient voice was raised in the Council Chamber, Maharaja Jatindra Mohun Tagore of the British India Association voting for it. Indeed the *Hindu Patriot* wrote against it 'but not with the warmth that usually characterized its patriotic utterances.' Surendra Nath again conducted an agitation which 'disclosed the growing power of the middle class, who could act with effect for the protection of their interests, even though the wealthier classes were lukewarm and official influence was openly arrayed against them.'

The British Indian Association had an organ in the *Hindu Patriot*, the Indian Association had none. Nor could it afford to run one. But Surendra Nath felt, specially at the attitude of the *Hindu Patriot* in connection with the Press Act, that there must be a mouthpiece of the educated middle class and so he acquired *The Bengalee* for himself in January, 1879.

Lord Lytton was induced to come to India, as we know from the letter of the then British Prime Minister, Mr. Disraeli, as 'in this high post you will have an opportunity, not only of serving your country, but of obtaining an enduring fame.' An enduring fame he obtained indeed, for, though he 'had no policy of his own except the policy which had been dictated

Lord Dufferin

by the conservative Ministry' of England, during the period between April 12, 1876, when he took the charge from Lord Northbrook and June, 8, 1880 when, on the fall of the Conservative Government, his lordship resigned and handed over the charge to Lord Ripon, 'the reactionary government of Lord Lytton has roused the public from its attitude of indifference and has given a stimulus to public life.'

Indeed the Vernacular Press Act was repealed in 1881, but it was soon followed by an important prosecution. Surendra Nath was called by the High Court to answer a writ why he should not be committed for contempt of Court. He was allowed hardly three days time and by a majority verdict of the Full Bench he was convicted and sent to jail for two months. Surendra Nath modestly says:

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> I claim the honour (for such I deem it) of being the first Indian of my generation who suffered imprisonment in the discharge of a public duty.

There was a great upheaval of feeling, genuine and widespread, and a National Fund was created as a memento of Surendra Nath's imprisonment, 'to secure the political advancement of the country by means of constitutional agitation in India and in England.'

In 1883 India experienced an agitation not by the children of the soil but by the Europeon residents, 'the like of whicch had never been seen in India.' A small amendment to the criminal law proposing to give Indian magistrates jurisdiction to try European offenders roused the 'tiger qualities of the British Lion'

Lord Lytton

and 'All-India was in alarm.' Mr. C. E. Buckland narrates in his *Bengal under the Lieutentant-Governors:*

> The Governor-General, the Marquis of Ripon, was personally insulted at the gate of Government House on his return to Calcutta for the cold weather of 1883-1884. A conspiracy had been formed by a number of men in Calcutta, who had bound themselves, in the event of Government adhering to their projected legislation, to overpower the sentries at Government house, put the Viceroy on board a steamer at Chandpal ghat, and send him to England *via* the Cape. The existance of this conspiracy was known to the Lieutentant-Governor . . . .

Lord Ripon had to give in.

The lesson of this 'combined and intense political agitation' was not lost upon the Indian agitators. And before the year was out the first National Conference,—Conference, and not Congress, was convened at Calcutta. It sat for three days, from December 28 to 30, 18 Surendra Nath claims:

> In its organization I had no inconsiderable sha *quorum magna pars fui.* It was a reply of educated India to the Ilbert Bill agitation, a resc blast on their golden trumpet.

It is the first conference of the people which representatives from all parts of In were invited. Representative Councils, S Government, Education general and techni Separation of judiciary and executive and wi employment of Indians in public service w the subjects discussed.

The Conference was followed by anot whirlwind march of Surendra Nath accompan by his able assistant Govinda Chandra Das visiting almost every town of importance fr Calcutta to Multan. Public opinion was on whole well-organized. As a result of a series articles in *The Bengalee*, the organizers of farewell honour to Sir Ashley Eden did not d to speak in the name of the public but had be satisfied to subscribe themselves as 'frien and admirers' of the retiring Lieutenan Governor. It was apparent that the Eu pean Community would stand aside at the fa well demonstration in honour of Lord Rip and as a retort the Indians organized a gra popular demonstration—'there was no su demonstration in honour of any other Vicer before and afterwards too.' 'If it be n what does it mean?' queried Sir Auckla Colvin, Indian Finance Minister, 'The d bones in the open valley had become insti with life.'

In 1884 there was no sitting of the Natio Conference. But in 1885 the second sitti was held in Calcutta under the auspices of th associations of Bengal representing three diffe ent, shall we say, interests, *viz.*, the Briti Indian Association for the Zamindars, the Indi Association for the Middle Class, and t Central Mohammadan Association for t Muhammadans. It met for three days, December, 25, 26 and 27, 1885. Representativ from other provinces were present.

While Surendra Nath and his friends we organizing the Conference in Calcutta, All Hume made himself busy in southern India have another all-India assemblage. It difficult to explain why the necessity of a riv conference was felt if it was not to exclu Surendra Nath and his Bengal colleagues. W not Bombay selected because in northern Ind it would have been impossible to find a pla where any all-India organization could be he without Surendra Nath? Kashinath Trimba Telang wrote to Surendra Nath to furnish hi

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THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS GOLDEN JUBILEE

PRESIDENTS

Woomesh Chandra Bonnerjee
Bombay 1885, Allahabad 1892
By Courtesy of Mrs. A. N. Choudhury

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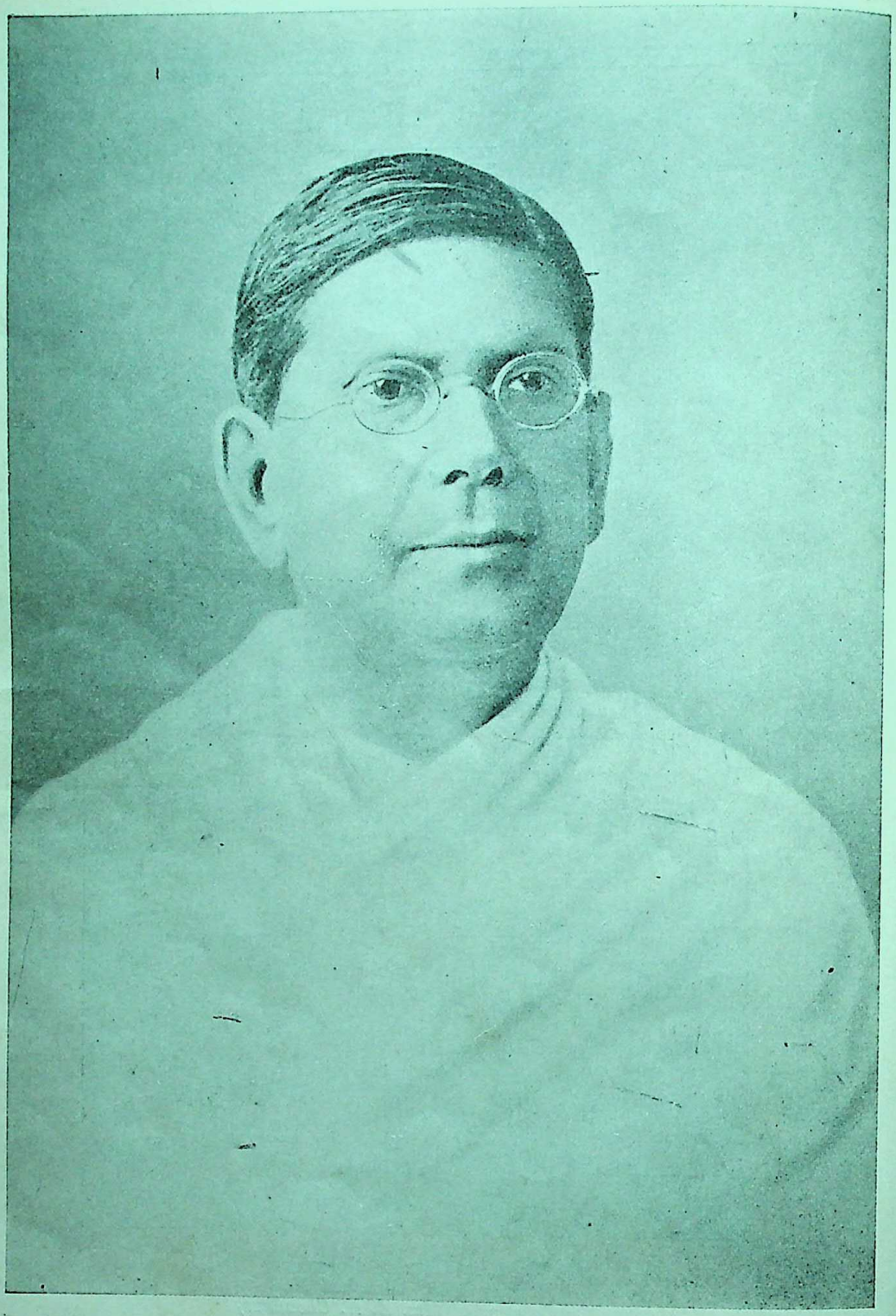

Chittaranjan Das
Gya 1922

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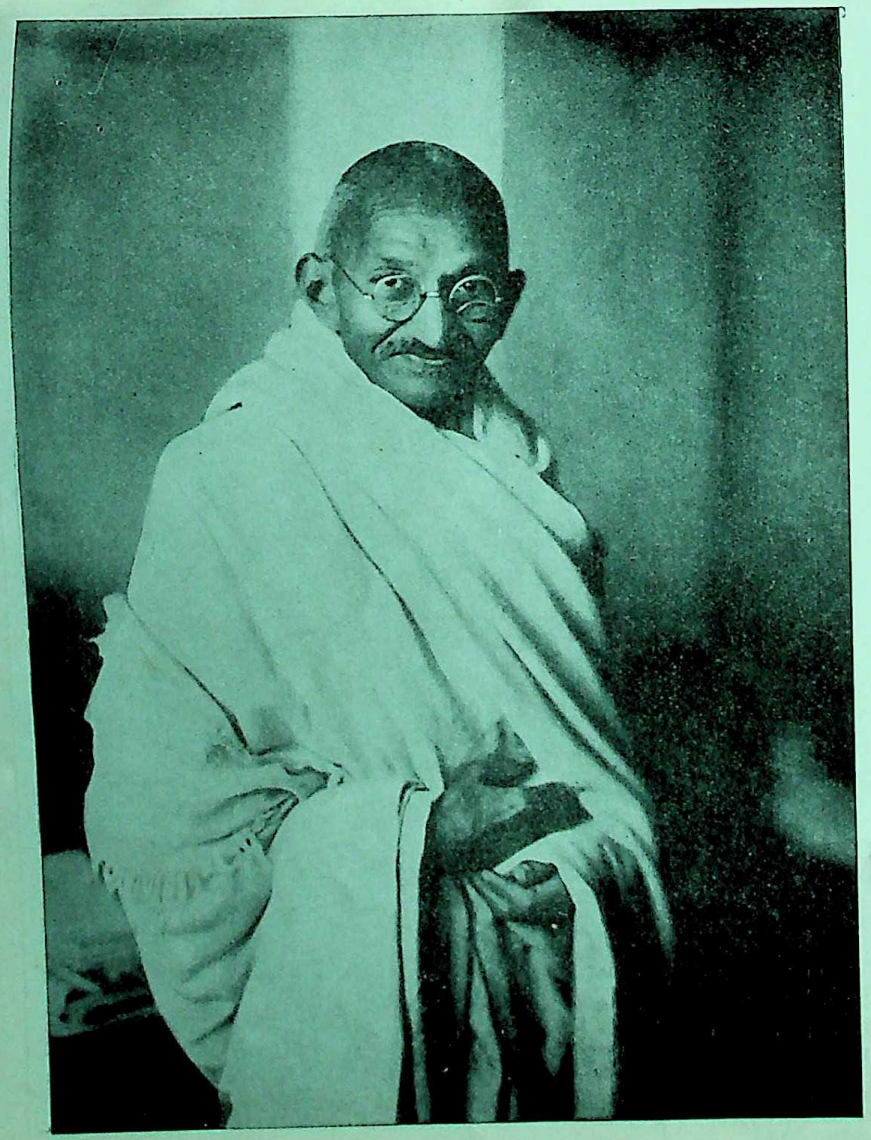

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi
Belgaon 1924

Motilal Nehru
Amritsar 1919, Calcutta 1928

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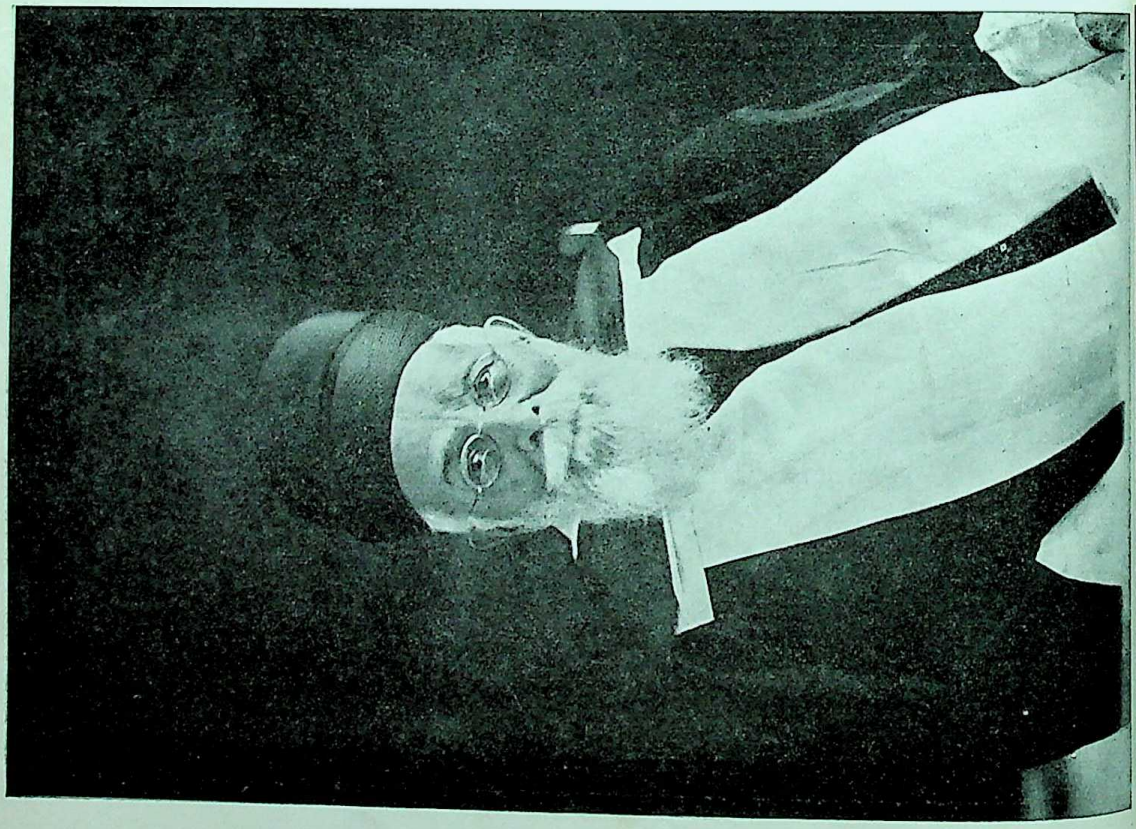

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Right—Muhammad Ali
Cocanada 1923

Madan Mohan Malaviya
Lahore 1909, Delhi 1918

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Annie Besant
Calcutta 1917

Surendranath Banerjea
Poona 1895, Ahmedabad 1902

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Rashbehari Ghose
Surat 1907, Madras 1908

Muhammad Ali Ansari
Madras 1927

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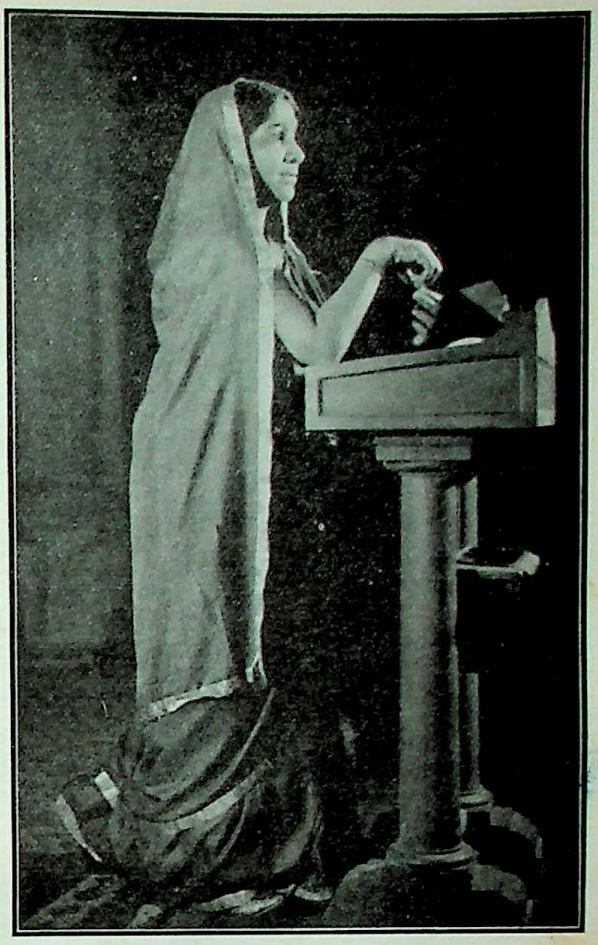
Abul Kalam Azad
Delhi (Special) 1923



Sarojini Naidu
Cawnpur 1925

Bhupendranath Basu
Madras 1914

Dinshaw Edulji Wacha
Calcutta 1901

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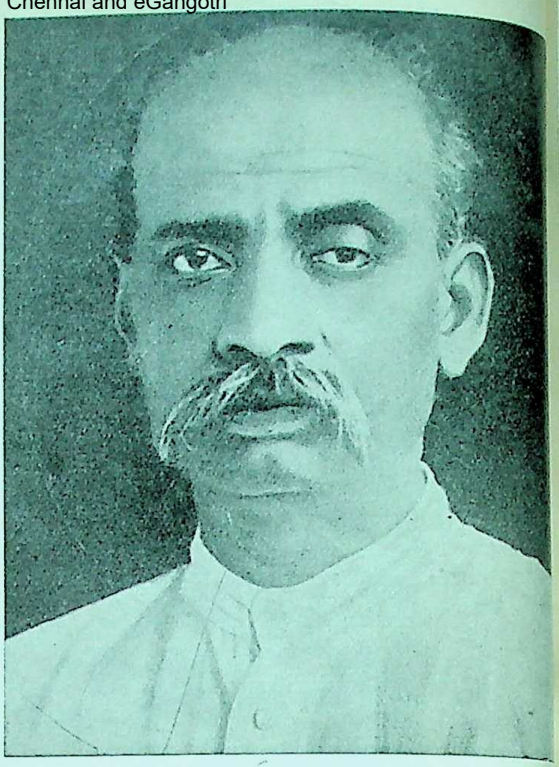
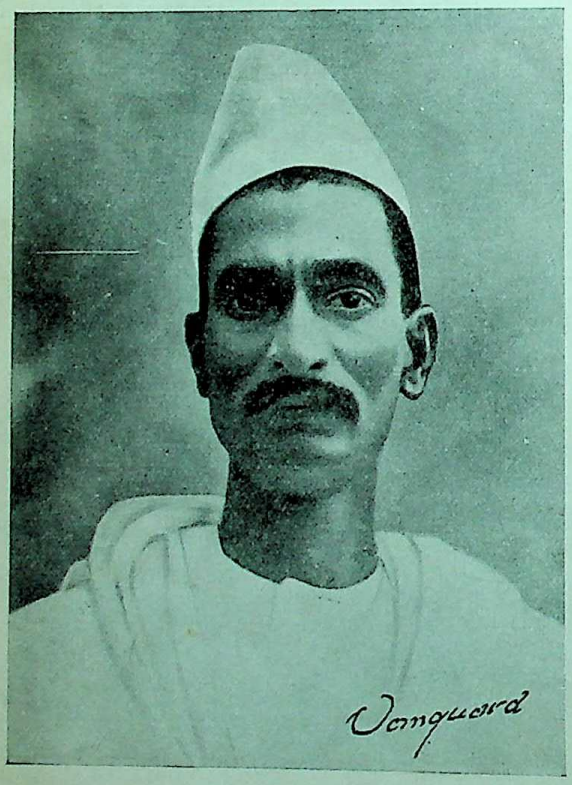
Satyendra Prasanna Sinha
Bombay 1915



Vallabbhai Patel
Karachi 1931



Rajendra Prasad
Bombay 1934

Lal Mohan Ghosh
Madras 1903
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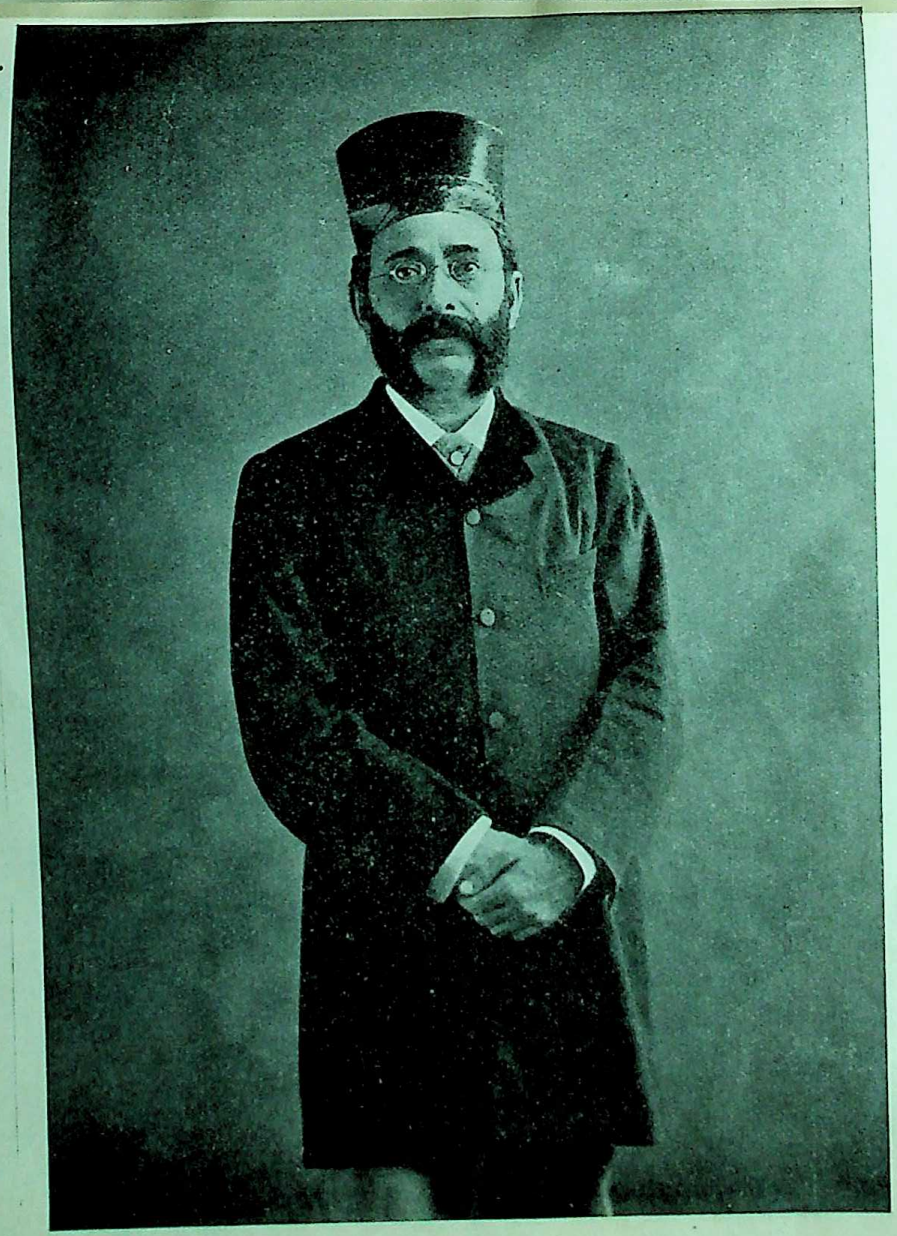

Phiroze Shah Mehta
Calcutta 1890

Romesh Chunder Dutt
Lucknow 1899
By Courtesy of Mr. Kapil Dutt

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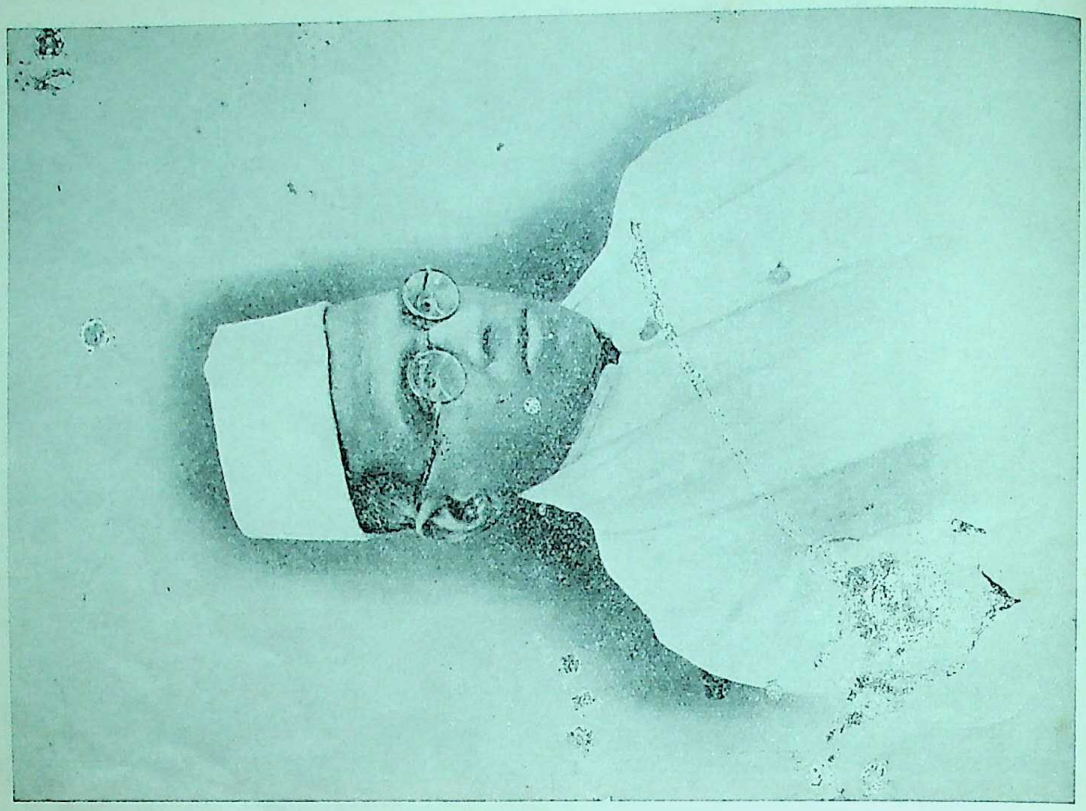

Lala Lajpat Rai
Calcutta (Special) 1920

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with some notes about the first Conference, but nowhere do we find any mention that Surendra Nath and his friends were invited by the organizers, Allen Hume and his party, to attend the Bombay Conference which was named the Indian National Congress. At last W. C. Bonnerjea asked Surendra Nath to attend it. Whether it was a sincere call for his service or a move to make the sitting of the Conference a failure is not beyond dispute. We have on the authority of Surendra Nath the following statement:

> I told him (Mr. Bonnerjea) that it was too late to suspend the Conference, that as I had a large share in its organization it would not be possible for me to leave Calcutta and attend the Congress.

Thus the Indian National Congress was inaugurated excluding the *enfant terrible* in politics in India—Surendra Nath Banerjea, the Indian Association and those who made themselves champions of the people's cause and thus incurred the displeasure of the bureaucracy.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

A BRIEF SURVEY OF FIFTY YEARS' ACTIVITIES

THE Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress was celebrated throughout the whole of India on the 28th December last. The record of the efforts and achievements of the Indian National Congress is, in the main, the history of the political re-awakening and reconstruction of India during the last fifty years. We can, however, give here only a very brief sketch of its career.

With the gradual awakening of political consciousness among the educated Indians, the need of an All-India organization and platform to discuss the various political problems that confronted them came to be felt in the latter half of the nineteenth century; and this was felt all the more necessary owing to the very effective organization and propaganda of the Europeans against the famous Ilbert bill during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon.

Responding to this desire for a National Assembly the Indian Association of Calcutta, under the leadership of Surendranath Banerjea,—who himself was in no small degree responsible for awakening this desire in the country—organized the National Conference at Calcutta in 1883. This National Conference, which met for a second time at Calcutta in 1885 with a more representative gathering from other provinces, was the spiritual precursor of the Indian National Congress and was incorporated into it, when Surendranath, with his friends and followers, joined the Congress in its second session at Calcutta in 1886.

Allan Octavius Hume, now famous as the Father of the Indian National Congress, was mainly responsible for organizing the first Congress in which task he had the blessings of Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy; these blessings, however, the Congress soon forfeited, as it grew more and more enthusiastic and earnest in its demands and activities.

1885, December 28, Bombay, the first session of the Indian National Congress. W. C. Bonnerjee—President. Resolutions urging the appointment of a Royal Commission, the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India and reform of the legislative council and other political and administrative reforms were adopted at this session.

1886, Calcutta. Dadabhai Naoroji—President; Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra—Chairman, Reception Committee.

1887, Madras. Badruddin Tyabji—President; Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao—Chairman, Reception Committee. A committee to frame rules and regulation for guiding the Congress was appointed at this session.

1888, Allahabad. George Yule—President; Pandit Ayodhyanath—Chairman, Reception Committee. The National Congress, by now, had forfeited the confidence of the Government and this session took place in face of obstacles put in its way by the Civil and Military authorities of Allahabad.

1889, Bombay. Sir William Wedderburn—President; Pherozeshah Mehta—Chairman, Reception Committee.

Sankaran Nair
Amraoti 1897

1890, Calcutta. Pherozeshah Mehta—President; Manomohan Ghosh—Chairman, Reception Committee.

1891, Nagpur. P. Anand Charlu—President; C. Narayanswami Naidu—Chairman, Reception Committee.

1892, Allahabad. W. C. Bonnerjee—President;

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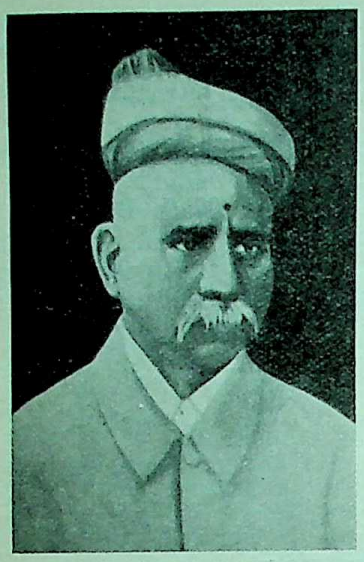
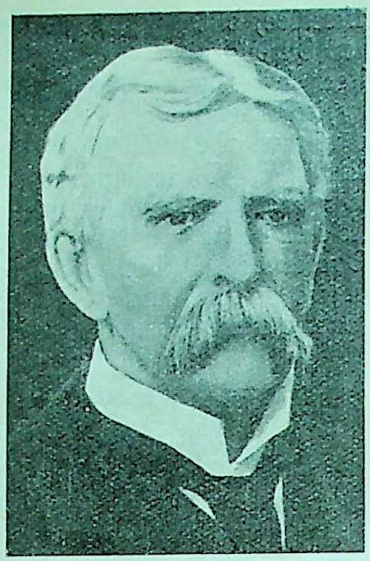


R. N. Modhalkar
Bankipore 1912



Henry Cotton
Bombay 1904

Alfred Webb
Madras 1894

Pandit Bishwambharnath—Chairman, Reception Committee.

1893, Lahore. Dadabhai Naoroji—President; Sardar Dyal Singh Magithia—Chairman, Reception Committee.

1894, Madras. Alfred Webb—President; P. Rangiah Naidu—Chairman, Reception Committee.

1895, Poona. Surendra Banerjea—President; S. M. Bhide—Chairman, Reception Committee.

1896, Calcutta. Rahimatulla Sayani—President; Sir Rames Chandra Mitter—Chairman, Reception Committee. It may be mentioned here, in passing, that the Congress, during these years as well as for some years to come, contented itself with the passing of resolutions praying for political and administrative reforms, depending almost entirely on "the sense of justice and generosity of the British People." The ideas of self-reliance and of the "right to freedom," had not yet firmly established themselves throughout the country; any thought of mass propaganda and awakening with a view to attaining freedom was still foreign to most of the Congress leaders: all that was yet to come.

1897, Amraoti. C. Sankaran Nair—President; G. S. Khaparde—Chairman. Reception Committee. This session recorded its protest against Regulations in Bengal, Bombay and Madras authorizing deportation without trial. The year 1897 was called the "Black year" by the Congress leaders, for it saw the prosecution of Balgangadhar Tilak and others consequent on the Black Plague measures at Poona, and other troubles in the country; these, in their turn, gave occasion for the gradual rise of the Nationalist or Extremist Party.

1898, Madras. Anandamohan Bose—President; N. Subba Rao—Chairman, Reception Committee.

1899, Lucknow. Romes Chunder Dutt—President; Banshilal Singh—Chairman, Reception Committee. Lord Curzon, already installed as the Viceroy of India, had by now started his compaign of curbing popular rights and privileges, culminating in the Partition of Bengal, 1905, and the Congress, in this session as also afterwards, recorded it protest against Lord Curzon's anti-popular policy. Rules and regulations to guide the activities of the Congress were now framed and its creed, as determined in these rules, read as follows: "The object of the Indian National Congress shall be to promote by constitutional means the interests and wellbeing o people of the Indian Empire."

1900, Lahore. Narayan Ganesh Chandavar President; Kaliprasanna Ray—Chairman, Reception mittee.

1901, Calcutta. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha—Presi Jagadindranath Roy of Natore—Chairman, Rec Committee. Gandhiji, whose sphere of action was confined to South Africa, was present at this se and moved the resolution on South Africa, as "a tioner on behalf of the 100,000 British-Indians in Africa."

1902, Ahmedabad. Surendranath Banerjea—P dent; Ambalal Desai—Chairman, Reception Commit

1903, Madras. Lalmohun Ghose—President; N Syed Muhammad—Chairman, Reception Committee.

1904, Bombay. Sir Henry Cotton—President; Ph shah Mehta—Chairman, Reception Committee. A pr was made at this session against Lord Curzon's pro for the partition of Bengal as also against employing Indian troops to conquer patriotic people fighting their country.

1905, Benares. Gopal Krishna Gokhale—Presi Munshi Madholal—Chairman, Reception Committee. Bengal Partition scheme was notified in July, 1905: settled fact," to come into force on the 16th of Oct This partition gave birth to a new spirit in the con particularly in Bengal, which was to permeate the of India fifteen years later. Bengal now grew sick sending pathetic prayers and petitions, and decide have recourse to "more powerful methods of pro as the boycott of British goods, which she resolved eventually proved to be. The Congress in this se emphatically protested against the partition. A re tion protesting against the repressive measures was adopted, in seconding which Lala Lajpat Rai had occasion to offer his felicitations to Bengal as the h of a New Era in the country. An attempt was mad this session to have the Bengal programme acc as the Congress policy, but the conservative ele would have it confined to Bengal alone.

1906, Calcutta. Dadabhai Naoroji—President; Rashbihari Ghose—Chairman, Reception Committee. word *Swaraj* as the objective of the Congress was.

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Sayed Muhammad
Karachi 1913

Hakim Azmal Khan
Ahmedabad 1927

Sayed Hasan Imam
Bombay 1918 (Special)

troduced in the Congress phraseology this year in the esidential address, which defined *Swaraj* as "Self-overnment as in the United Kingdom or the Colonies." he boycott movement in Bengal was re-approved in this ssion, which extended its support to the Swadeshi ovement, advising preference of articles made in India en at some sacrifice.

1907, Surat. Dr. Rashbihari Ghose—President; ribhubandas Malvi—Chairman, Reception Committee. his session could not be properly held and broke up midst excitement owing to high feelings between the noderate' and the 'extremist' groups of the Congress. he moderate leaders were now left at the helm of the ongress affairs owing to the secession of the other group ho did not find the Congress progressive enough to ice the new ideas and aspirations of the country. The der leaders after the break-up of the open session lled a National convention, a committee of which pre-ared a creed for the Congress in 1908. The object of e Congress, according to this creed, was the attainment a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by e Self-governing Members of the British Empire, and is object was to be achieved by constitutional means, y bringing about a steady reform of the existing system f administration. Every delegate to the Congress was o express his acceptance of the objects of the Congress s laid down in the creed.

1908, Madras. Dr. Rashbihari Ghose—President; Dewan Bahadur Krishnaswami Rao—Chairman, Reception Committee. This Congress gratefully welcomed the coming Morley-Minto) Reforms, appealed for the reversal of he Bengal Partition and protested against deportation ithout trial.

1909, Lahore. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya—President; Harkishen Lal—Chairman, Reception Committee. This Congress repeated its appeal for re-consideration of the partition of Bengal, and a deputation onsisting of Surendranath Banerjea and Bhupendranath Basu was appointed to proceed to England to place this uestion before the British public.

1910, Allahabad. Sir William Wedderburn—President; Pandit Sundarlal—Chairman, Reception Committee.

1911, Calcutta. Bishen Narayan Dar—President; Bhupendranath Basu—Chairman, Reception Committee.

1912, Bankipur. Ranganath Mudholkar—President; Mazharul Haque—Chairman, Reception Committee.

1913, Karachi. Nawab Syed Muhammad—President; Harchandrai Bishendas—Chairman, Reception Committee. This session adopted a resolution on the need for joint action, with a view to attaining self-government, by the Congress and the Moslem League.

1914, Madras. Bhupendranath Basu—President; Sir S. Subrahmanya Iyer—Chairman, Reception Committee. Mrs. Annie Besant joined the Congress, for the first time, in this session. It was through her efforts that the nationalists were later persuaded to return to the Congress fold.

1915, Bombay. Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha—President; Dinshaw Edulji Wacha—Chairman, Reception Committee. A resolution pressing for Provincial autonomy and other reforms was adopted this year; it was further resolved that the All-India Congress Committee, in consultation with the Moslem League, should prepare a common scheme of self-government.

1916, Lucknow. Ambica Charan Mazoomdar—President; Pandit Jagat Narain—Chairman, Reception Committee. It was at this session that Balgangadhar Tilak and his nationalist followers joined the Congress after a long absence, as the result of a compromise previously arrived at. It was also at this session that the Congress-League Reporms scheme, along with the Hindu-Muslim Concordat, (better known as the Lucknow Pact) was formulated and adopted.

1917, Calcutta. Mrs. Annie Besant—President; Baikunthanath Sen—Chairman, Reception Committee. Mrs. Besant had started the Home Rule League in the beginning of this year which resulted in her internment. The Congress passed a vote of confidence, as it were, in Mrs. Besant and her movement by electing her to the presidential chair, which she occupied so ably.

1918, August, Bombay, Special Session. Syed Hassan Imam—President; Vithalbhai Patel—Chairman, Reception Committee. This special session was convened to discuss the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms Report (July, 1918) which it found disappointing, unsatisfactory and unacceptable.

1918, Delhi. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya—

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William Wedderburn
Bombay 1889

P. Ananda Charlu
Nagpur 1891

George Yule
Allahabad 1888

President; Hakim Ajmal Khan—Chairman, Reception Committee. This session re-affirmed the special session resolution re: the Montague-Chelmsford Report. On the motion of Mrs. Besant, this Congress claimed "the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as one of the progressive Nations to whom the principle of Self-Determination should be applied," the right of free discussion of political problems, and the assimilation of the law of sedition to that of England. This session also disapproved, on the motion of Bepin Chandra Pal, the recommendations of the (Rowlatt) Sedition Committee Report (July, 1918).

1919, Amritsar. Pandit Motilal Nehru—President; Swami Sradhanand—Chairman, Reception Committee. Amritsar was chosen as the venue of this session, particularly because it was the place of occurrence of the well-known Jalliwanwallah Bagh tragedy. On the motion of Chittaranjan Das, the Congress re-affirmed the resolutions of the previous session on self-government, and declared the Montague Reforms "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing." Gandhiji, who still had faith in the British sense of justice, wanted to delete the word "disappointing" and also wanted the people to work loyally the new Reforms. A compromise was arrived at, according to which the Congress trusted that so far as possible the reforms should be worked so as to secure an early establishment of Responsible Government. Gandhiji's faith, however, proved futile and no satisfactory redress of the Punjab wrongs and no solution of the Khilafat problem were made by the Government and things moved in such a way as to compel Gandhiji to formulate a programme of Non-co-operation in 1920.

1920. Calcutta, Special Session. Lala Lajpat Rai—President; Byomkesh Chakravarti—Chairman, Reception Committee. This session considered the Non-co-operation programme and declared that "in view of the fact that the Government had failed in their duty to the Indian Muhammadans in the matter of the Khilafat, and, further, in view of the fact that the Government failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab," "the only effectual means to indicate national honour and to prevent similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya." The programme of Non-violent Non-co-operation, advised by the Congress until the said wrongs were righted and Swarajya established, included the following items: (*a*) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation nominated seats in local bodies; (*b*) refusal to a Government Levees, Durbars and other Government tions; (*c*) gradual withdrawl of children from s and colleges owned, aided, or controlled by Govern and in place of such institutions, establishment of na schools and colleges; (*d*) gradual boycott of B Courts by lawyers and litigants and establishme arbitration Courts for the settlement of disputes; * (*f*) withdrawal by candidates of their candidatur election to Reformed Councils and refusal on the pa the voters to vote for any candidate; (*g*) boyco foreign goods. We have gone into the Non-co-oper programme in some detail as also into the Co activities henceforward, for the adoption of the co-operation formula marks a definite change in method and mental attitude of the Congress. It change, already come over Bengal during the Swa Movement, from simple trust on the Government to reliance, from the idea of political concessions to belief in the nation's right to freedom.

1920, Nagpur. C. Vijayraghabachariar—Presi Seth Jamnalal Bajaj—Chairman, Reception Comm The Non-co-operation programme was re-affirmed in session. The Congress creed was changed, which altered, read thus: "The object of the Indian Nat Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the peop India by all legitimate and peaceful means." The co tution of the Congress also underwent a great de change.

1921, Ahmedabad. Hakim Ajmal Khan (*vice* C ranjan Das, President-Elect, arrested)—Presi Vallabhbhai Patel—Chairman, Reception Committee. country had already thrown itself into the Civil obedience Movement, under the leadership of Mah Gandhi, and the Congress confirmed the Non-co-oper resolutions of the Calcutta and Nagpur sessions, re mended individual and mass Civil disobedience. called upon all over 18 years of age to join the Nat Volunteer Organization and offer themselves for a Mahatma Gandhi was appointed as the sole dictato the Congress. For the first time in the history of Cong Maulana Hasrat Mohani wanted to declare "Cong Independence free from all foreign control" as Congress goal and to have the creed changed accordi

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Ambica Charan Majumdar
Lucknow 1916

Bishen Narayan Dhar
Calcutta 1911

Mohammad Rahimtullah Sayani
Calcutta 1896

The motion, however, was opposed by Mahatma Gandhi, and was lost.

1922, Gaya. Chittaranjan Das—President; Brijkishore Prashad—Chairman, Reception Committe. Early this year, mass Civil disobedience was abandoned consequent to Chauri-chaura disturbances and Gandhiji advised a constructive programme. Later, Gandhiji himself was arrested. A committee appointed by the Congress to report on Civil disobedience and to recommend any necessary change in the Congress programme advised Council-entry with the idea of carrying on an obstructionist policy. The Congress however, held fast to the old programme of the boycott of councils. The congress camp was divided, and Chittaranjan Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and others, who advocated Council-entry, formed the Congress Swarajya Party after this session.

1923, Delhi, Special Session. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad—President; Dr. M. A. Ansari—Chairman, Reception Committee. This session was held to effect a compromise between the two wings of the Congress divided over the question of Council-entry. This session, on the motion of Maulana Mahammad Ali, permitted Council-entry by Congressmen.

1923, Cocanada. Maulana Mahammad Ali—President; Konda Venkatappa—Chairman, Reception Committee. The Delhi resolution re : Council-entry was confirmed, without however, abandoning faith in the Gandhi programme of boycott.

1924, Belgaum. Mahatma Gandhi—President; Gangadhar Rao Deshpande—Chairman, Reception Committee. Gandhiji, who was released early this year, entered into a pact with the Swarajya party, according to which the Non-co-operation programme (excepting the boycott of foreign goods) was suspended, the Swarajists were declared to be the Council Section of the Congress, while the constructive programme remained. A spinning franchise for the Congress was introduced. This pact was ratified by the Congress.

1925, Cawnpore. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu—President; Dr. Murarilal—Chairman, Reception Committee. In the middle of this year, Mahatma Gandhi proposed to place the whole machinery of the Congress at the disposal of the Swarajists; this proposal was ratified in this session. It was also decided that the Swarajists should accept no office until the national demand of February, 1924, in the Assembly was satisfactorily dealt with by the Government.

1926, Gauhati. Sreenivas Iyengar—President; Tarunram Phookan—Chairman, Reception Committee. The Swarajist programme was re-affirmed in this session.

1927, Madras. Dr. M. A. Ansari—President; Muthuranga Mudaliar—Chairman, Reception Committee. On the motion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, *Purna Swaraj* or Independence was accepted as the objective of the Congress. Introduction of joint electorates for the election to Councils, with reservation of seats, if necessary for particular communities, was recommended.

1928, Calcutta. Pandit Motilal Nehru—President; Jatindramohan Sen-Gupta—Chairman, Reception Committee. This session resolved that the Congress should accept a Dominion Status constitution, (as sketched in the). All parties Conference Report, 1928, if the same was granted within December 31st, 1929; otherwise it should start on a campaign of Non-co-operation with a view to attaining *Purna Swaraj* or Independence.

1929, Lahore. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—President; Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew—Chairman, Reception Committee. *Purna Swaraj* was declared to be the goal of the Congress, as no understanding could be arrived at about the granting of Dominion Status to India. This session called upon the members of the different legislatures to withdraw themselves, and decided on launching a campaign of Civil disobedience as soon as the country was prepared for the same. Accordingly, Mahatma Gandhi sent a long communication to Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy, on British Rule in India and its deplorable economic results; and unless some relief were guaranteed, Gandhiji declared, he would start breaking the Salt law. As he received no satisfactory reply ("on bended knees I asked for bread and I have received stones instead") he started on the famous Dundee March to break the Salt law, to be followed by a general Civil disobedience movement throughout the country.

The time for the usual sitting of the Congress was shifted from December to February-March from now; no session of the Congress, accordingly, took place in 1930.

1931, Karachi. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel—President; Chaitram Gidwani—Chairman, Reception Committee. This Congress ratified the pact already entered into

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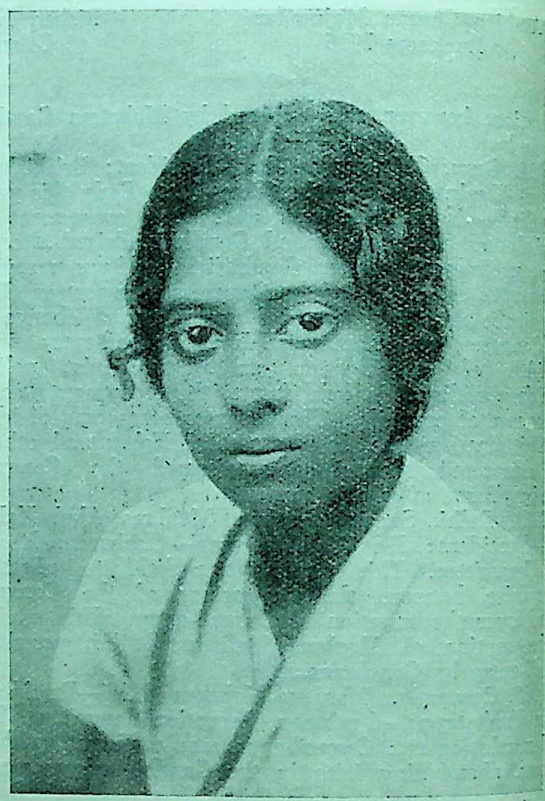
between Gandhiji and Lord Irwin suspending the Civil disobedience movement and it was decided to send Congress representatives to the Second Round Table Conference. No regular session of the Congress could since then be held till 1934, owing to disturbed political situation in the country.

Two sessions of the Congress, declared unlawful (1932, Delhi, Seth Ranchorlal—President; 1933, Calcutta, Mrs. Nellie Sen-Gupta—President) were described as held.

1934, Bombay. Rajendra Prasad—President; K. F. Nariman—Chairman, Reception Committee. This Co declared that it "neither accepts nor rejects" the munal award which gave occasion for much unfavou criticism. It was also decided that Congressmen sh re-enter the legislatures with a view to wrecking the Constitution. Mahatma Gandhi retired from active p cipation in the Congress in order to organize an All-I Village Industries Association to ameliorate the econ condition of the villages. Certain important changes made in the Congress constitution with a view strengthening the organization.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Miss Basanti Das Gupta, B.A.

Miss Basanti Das Gupta, B.A., whose death occurred recently in Calcutta, was a refined girl with extraordinary proficiency in music and fine arts. She was connected with various cultural and educated organizations and societies in Calcutta, who would feel her sad and untimely death. In the post-graduate class of the Calcutta University she made her mark. She was the daughter of Babu Barada Mohan Das, B.L. of the Sylhet District Bar.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

International Irony

The Italo-Ethiopian conflict has revealed to the observant many surprising contradictions in the society of nations. *The Unity* publishes some examples of them:

Soviet Russia stands for peace, condemns imperialist war, organizes, through the Comintern, work against war and fascism. Soviet Russia is selling to Mussolini most of the oil he is using for naval and commercial vessels, and for the Italian armed forces, on the Ethiopian adventure.

Officials of the Union of South Africa have stated that it will never permit the use of its citizens for a foreign war. From the Union of South Africa comes much of the meat being used by Mussolini's invading army.

Canadian statesmen of all parties have decried the march on Abyssinia. The Canadian Pacific ships, *Melita* and *Minnedosa*, have been sold to Mussolini to transport troops.

The United States government has passed a neutrality act which prohibits the shipment of war munitions; its spokesmen have decried the piling up of war profits. Our business interests have expressed jubilation over increased production in steel, partly due to export for the Italian army, and over rises in the quantity and prices of scrap iron exports, chiefly sent to Italy, Germany and Japan.

Great Britain deplores Mussolini's aircraft and their menacing operations with Ethiopia in mind. Britain's official representatives at the disarmament conference killed a plan to ban aerial bombardment of colonial peoples; and, according to House of Commons documents, government officials issued during the six months ending about August 1 permits for 26 airplane flights of Italian planes over British Somaliland.—*Nofrontier News Service.*

The Living Age also cites some such examples:

Sir Samuel Hoare, British Foreign Secretary, finds no inconsistency in maintaining imperial rule from Ireland to India and then protesting against Italian aggression in Africa in these words:—

We believe that small nations are entitled to a life of their own . . . . and that backward nations are, without prejudice to their independence and integrity, entitled to expect that assistance will be afforded them by more advanced peoples in the development of their resources and the building up of their national life.

Both Winston Churchill, spokesman for the Tory die-hards, and the Labour Party have rallied to the National Government's support while J. L. Garvin's Conservative *Observer* takes the opposite view. As for Lord Rothermere's *Evening News*, it has been transformed overnight from a sabre-rattling advocate of preparedness into a cooing dove of peace. It calls the League of Nations 'a war trap and nothing else' and warns against an anti-Italian policy:—

If we pursue an anti-Italian policy, we are likely to find ourselves before long at war with a country that has always been our friend and that is now, incidentally, one of the most powerfully armed in Europe. And will the League, when that comes to pass, supply us with friends in need? Not a one. They will commend our high-mindedness—and keep out of the fuss.

And it is the same story all along the line. Germany interrupts a feverish campaign of preparation for war to endorse President Roosevelt's neutrality programme and to declare its undying devotion to peace. The same French militarists who have been roaring for German blood since their late-lamented leader earned the name of 'Poincare-la-Guerre' now refer to the leader of the French Socialists as 'Blum-la-Guerre' because he advocates the use of sanctions against Mussolini.

But the Communists occupy the most peculiar position of any group. In London their official organ, the *Daily Worker*, appeals to the workers of the world not to handle goods destined for Italy while at the same time Soviet workers in the Black Sea ports busily ship wheat and oil to Mussolini's Fascists.

New Germany

Dale DeWitt makes certain interesting observations, based on impressions gathered first-hand, on the internal condition of New Germany in *The Christian Register*, reproduced here in part:

In the midst of an artificially induced state boom, Germany appears busy and even in some respects prosperous. New automobiles in the cities, quite a number of building projects, and good crops with whole families working in the fields, and still the sense of enthusiasm for the new Germany, all combine to give the impression to many travellers that everything is all right and most of the stories we hear are lies. It is possible, too, if one talks with the right people, to get a most favourable view of the reaction to the present government. It is only when one begins to look more critically into things, and especially the human aspects, that the surface deception is realized.

The newspapers of Germany are, of course, completely under the domination of the propaganda ministry. This means that there is little world news of any dependability, much Nazi propaganda, and that the papers carry an almost deadly sameness and monotony. The result is that the Germans, formerly great newspaper readers, now do not pay much attention to them. Every effort is made to sell them, but with scant results. Statistics are available as to the decrease in circulation and are impressive. I watched carefully after the first day in Berlin, and saw by actual count only five papers purchased in five days. This must be rather extreme, but it is indicative of a type of unconscious reaction, the implications of which remain unrealized to the average German.

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The consolidation of the nation under the conception of the National Socialist Party as the state is the outward expression of what Hitler constantly refers to as the unity of Germany. In view of the realities of the situation, it creates an interesting and growing contradiction. For there is apparent, as this process of unification goes on, an equally progressive disunity of another sort. Here if ever the saying can be reversed from "In union there is strength" to "In union there is weakness." For this very political and outward unity adds, by each step taken, some stress and strain on the loyalty of the Germans, by pulling them away from other loyalties which have tied them.

The whole question of unity and disunity is the most interesting phase of the German situation. Hitler in effect says, not "Thou shalt have no other gods before me," but rather, "Thou shalt have no other gods but me." In an almost literal sense there is a kind of deification of Hitler among masses of the people. And almost literally, too, the German unity depends on the maintenance of this deification. There is much under the Nazi regime that the Germans do not like. Their dislike of various happenings is frequently vocal. But the criticism is not of Hitler. He is still the "good man," "the righteous one," messiah of German liberation, too great and too busy to be bothered with the problems which involve criticism. But there is a certain detachment of the messiah which is maintained in a number of ways. People seldom know where Hitler is. He jumps around from place to place in an airplane, appearing unexpectedly here or there to make a speech. The legend is psychologically maintained by the propaganda ministry. In addition he so far has been able to sustain his position by actual achievements accredited to him. The two things which hold unbounded impressiveness for the people are the repudiation of the treaty of Versailles and the re-establishment of the army. German unity, which is genuine in support of National Socialism, is thus up to the present based on the semi-deification of Hitler, the freeing of Germany and the establishment of the army. Future unity depends on the maintenance of Hitler's unique position, the continued valuing of those achievements and, a very critical point for the peace of Europe, the consolidation of all Germans into the nation. This means primarily the political annexation of Austria. Germany can stand a great deal of internal trouble due to the unworkability of the National Socialist program if the present "spell" can be maintained and the Germans believe in the prospect of including their blood brothers in the nation.

There is a great deal of journalistic talk about a struggle for power between the National Socialist Party and the army. Some writers see the army as the dominant power in Germany and expect that it will soon depose Hitler in favour of the aristocrats of older Germany. The viewpoint which I gathered on this question was to the effect that, although the army is very powerful and could undoubtedly rule politically, it was not greatly interested in doing so. It is not interested in politics expect as its own development is concerned. Whenever the political activities interfere with the military ambitions of the army politics has to yield, as when a large number of pastors were released from prison to make easier the negotiations of the naval treaty with Britain. Hitler's belief in a powerful army makes him a satisfactory instrument for their purposes, and so long as he can maintain his political prestige there is no reason to think they have a real quarrel with him. If, however, the spell is ever broken and the unworkability of the Nazi program becomes too apparent, the army would undoubtedly be the dominant factor in determining the political set-up. Their pow present is used only in a negative sense and invoked in their own interest.

Words have a peculiar significance in Germany t Besides unity there is the word liberty, used with greatest indifference to the fact that there is less liber Germany than almost anywhere in the world today. T is the word justice, which comes to mean the will of Nazi official who has power of decision in any sp case. The distorting of the word justice is one of saddest of all. A former high official in Germany, asked what he would do first if back in power, answ that he would first re-establish some standards of ju all standards having been abolished.

The word truth means whatever the propag ministry wishes one to believe. Julius Streicher, the extremist foe of the Jews, at his Berlin meeting in Au said that to lie was impossible in Germany, but th was possible for newspaper correspondents to send thing they wished to other countries. The first par his statement may be right, in view of what the word has come to mean to the Nazis.

Equal Pay for Equal Work

D. J. Aickman's plea for equal pay equal work as between men and women in trades and professions, reproduced here in p from *The Catholic Citizen,* will be of inter in India as women here enter the sa professions as men in increasing numbers, thou conditions in India and abroad are not identic

In the Teaching Profession, equality of service indisputably evident. The training of men and wo teachers demands an equally long probation to ob equal qualifications. Both men and women work same hours, teaching an equal number of scholars, sit for the same examinations, and are expected to re the same degree of proficiency. No one will now as that the education of girls is of less value to the co munity and of less importance than that of boys. Bear these facts in mind, it is hard to appreciate the reas for paying a woman teacher only four-fifths of a m teacher's salary, and for finally penalizing her at the e of her career by awarding her a smaller pension, sin in this profession, pensions are based on the aver salary for the last five years of service.

It is important to remember that Equal Pay is symbol of a movement much wider than its monet aspect. It is assumed too often that the question merely one of wage differentiation. Its antagonists bri forward the old argument that women's needs are as great as men's, assuming that women have no requi ments beyond the strictest necessities of life; a therefore, demanding that this entirely fictitious assumpt should govern their rate of payment. Actually monetary aspect of the problem is the lesser one. real evil, apart from the grave injustice to the wom concerned, lies in the effect this under-payment has u men workers, and potential workers in the same occup tions. A large supply of cheap labour—in this case female labour, jeopardizes the position of men, a reacts adversely upon wage standards; for, in all ca where a reserve of cheap labour is available, employe tend to give it preference, men's positions beco correspondingly precarious, and any attempt to secu

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improvement in wages is defeated at the outset.

These facts must be forced home to men and women alike. The strength of the case for Equal Pay grows as women increasingly demonstrate their ability to do the same work as men, and to do it under similar conditions.

Control of Crime

People, as a rule, look upon the criminal as a strange species of human being and the question of whether or not he might be a product of our social system, or whether or not there might be a possibility of rehabilitation, generally escapes them. Floyd F. Caldwell contributes an instructive paper on criminal control to the *World Order* from which the following excerpts are made:

In far too great a majority of cases our institutions, which ostensibly are for the purpose of correction, are failing miserably. They are not rehabilitating those who enter but are providing ways and means by which these individuals sink even lower into the sea of iniquity. Society has provided a place where outward conformity of rules repress all efforts at constructive improvement and expression; where motivation is provided by fear of punishment rather than by operation of economic motives or eyes, even appeal to higher motives; where men are taught to cringe rather than to develop in strength of personality; where practically no attempt is made to develop attitudes of self-helpfulness and self-improvement.

Another principle which is receiving very little consideration is that which has to do with individual differences. At the present time the emphasis is placed upon the type of crime committed and not upon the individual who commits the crime. We still assume that a human being or a group of human beings has the wisdom to know beforehand just what treatment is necessary to accord to the prisoner and what time it will take to rehabilitate him and return him to society a useful citizen. We are evidently still primitive enough to assume that all individuals suffer the same and react the same to the same kind of treatment.

Treatment of the mal-adjustment is largely a problem of prophylaxis, education, and re-education. As these are primarily the application of psychological principles, psychology is of paramount importance. Society must make more of an organized effort to provide a proper environment for the child from birth to maturity and even on throughout adulthood. In our institutions of learning and in our correctional institutions, those in charge find themselves much in the same predicament as a physician who locates the causes of a disease but has no drugs to administer. The child is under the supervision of the educator approximately only six hours of the twenty-four. When the aggravating difficulty lies in the home and surrounding environment, what is the educator to do to gain control of the situation? With the prisoner the life is so artificial that he may become adjusted to the situation within the prison but fail utterly when released again upon society. These individuals need training in social life and in economic independence. They have failed here, why not train here? Present practices, organization and social taboos, however, will not permit.

The correctional institutions should be such in fact and not in name only. They should be places in which all the knowledge concerning human nature is being applied intelligently with the definite aim in view of rehabilitation. To do this the prisons must be either more numerous and smaller than they are at present, or a force of skilled workers must be provided and be allowed the opportunity to give much individual attention to the inmates. For, we must remember that every inmate is an individual problem and cannot be considered otherwise. At the present time congested conditions in our prisons are deplorable, and little of a constructive nature can be expected until these conditions are remedied. A careful study should be made of each individual case before being retained in prison or being paroled. Under the present system, through the activity of friends, many individuals are released who have no intention of reforming while a friendless prisoner, who would die rather than commit another crime, may be forced to spend a lifetime behind the walls.

The Difficult Road Away from War

Bruce Bliven, writing in *The New Republic*, criticizes Sir Samuel Hoare's suggestion of a redistribution of colonial territories as a solution of war, and offers some suggestions of his own:

Public discussion of the factors making, in the long run, for war, has now advanced to the point where practically all serious students of the subject agree that the primary causes are economic, though these causes may assume one or another of many Protean forms. We are therefore beginning to hear from such distinguished authorities as Mr. Frank Simonds and Sir Samuel Hoare that what the world needs is a redistribution of colonial territory, to adjust the balance between the hungry and the sated nations. It is part of this general proposal that the world's raw materials should also be allocated among the nations on a basis of need. But surely no man in his senses imagines that the existing government of any of the Great Powers would consent to either of these courses, or would be permitted by existing public opinion at home to do so. One has only to reduce this pretty generality to concrete terms to see how absurd it is. Would the British give Hongkong to Japan, or the French, Indo-China? Would France care to hand over the Syrian mandate to Italy, or Britain surrender Egypt to Il Duce? Which of the Great Powers is prepared to give vast quantities of iron, coal or oil to nation that is likely to employ these materials in some future war against the donor? It is safe to say that the international conference which attempted to carry out these policies would be the immediate prelude to a new general conflict.

The underlying weakness in these grandiose schemes is that they presuppose the continuance of private capitalistic enterprise in all those countries where it now exists; and that such enterprise presupposes the continuance of large and expanding foreign trade. To be sure, there is now an important counter-current in the world: the movement toward economic self-sufficiency, toward "autarchy," which seeks to make the nation economically independent to the highest possible degree, to balance imports and exports on a physical basis, reducing them virtually to barter. If this movement could be carried to its logical conclusion throughout the world, it could do much to alleviate the war danger. Unfortunately, however, this will not happen. Autarchy

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is not a policy deliberately pursued by the nations for the sake of peace. It has been forced upon certain countries by necessity, the necessity of stopping the flight of capital, of protecting the national gold supply, of preventing currency depreciation. While it has aimed heavy blows at private capitalistic enterprise, these have been the blows of a friend seeking, let us say, to knock drowning capitalism unconscious and drag it to shore. In Germany, where this process has gone farthest, there has not appeared the slightest renunciation of imperialist ambition. On the contrary, German autarchy has been in large degree part of the preparation for a war that would conquer vast new territories for the Reich.

To simplify and condense a complicated historical process in a summary that is not unfair, no matter how much it may outrage the historians: The coming of the factory system, enormously increasing the productive power of each individual, might have been used to enrich all mankind. Instead, through nobody's fault in particular but because that was the line of least resistance, it resulted in a tremendous increase in the population of the industrialized countries with, probably, some slight raising of the standard of living of the whole number of people and a great increase in wealth for a limited few. An important part of the process from its beginning has been the creation of an "exportable surplus" through the production of goods either in excess of the domestic demand or in excess of the domestic purchasing power. As the industrial revolution has run its course, this exportable surplus, exchanged for raw materials, services or handicraft objects from abroad or for investments overseas, has tended to grow larger, while the area for consumption of such goods in the formerly "backward" parts of the world has steadily been reduced as these countries were themselves industrialized.

In other words, the great manufacturing nations must compete harder and harder in dwindling markets to dispose of goods of which, under "free capitalist activity," there are larger and larger surpluses. Such competition played an important part, though certainly not the only part, in bringing about the Great War. It has played a part in the international tension that has gone on ever since and is steadily mounting.

There is only one way to relieve this international tension, to bring the situation under control and thus to do away permanently with the greatest single cause of war. The formula is obvious: we must not only allocate colonies and raw materials, as so many people are nowadays lightly suggesting, but we must allocate foreign trade as well. We must tell each of the exporting nations how much it shall send abroad and where and what. This may sound simple, but in fact it is the most revolutionary proposal that anyone can make. The links in the logical chain are inexorable. First of all, the nations must be willing to delegate to some international authority control over their vital economic processes. Second, in order to avoid calamitous overproduction, the quantities of goods produced for the domestic market must be limited just as sharply as are those for export, since the manufacturer who is too optimistic regarding the quantities he can sell at home can no longer hide his mistakes by dumping his surplus abroad.

Naval Disarmament

The following excerpts from a paper contributed by David H. Popper to the *Foreign Policy Reports* will be found interesting in of the Naval Conference of 1935:

The atmosphere of crisis which has become in Europe and the Far East obviously precludes efforts to curb an armaments race. The world is confronted by the possibility of two dangerous f naval competition—quantitative and qualitative.

Quantitative competition is in a sense fostered by the ratio system which emphasizes gr of strength. In a world apparently dominated by nationalism and conflicting national policies, it is n than natural that inferior ratios should cause in among the lesser naval powers. Considerations of and prestige have led Italy to claim equality with which in turn demands for its fleet a higher rati respect to the leading navies of the world. Si Japan demands parity with Great Britain and the States, which have adopted the principle for the but refuse to extend it to others. Where relative are so clearly defined, action by one country is cer be reflected in the naval policies of its rivals. In Germany's rearmament has provided the im impetus for increased naval activity; Japan's in designs have had the same effect in the Pacific. I regions an ascending spiral of naval armaments a imminent, with limits set only by financial consider France is determined to preserve a margin of supe over Germany and may thus provoke competitive b in Italy. Britain, unwilling to abandon the preser power standard, may begin a program of ship constr which would again clear the way for additional G tonnage under the terms of the Anglo-German agreement and bring about a repetition of the process. Increased British construction, moreov virtually certain to be followed by American act maintain a navy second to none. Even if the Eu naval scene remained quiescent, the avowed determi of the United States to preserve the existing treaty would lead to competition with Japan. The Ro administration, while less inclined than its predece make diplomatic protests, has already proved more to strengthen its navy.

To this danger of quantitative competition there be added the probability of another form of rival no agreement is reached to preserve the present s of ship categories, new and larger vessels design outclass the treaty types will render large numbe ships obsolete at one stroke. A possible basis for tinued limitation is mere qualitative restriction, w quantitative limits. Japan, however, refuses to co this suggestion until its demand for parity is con Should the naval treaties expire without being re by any agreement, the only collective experime disarmament will have succumbed to the forces lead to war.

International Co-operation

In concluding a learned discourse on progress in international co-operation in *Political Science Quarterly*, September, Prof. Pitman B. Potter says:

There has been a great deal of progress in orga international co-operation in the past fifty years especially in the past fifteen years; that at certain (particularly at culminating points such as codific ratification, revision, adjudication, disarmament and

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s) decisive progress is still retarded; that this rdation is attributable to very general psychological d even sociological causes, such as the lag of opinion hind factual evolution and of governmental action hind lay opinion (with notable contradictions here), d the unwillingness to go upon scientific learning in e conduct of public affairs, and finally to the variations position and interest among nations and the presence gaps or loosenesses in the solidarity of international ations in time and space which bring it about that ternational co-operation may not be at all times and all cases beneficial to every nation concerned or may asonably be doubted to be. The nature of the actions eded to remedy these defects (where they are defects i.e., excepting the last case) is implied in each case by e nature of the deficiency; it is to express one of those ticlimaxes which are none the less sound and important cause they are banal to aver that more education and ntrol of diplomacy by public-spirited and scientific men e what is needed to cure the situation.

The Fear of Marriage ?

There is, nowadays, a growing attitude of oung men all over the world to shirk the sponsibilities of married life. The following marks by Arthur Fressanges, in *The Month*, tober, 1935, may help one to shirk the fear marriage:

Matrimony is the Sacrament of early manhood. It the purpose of matrimony to sanctify wedlock, to ritualize the mature man, passionate, virile and enthustic, in the full ardour of his sense life. The graces matrimony provide for all the difficulties that must necessity beset the season of married life. When two ople give themselves to one another in all the freedom d grace of youth, they are not thereby certain of rmony and concord. Troubles must arise and difficulties pear in the course of their life together. Love is vinely created, and the union of two human beings is e condition of all life on earth. Those who make this ntract make it in full expectation that no matter the als ahead—and these are inescapable—they will receive e light and courage to conquer them.

The preoccupation of modern Youth with weighty onsiderations is a denial of God's Providence. Let it be illing to love greatly, even if married life should require eroic sacrifice, and its confidence in God will have its wn reward. The well-being of the State demands that atrimony be the basis of society, and through the acrament of plighted troth God promises all the ecessary help and security for family life. When the Holy Spirit draws for us that picture of the ideal housefe in the Old Testament, she is not represented as the omfortably indolent mistress of solid means, but rather as the young matron happy with much busyness. "Her children rose up and called her blessed. She hath sought wool and flax and hath wrought by the counsel of her hands. Strength and beauty are her clothing and she shall laugh in the latter day."

If only our young men and women lay hold of this channel of Sacramental grace, confident in the Providence of God, their love would deepen into a love that casteth out fear.

Fact and Fancy

In reviewing the French version of a book of fairy-tales by Abanindranath Tagore, Ranjee G. Sahani observes in *The Asiatic Review:*

If a short story is a most difficult achievement, it is still more so when it assumes the form of a fairy-tale (unity of impression is what fixes the *genus*); for then a different and, to my mind, more sensitive type of mind comes into play. Mere knowledge and experience of life are irrelevant: what matters is the capacity to enter into and make use of the dream consciousness. The world of dreams, as A. E. was wont to say, is the world of creation *par excellence*. To tap—by innate gift or cultured discipline—this mysterious mine and materialize its forms unknown to the waking vitality is the secret of success in this domain.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the eminently practical and commonsense kind of mind is the least fitted to indulge in this genre of writing. It can fabricate according to pattern, but it cannot create new entities. The West, little given to introspection and brooding, has (with a few notable exceptions) not excelled in the fairy-tale. Its achievements belong to the world of eye and touch. The most notable collections of fairy-tales in Europe are, more or less, copies or adaptations of things Oriental. India is the home of the fairy-tale.

The *Poupee de Fromage* comes to us from the hands of Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, an ardent Folklorist, with much of the aroma of the soil from which it has sprung.

Mr. Tagore has to be heartily congratulated on resurrecting this delicate little masterpiece, a veritable jewel of art. This tale is not a slice from life, nor indeed a pure phantasy. It belongs to a different order of writing, an order of writing that one or two Frenchmen are said to have invented recently. Be this as it may, in this tale we have a harmonious blending of fact and fancy, a perfect union of the world of experience with the world of dreams. The incidents of the story are such as might have happened in real life; but there is a superstructure of ideas. The form that T. E. Lawrence imagined but despaired of successfully evolving has been achieved with complete mastery here. The attention of Western artists should be drawn to this gracious creation. From the artistic point of view, it is a triumph.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Spirit of War

The Theosophist, in criticizing the motives of either combatant in the present Italo-Abyssinian conflict in entering upon the war, writes:

War has, though some, like Mr. George Lansbury, would probably reply with an emphatic negative, an ultimate justification in so far as it becomes the last resort to defend a nation against unprovoked aggression. Doubtless there are occasions on which force should be met by non-violence, by non-resistance. But also are there occasions on which force must needs be met by force, when tyranny and brutality would seek to impose might upon right.

I do not rule war out in a world such as we have at present, for we are still only half civilized, and the concomitants of barbarism must lie about us. But no civilized nation will go to war save in the gravest emergency. Indeed upon a civilized nation must war be thrust —it could never be sought.

Unfortunately, no nation in the world, or at most but one or two, has a blameless record in respect of war, and I doubt if it be an exaggeration to say that almost every nation which at present is denouncing Italy has itself engaged in war for aggrandizement, often at terrible cost to those who have been helpless before it. Even today war is going on, expansion of empire is taking place, to which no exception is being taken by those very nations so sedulous in denouncing Italy. One is thus forced to the conclusion that the attitude most nations take towards the actions of another nation is dictated by self-interest; and it becomes difficult to blame Italy for not rating at a very high level the protests of her sister nations. On the other hand, Italy's future greatness depends upon her nobility and not upon her size, and she is pronouncing her irrevocable doom except in so far as she can lay her hand upon her heart to declare that Abyssinia's unprovoked attacks upon her are the sole cause of her reluctant entry upon a war which may set the whole world ablaze. The same acid test applies to Abyssinia, and with regard to either it is finer and nobler to die a martyr than to triumph by tyrannical force. Italy will crumble to pieces as she seeks to build up an Empire upon force, as have perished all other Empires in the past.

War and Women

Madame Ellen Horup, secretary to the International Committee for India, Geneva, in discussing the attitude of women towards war in *The Calcutta Review,* says:

All big nations are trained for warfare. In Germany, Italy and Japan all endeavours for peace are suppressed. Those who do not want war are traitors to their country. War is the national aim.

Women look differently upon war. They have done so. The old outworn ideas about the field of heroic deeds and decorations for bravery can be g for ever in the eyes of men. But women do not the other side. They see their husbands and sons or dead. They see despair, privation, and of continuous toil, hunger and need for them and children. And they see how the field of honour and spreads so that it will soon encompass the earth. The field of honour is no longer reserv their sons and husbands. Their little children, th parents, their sick and helpless are all included. honour and glory in the coming war will be in s more of them than the enemy succeeds in hitti one's own country.

What for example has the Great Powers' latest "collective security" to offer the workers? It wa security they had in the League of Nations' Pact that, in spite of all other talk about security, wa only place where it had ever been found. It mean they all stood together against that Power which the pact. According to Article 11, all members League are to regard themselves as at war with th breaker. All connections, diplomatic, commercial, private, are to be broken. A boycott is to be atten If that does not help, then the mouths of cannon be turned towards her in the defence of peace. Suc collective security. With its help war would virtually been precluded. No Power could have fought a the combined armed forces of the others and by of this it would have been possible to begin coll disarmament.

What the Great Powers now mean by it is n but nonsense. There can be no security in cond which change from one day to the next. Some month it was France, Italy and England who repre ente collective security but that was only up to the tir Stresa. There France and Italy left the security i lurch and haggled about Abyssinia indepe ident England, and after the negotiations of the three P had failed, France could find neither collectivity security and ended by sticking to the strongest, Eng That is what collective security is worth.

War is the most palpable acknowledgment o rights of the strong and the power of money.

The Origins of Indian Nationalism

Hirendra Nath Mukerjee in tracing origin of Indian nationalism in *The Hindu Review,* says:

The national movement thus began to grow we were conscious, slowly but surely, that foreign nation hurt not only our racial self-esteem but our self-interest. Congress was no longer demandi few more jobs for Indians; it was, on the one asking for fiscal autonomy, for control of national ex

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diture, and on the other, trying to organize movements in support of Indian industry. It is significant that, down to as late as 1924, the British Government was pursuing a policy primarily of encouraging British imports, especially textiles from Lancashire; when a tariff for revenue purposes was laid down, it was counter-balanced by an excise duty on Indian products. It is also to be noted that by far the greater number of the Government irrigation works were for the irrigation of cotton-growing land, in order to supply the needs of Lancashire, while at the same time adding to the amount which could be collected in land revenue. Nationalism, however, was winning its tardy victories; Indian steel production was fostered by tariffs and by bounties, while Indian cotton mills have succeeded in securing protection to the extent, even, of a duty against Lancashire imports.

The influence of economic factors is apparent in the more notable stages of our national struggle. It is not without significance that anti-Partition agitation in Bengal went hand in hand with an enthusiastic movement for "Swadeshi," the encouragement of Indian industry and manufacture. The economic tumult of the War period brought into the ranks of the national movement large sections of the proletariat and the peasantry whose participation in the struggle against post-war repression put a different complexion on Mahatma Gandhi's *Satyagraha* and non-co-operation in 1919-22. In 1929-30, the world depression fell on India with the force of a topical typhoon; prices of agricultural produce fell by a half between the harvests of 1929 and 1930, the depreciation of silver robbed the peasants of their beggarly savings, while the new rupee ratio added 11 per cent to India's external debt. It is no wonder, then, that Mahatma Gandhi could again marshal an impressive array of nationalist forces which, for a time, kept the mighty British Government at bay.

Indian Military Expenditure

Sir P. C. Ray in his article in *The Indian Review* on Indian Military Expenditure makes the following observations:

The question of military expenditure to be borne by Indian revenues, however, in its ultimate analysis, centres round the fundamental problem of a mercenary army *vs.* a national army as being necessary for the defence of India. The army policy of the British rulers of India has necessarily been governed by a complete mistrust of those sections of the people in whom there has been the faintest dawn of political consciousness.

The policy persisted in by the Government was thus described and citicized by Sir K. G. Gupta:

When the English first secured the sovereignty of India, there was a National Army in all the provinces officered by Indians who usually came from the land-holding and middle classes, whose interest it was to keep up the martial spirit among their tenants and neighbours. But the British policy has, from the very commencement, been to deprive Indians of all authority in the army, and recruitment has been confined to the rank and non-commissioned officers. . . . .

One may almost exclaim that the *Pax Britannica* of which so much is made in certain quarters has been the greatest drawback of British rule in India; for it has effectually emasculated the whole nation and has made it incapable of doing anything in self-defence.

The division of the people into martial and non-martial races is artificial and unreasonable and must be ascribed to the decision of the authorities to exclude some races from military service and the development of the martial spirit for reasons other than efficiency.

In reply to a question put in the Legislative Assembly in 1921, the Finance Member said that out of the total expenditure in India, including that of the provinces, 33½ per cent was for defence, 11¾ per cent for sinking fund and interest charges on the national debt, 4 per cent for education and ¾ per cent for sanitation. The total expenditure then amounted to 127.60 crores. Today it is not more than 115.10 crores. It was found at that time that

1. Even a rich country like England did not spend more than 20 per cent of its total expenditure on defence (army, navy and air force).
2. Canada did not spend more than 11 per cent.
3. The expenditure of South Africa on this account did not exceed 8 per cent.
4. Portugal spent 20 per cent.
5. Norway spent 11 per cent.

While poor India had to spend 33 per cent and that too in peace time! The situation is the same today and military expenditure sits on the chest of the country like an incubus from which she cannot escape till the whole policy is changed.

What is Hinduism

Rabindranath Tagore in dwelling upon the essence of our true religion, defines Hinduism in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly:*

What then is this Hinduism of ours, when it reveals itself in its purity, like the sun when it rises above the obscurity of the mist and the tangled obstructions of the jungle on the lower horizon?

I have already suggested its definition, when I said that man has a feeling that in him the creative manifestation of life has come to the end of a cycle, ready to ascend to one still wider and higher. When life first evolved its physical senses from the depth of amorphous darkness, it came to a wondrous world of forms, and this adventurous spirit of life is yet urging the spirit within man to develop an inner vision which will lead him through these endless forms into a world of infinite meaning, where he will cross the boundaries of the senses to a freedom which is ineffable.

Hinduism believes that this unfoldment of man's inner being and revelation of the realm of spirit will gradually happen to him, when he realises his relationship with the Infinite through a life of self-control and self-sacrifice, when he feels the longing to adjust his activities to a faith which takes this world, not to be a mechanical combination but to be spiritual, and his own soul not an arena of ravenous passions, but a musical sphere of beauty and truth, that has its harmony with the keynote of creation.

When insensate indifference is everywhere, all doors closed, all lights out, and darkness and emptiness left so supreme that man in his desperation clutches even at them for support, the messenger of salvation, in some mysterious fashion, finds his way there and stands at the door unexpected, unrecognized, and looked upon by the cowering multitude as an enemy.

This was what happended in our country. It had come to this pass that our heaped-up, dead traditions had threatened to smother our consciousness of the Infinite, making petty our daily life, breaking up our

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communities into a hundred different sections, reducing our manhood to a narrow provincialism. We had ceased to be aware of the rule of the One, and were kept distracted by the tyranny of the many. In the nightmare, by which we were oppressed, we viewed the world as peopled with nameless terrors from whose depredations we sought to preserve our aimless lives, as far as we might, by charms and amulets, votive offerings and propitiatory sacrifices.

When thus the timidity of our minds, the weakness of our efforts, the diffidence in our intercourse, the narrowness in our outlook, the crass ignorance which pervaded every department of our lives, were dragging us down to the depths of our doom, a great shock from outside fell upon the tottering walls within which we were pent.

Those of us who were awakened by the shock realized, in an agony of returning consciousness, what it was we had lacked, what the darkness was which enveloped us, what meant the all-pervading lethargy, the joyless death-in-life, with which we had been stricken. Our very sky had been screened off, all access denied to light, the life-giving breezes from the Infinite shut out, a hundred barriers of artificiality set up against intercourse with the Universal. The cry went up from our heart: "We want freedom,—freedom from the mechanical, from the dark, from the dead!"

This cry is the cry of all humanity. It is the same all over the world. Here, man has hidden his true welfare behind the veil of antiquated custom; there, in his attempts to grow bigger by acquisition and accumulation, he has allowed his self to eclipse that which is greater than self; everywhere, whether it be by inert slothfulness or by unmeaning activity, he has been lost to the sense of his greatest good.

The unshackled Hindu mind has always proclaimed this freedom of joy as the true object of man's religious striving. And whenever any particular scripture, temple, philosophy or ritual has usurped the place of such grand freedom, it has done so contrary to the spirit of truth and necessarily therefore of true Hinduism.

The Clash of Cultures

Gaganvihari Mehta in *Contemporary India* asks all thinking people to realize that the problem of cultural affinity between the two great continents of Europe and Asia is one of the fundamental issues of the present times:

Culture, is a complex phenomenon and cultural contact of the East with the West today is mainly determined by the nature of political and economic contacts. Partly because of the inherent strength of the material motive and partly because of the character of industrialism which has become worldwide in its ramifications, economic forces are the most vital factor affecting the cultural conditions of the East. Economic forces are not only affecting the entire world but they tend to influence it in much the same way everywhere. Whether it is in America, or China, Africa or India, industrialism with its factories and large-scale production gives rise to similar problems of over-crowded cities, class divisions, mass education, popular government, the press and other forms of social life obtaining in the West. Economic forces, no doubt, are not fatal and overwhelming; they are the products of human beliefs and passions and could, therefore, be counteracted by changes in those beliefs. No omnipotent deity but capitalist syndicates composing mortal and fallible beings control the operation of th forces. Nevertheless, in an industrial world so clo knit, economic forces are really powerful and ne irresistible. But if the spread of industrialism in East is almost inevitable and yet if many of its feat and reactions are undesirable, is it possible to ad industrial methods and have technical efficiency with reproducing the evils associated with industrialism the West?

The question is not by any means simple since its solution there lurks the temptation of a facile synthe It is a commonplace to suggest, for example, that millenium could be achieved through a union of civilizations mingled somehow or other. It is of imagined that we can have the rose without the thor we can have the technical efficiency and physical pow of the West without the strikes, the class-war, the pois gas and the social organization of the West. On t other hand, those who regard civilization as a comp nent whole or those who interpret history in materialis terms, argue that culture in the last analysis is the p duct of economic forces. But it is not necessary to be Marxian in order to hold this view. Some years ag Mr. Lowes Dickinson wrote an essay on the civilizatio of the East after extensive travels. At the end of h journey his belief in the possibility of achieving synthesis between the East and the West was somewh shaken. "Civilization is a whole," he writes, "Its ar its religion, its way of life all hang together with i economic and technical development. I doubt wheth a nation can pick and choose." It is a dreary spectac since it leads to the conclusion of all or nothing—bac to the land and handicrafts or forward to Americanism It is a cheerless prospect because it shows that th Eastern countries will have to go through the whol process of industrial evolution with all its attendant evil in order to achieve what the West has achieved. But i is for the East now to belie these forebodings. It ca vindicate its title to spirituality by making science sub serve human ends and by harnessing physical power to social purposes instead of the degradation and destruction of mankind. Only thus can harmony between th East and the West be achieved—not by any premature synthesis nor by the superimposition of an exotic culture

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The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene

In an article in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* Miss Miliscent Shephard speaks thus about the foundation of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene of which she is the representative in India:

We settled in to the morning of work. What is the work? It is the challenge against the traffic in women and children. Our Association for Moral and Social Hygiene has been at work in India, for varying periods since 1875, when Keshab Chandra Sen joined our General Council. In 1876 he went to see our Foundress, Mrs. Josephine Butler, in her Liverpool home, and her letters to her sister in Italy, Madame Meuricoffre, tell of the great impression he made on their minds. "We were so encouraged by his lofty spirit," she wrote, "and his conviction that, though we should not live to see it, victory would be with our cause in the end."

Someone asked me about the foundation of our Association, and I spoke of Josephine Butler, that radiant, lovely, gracious, cultured woman, with her strong-souled

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husband. (I wondered if I should ever get time to type that article for Mr. Hogg?) I told of her vision by the Lake of Geneva, in 1877, when she spoke of her longing for bands of men and women of every nation to understand and take up the challenge to which she felt herself called.

I told him to remember that without vision the people perish, and that her principles had been acknowledged, beside that same Lake of Geneva, as the foundation of all the work which the Social Questions Section of the League of Nations had been able to do, since they began building on the foundation she had laid in different countries, when in 1918 they were asked to take up the challenge against the traffic of women and children. I spoke too of the house in Liverpool in Abercromby Square (of which I had the privilege of being one of the first students in 1920), in which educated women who wish to be trained in the technicalities of law and psychology and social science, can spend some time in preparation, before undertaking their share in fighting this age-old evil. Many Indian women have visited this House, now called by Mrs. Josephine Butler's name.

The Uses of Jute

Pulin Behari Sarkar concludes his illuminating article in *Science and Culture* on the jute fibre with the following remarks on the uses of jute and jute crisis :

As regards the uses of jute, by far the most important is for making gunny bags; about 60 per cent of the world consumption in raw jute is used for sacks. Until lately it was considered as the cheapest packing material. But many substitutes have been found out and it is no longer so. Germany is using her own fibre for sack making, while Japan is exporting powdered sulphur to India in rice-straw bags. With the coming of economic depression, there has been a reduction in world trade and consequently in the demand for packing; secondly, there is the competition of inexpensive paper and other substitutes, and thirdly, there are the exchange restrictions which make it difficult to move jute goods freely, and facilitate matters for competing goods. As a result market has become extraordinarily dull, and new uses for jute must be found out. In Germany, for instance, the war had taught the manufacturers the importance of the substitute for jute, and when normal conditions returned to Germany, jute industry had difficulty in regaining the old markets for jute goods. They were thus compelled to find new uses for jute, and they have undoubtedly been successful in their research efforts.

Jute has lost, for the time being at least, its principal recommendation, namely, its comparative cheapness. Four main factors are held responsible for the inroads which the substitutes have made upon the jute industry. Of the first importance are the cheapness and the stability of price, both of which are illustrated in the case of paper bags, which have kept a steady price level; the other reasons are better durability, as in the case of cotton and sisal, and the desire of certain countries to utilize their internal resources wherever possible to the elimination of jute and jute fabrics.

Jute trade is thus in a critical state. But it determines, so to speak, the pecuniary condition of Bengal. It is high time that a good deal of research work should be done in order to save her from this crisis. Government of India derives an appreciable income from jute but spends practically nothing either for the Bengal cultivators or for research. The Meston award was until last year a settled fact, the glaring inequity of which has been repeatedly pointed out by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, editor of the *Prabasi* and *Modern Review* with irrefutable arguments. It is said that the Imperial Government spends a small percentage of tariff income from agricultural products for research work; as for example, for cotton, timber, tea, lac, etc. But Bengal has been unfortunate even in this respect. We do not know what debars the India Government from granting the same favour to Bengal for establishing a jute research institute of her own. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research is spending lacs of rupees for research every year, but strangely enough, it does not, for reasons unknown to us, include jute in its list of agricultural products. And not a farthing it has granted up till now for research on jute.

Some Contemporary Poetesses of Japan

E. E. Speight illustrates his article in *The Orient Gong* on some contemporary poetesses of Japan, with an interesting selection of modern Japanese poems:

Every race has but the literature it deserves, it has been said, and the foreigner who could justly take the measure of the Japanese people from his familiarity with their literature has yet to appear. For that miracle long years of labour are needed, lighted by intuition and sanctified by a sympathy involving trustful self-surrender.

In gentle words Rabindranath Tagore once spoke to me of the sadness this exclusion of Japanese poetry from the hearts of the world made him feel. It seemed to him that there was something almost perversely remote in a poetic literature whose deeper import could only be comprehended at such a cost.

It seems to me that in the poems of the living poetesses of Japan we have a response to the appeal many besides Rabindarnath have felt constrained to utter.

As I look over this little selection of poems made from the work of but a few of the innumerable poetesses of the present day, they seem to me like a rosary of beautiful beads, lustrous and dark, starry and sombre, clear as the autumn moon or mysterious as an ancient forest.

The calm of this moment is very precious; there is no sound in heaven or earth, and I am alone with the moon.—Baroness Kujo.

As the smoke of the incense in my porcelain burner floats upward on this spring day of mine, my room is like a great temple and my heart serene.—Mrs. Akiko Yosano.

Above the wild shore the first moon of autumn rose, clinging to a robe of white waves.

The morning star is left alone as though it had no country to return to, and the autumn wind is blowing. —Mrs. Akiko Yosano.

When the night comes, the world, covered with quietness, becomes enchanted, and I hear the mountain stream murmuring old stories.—Mrs. Yosano.

As the sun was rising from the snow, the earth was a great white lotus flower.—Mrs. Yosano.

The setting sun—is it the spirit of some hero, or is it my soul—like a flame or the tides of the blood?—Baroness Kujo.

My soul went out wandering many years ago and even yet has not come back.—Byakuren.

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No birds are singing, it is a quiet day; the very gentle sound of my soul may be heard in the sky.—Mrs. Hiroko Katayama.

Because the world of the past is deeper than the sea, I cannot find pearl or coral.—Mrs. Yosano.

The fires of a volcano subside, and the waves sink back, but what shall I do with the might of love?

Are you not lonely, you who preach about virtue and have never felt the touch of warm blood (coursing through) soft skin?—Mrs. Yosano.

Clothed in a robe of colours cooler than water, the moon in her calmness brings to my heart the autumn of the world.—Miss Hide Takeyama.

India's Oldest Buddhist Caves

G. Venkatachalwa gives the following brief description, in *The Young East,* of India's oldest Buddhist caves:

The oldest Buddhist caves, so far discovered are located not far from Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa. They are two small hillocks that rise out of a wild jungle below, and are known as Udyagiri and Khandagiri. A passable road, about six miles from the town of Bhuvaneshwar, leads you to the foot of the caves, and a good Travellers' Bungalow lies to the left, amidst picturesque surroundings. The ascent to the caves is not hard, and there is nothing worth noting in most of them except the antiquity of the caves with some powerful carvings, which date back to about 500 B.C. There are small cells with no carvings of any kind, indicating primitive cave-dwellings. Some have pillared verandahs and other friezes and relief carvings, showing gradual development in the arts of architecture and sculpture. The most notable of them is the two-storied building, known as "Raninur," and it has some interesting sculptures in basrelief. Some of the caves in the Udyagiri hill, which is separated from Khandagiri by a narrow gorge, are fantastic and elemental in appearance, like the Tiger Cave, which when seen from far, looks like a tiger with wide open mouth, powerful jaws, terrifying eyes and nose and teeth overhanging the entrance. The rock itself is so formed as (with a little clever touch by the stone-cutters) to produce this quaint effect. These caves indicated interesting phases of the art of stone-carving and form a useful background for the study of the rock-cut temples in India.

The temples at Bhuvaneshwar represent a high water-mark of Orissan art; a close study of some of them clearly shows this art in various styles and in different stages of development. It is said that there were over five thousand temples built round the vicinity of modern Bhuvaneshwar, and the present big temple of Siva was raised by the founder of the Kesari dynasty. A glance from one of the smaller towers over the surrounding country confirms this tradition. Countless shrines and sikharas peep through parched jungles. The beautiful big tank enhances the attraction of the place.

Milk as Human Food

In writing about quality in food in *The Scholar,* Prof. V. Subrahmanyan observes:

Among the various articles of human food, milk will naturally take a pride of place. It is the chief source of nourishment for infants and invalids; it provides the adults with a rich and healthy drink, supplying a large part of the deficiencies in other articles of food. It great importance, therefore, that the milk comes a proper source and possesses the requisite qu Recent enquiries have shown that the nutritive of milk is highly variable and is largely determined the breed, nature of the surroundings and the typ food which the animal receives. It is well known Indian milks—especially town supplies—are gene poor in fat, proteins and vitamins. They also lack essential minerals, particularly calcium and phosph This is largely due to the deficiency of the Indian tures and other animal feeds in the requisite constitu As most diseases arise, directly or otherwise, from d tive nutrition, it need hardly be pointed out that a deal more of attention should be paid to milch ani particularly their feed and general hygiene.

Milk products also merit serious attention. Even cold countries, cream does not keep well and has to pasteurized if it is to stand reasonable amount of sto and transport. In India (and in tropical countries general), cream is not very safe except when it is fre prepared and should therefore be avoided. Butter k better than cream but even that soon turns rancid develops off flavour if kept for more than a few d In Indian households, butter is not completely freed f adhering curd: nor is any salt or other preservative ad to it, so that the butter gets very easily spoilt. C keeps well, provided it is freed, as far as possible, f moisture and is not exposed to air. These two conditi are not, however, generally observed so that even gen ghee does not keep well for more than a few we There is very little demand for cheese in India, so ca is gerenally coagulated by salt and is either sold as m or converted into sweets. The salt-coagulated produc not easily digestible as the finely dispersed casein of milk. It would be desirable, therefore, to either skimmed milk as such, or dry it in such way that casein does not get denatured during the process.

Japan and the Japanese

F. Rustomjee describes Japan and Japanese in *Young Ceylon:*

If Ceylon can be fittingly described as "the Pearl the Orient," then Japan may without doubt be called Paradise on God's earth." Nature, art, science and civ zation have combined to transform Japan into a won land. Can there be another country, which accommod a highly civilized and cultured nation like the Japan and where nature, art, science, and civilization harmonise thus singularly.

It will be a matter of curiosity to all our people Ceylon to know, what there is in Japan, and what rema able qualities and characteristics the Japanese poss which tend to produce, in the mind of a foreigner Japan, the indelible impression of admiration and profo regard for the Japanese as a nation. Mr. H. G. We in his book entitled *A Short History of the Wo* has said, that since 1865 "with astonishing energy intelligence, they set themselves to bring their cult and organisation to the level of the European powe Never in all the history of mankind did a nation ma such a stride as Japan then did. In 1866 she was mediaeval people, a fantastic caricature of the extreme romantic feudalism; in 1899 hers was a complete Westernised people, on a level with the most advanc European Powers. She completely dispelled the pers sion, that Asia was in some irrevocable way hopeles behind Europe. She made all European progress se sluggish by comparison."

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HINDUISM AND THE UNTOUCHABLES

By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

VIGOROUS agitation for constitutional reform with full *swaraj* for its aim has been accompanied by agitation as vigorous for the expansion of Hinduism by *suddhi* or purification and re-conversion on the one hand, and for closing the ranks of the Hindu community by removing untouchability on the other. Unfortunately these religious and social reform movements have been carried on by Hindu nationalists regardless of reactions and consequences that might weaken the nascent spirit of nationalism. The agitation for the expansion and consolidation of Hinduism has alarmed the non-Hindus, particularly the Musalmans, and the bitter attacks on the orthodox section of the caste Hindus for observing untouchability have destroyed the spirit of charity and toleration that characterised the relations between the touchables and the untouchables from time immemorial. On the top of it all, has come the declaration by the mighty leader of the untouchables that he would abjure Hinduism with his followers and adopt some other religion. This declaration has greatly alarmed the Hindu nationalists of all shades. The ties that bind the untouchables to Hinduism and the possibility of their conversion to Christianity or Islam or Buddhism *en masse* deserves serious consideration.

Hinduism, in a narrower sense, includes three different creeds: Vaishnavism, Saivism and Saktism. Evidence furnished by the sacred books of the Hindus indicate that these religions probably orginated among autonomous communities living outside the pale of Brahmanism who formed the nucleus of the untouchables. The code of Manu forms a landmark in the history of Indian religions. It is mainly concerned with the duties of the Brahmans, the other two twice-born castes (Kshatriyas and Vaisyas) and the Sudras. The study of the Vedas and the performance of Vedic sacrifices are enjoined for men of twice-born castes, and then "having studied the Vedas in accordance with the rule, having begot sons according to the sacred law, and having offered sacrifices according to his ability, he may direct his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation." For seeking final liberation one is required to leave his house and wander as a mendicant meditating and concentrating his mind on Brahma. Manu does not enjoin the sectarian worship of Vishnu, Siva or Sakti as the Supreme Being. It is stated by Medhatithi, the author of the oldest and the most authoritative commentary on the code of Manu (II.6),

"Thus all the alien (*vahya*) sects like the Bhojakas, Pancharatrikas (Vaishnavas), Nirgranthas (Jaina), Anarthavadas, Pasupatas (Saivas) and others hold that the great men and particular deities who are the authors of their creeds directly perceived the truths underlying them, and think *dharma* (religion) did not originate from the Vedas."*

Modern historians of Indian religions who start with the assumption that India has given birth to only one advanced civilization, the Aryan Vedic Brahmanic civilization, do not admit that there could be any advanced religion in India that was *vahya*, alien, or *Veda-vahya*, non-Vedic, in the strict sense of the term. But the genuine Indian tradition is against such assumption, and recent archaeological discoveries lend support to the tradition. Kumarila, the author of an elaborate sub-commentary on Sabara's commentary on the *Mimamsa Sutras*, who flourished in the seventh century A.D., writes in his *Tantravartika:*

"These *Smritis* (codes) that are not honoured by those who know the Vedas, are: the compilation of certain texts relating to *dharma* and *adharma*, by *Sakya*, and the propounders of the systems of *Sankhya, Yoga, Pancharatra, Pasupata* and the like, all of which have in them a mixture of the Veda, and hidden under a thin cloak of righteousness . . . . quite unconnected with the Veda." *

The views of Kumarila and Medhatithi carry as much weight with the orthodox as the words of the ancient Rishis. The *Sankhya* and the *Yoga* systems are now classed with two systems of *Mimamsa*, the *Purva-Mimamsa* and the *Uttara-Mimamsa* (Vedanta), as orthodox systems of philosophy. These philosophico-

* एवं सर्व्व एव वाह्या भोजक-पाञ्चरात्रिक-निर्ग्रन्थानर्थवाद-पाशुपत प्रभृत्य स्वसिद्धान्तानां प्रणेतॄन् पुरुषातिशयान् देवताविशेषांश्च प्रत्यक्षतदर्थदर्शिनो ऽभ्युपयन्ति, न वेदमूलमपि धर्म्ममभिमन्यन्ते ।

Tantravartika translated into English by Mm. Ganganath Jha (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 165.

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religious systems are the works of great thinkers and throw little light on the religious beliefs of the common people. The systems founded by the Sakya saint Gautama or Buddhism and the Jaina saint Mahavira or Jainism mark revolts from within the fold of Vedism, and are openly hostile to the teachings of the Vedas. But Pancharatra or Vaishnavism, Pasupata or Saivism, and, along with these, Saktism, stand on a different footing. They rely on two-fold scriptural basis: directly revealed texts known as the *Agamas* and the *Tantras*, and the *Mahabharata* and the Puranas that profess to derive their authority from the Vedas, and like the *Dharmasastras* of Manu, Yajnavalkya and other Rishis are classed as Brahmanic Smritis or codes. Though thus indirectly affiliated to the Vedas, there are evidences to show that Vaishnavism, Saivism and Saktism that constitute modern Hinduism are non-Vedic at base. These evidences are found in texts called Nibandhas or digests either in the form of commentaries on one or other of the Dharmasastras, or as independent compilations. According to Indian scholastic tradition texts that have such commentaries, and extracts from other texts that are found in such compilations, only are genuine and authoritative. Raja Rammohan Roy who is not only the pioneer of religious and social reform of modern India but was also a profound Pandit writes in the *Brahmanical Magazine*, No. 2:

"But it is particularly to be noticed, that there is no end of the Tuntrus (Tantras). In the same manner the Muhapoorans (Mahapuranas), Poorans (Puranas), Oopupurans (Upopuranas), Ramayana &c., are very numerous: on this account an excellent rule from the first has been this, that those Poorans and Tuntrus which have commentaries, and those parts which have been quoted by acknowledged expounders, are received for evidence; otherwise a sentence quoted on the mere authority of the Poorans and Tuntrus is not considered evidence. Those numerous Poorans and Tuntrus which have no commentary and are not quoted by any established expounder may probably be of recent composition." *

Two of the writers who are called "acknowledged" or "established" expounders of the sacred books by Raja Rammohan Roy, *viz.*, Aparaditya or Apararka the author of an elaborate commentary on the *Yajnavalkyasmriti* called the *Apararka* (twelfth century A.D.), and Mitramisra, the author of a voluminous digest called the *Vinamitrodaya* (teenth century A.D.) fully discuss the que how far the sacred books of the non- religions like Vaishnavism and Saivism authoritative.

Apararka opens the discussion by these stanzas attributed to Vyasa (the author of the Mahabharata and Puranas):

"Those who want pure *dharma* not seek any other (source) than the Ved (the Vedas are) the pure source of *dh* Therefore the *dharma* that is derived fro Vedas is the highest; the *dharma* taught Puranas and other texts is inferior." *

Apararka is an orthodox champion Vedic rites. The Vedas are believed authorless, self-existent, eternal (*apaurush* the Buddhist and Jaina texts have authors; and Vaishnava, Saiva and *Agamas* and *Tantras* have divine being their authors. After discussing the rel texts Apararka concludes:

"Even there (in the Pancharatra Pasupata texts) what is (written or has said) by an author should not only be not upon, but lacks value as evidence and s be rejected. Therefore teachers said, texts that have authors should not be follo that should be known as lacking auth because that is the creation of the intelle a male.' Further discussion is unnecessar

Mitramisra, who wrote nearly five hun years after Apararka, takes a different atti After reproducing a stanza attributed to Yajnavalkya he writes:

"Here the statement made by Apar that (in the stanza) beginning '*Sankhya*, *Pancharatra*' and (ending with) 'should n opposed by arguments' denotes that systems are beyond criticism, but not author

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* *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, 1901, Vol. I, pp. 229-230.

* धर्म्मशुद्धिमभीप्सद्भि र्न वेदादन्यदिष्यते ।
धर्म्मस्य कारणं शुद्धं मिश्रमन्यत् प्रकीर्त्तितम् ॥
अतः स परमो धर्म्मो यो वेदादधिगम्यते ।
अवरः स तु विज्ञेयो यः पुराणादिषु स्मृतः ॥

Yajnavalkyasmriti with the commentary *Apararka* by Aparaditya (Anandasram Sanskrit se Poona, 1903, p. 1. These stanzas of Vyasa are quoted by Halayudha in the *Brahmanasarvasva*.

† तत्रापि यत्पौरुषेयं न केवलमननुष्ठेयं तथावदप्रमाणमपीति हे पीति सिद्धम् ॥

तत्र एवाहुराचार्याः—

अनुष्ठेयं न भवति यच्छास्त्रं पुरुषैः कृतम ।
तदप्रमाणं विज्ञेयं पुंबुद्धिप्रभवं हि तत् ॥

अलमतिप्रसंगेन ॥

Apararka p.19.

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is not an acceptable opinion because it is in the stanza that they are very authorita-" *

But the evidences relied on by Apararka not be flouted. Therefore, to effect a compromise, Mitramisra quotes this stanza from *Vayusamhita*:

"The Saiva scriptures are divided into two sses, the Vedic and the non-Vedic; the Vedic ss contains the essence of the Vedas, and the er class is independent." †

Mitramisra, in order to prove that there are o two classes of the *Pancharatra* texts, dic and non-Vedic, writes:

"It is stated in the *Kurmapurana*, Kapala, ncharatra, Yamala, Bama, Arhata and similar her systems are for misleading people. Here e misleading character is attributed to the n-Vedic Pancharatra. Because in the begin-ng of the passage of the *Kurmapurana* stems opposed to the Veda only (including e *Pancharatra*) are referred to thus; "Those verse scriptures opposed to the Vedas and the riti (Brahmanic codes) that are found in the rld—following them in practice is due to orance." ‡

According to Ramanuja (commentary on e *Vedanta-sutra* II, 2,36) the Kapalas are a ss of Saivas. Yamala is the name of a class ntric texts, and Bama denotes the left-hand de of Tantric worship of the Mother Goddess hich involves the offering of wine and meat.

Mitramisra's anxiety to prove the existence the Vedic form of Vaishnavism and Saivism distinguished from non-Vedic forms referred in the earlier texts should be attributed to e fact that by the time when he wrote Vedic ligion had ceased to be a rival of the other o creeds and had been replaced by them.

The writers of authoritative digests have also quoted texts to show that the followers of the non-Vedic religions, whatever their caste, were treated as untouchables by the orthodox followers of the Vedic religion. Apararka quotes this stanza from an unnamed smriti:

"On looking at the Kapalikas, Pasupatas, Saivas with the Karukas (?) one should look at the sun, and on touching them should bathe."*

Madhava quotes these stanzas from a metrical digest called the *Chaturvimsatimata*:—

"One should plunge with his garment on touching the Buddhists, Pasupatas (Saivas), Jainas, Lokayatikas, Kapilas and twice-born men who do not perform their proper duties; on touching the Kapalikas he should perform the Pranayama (regulation of breath) in addition." †

Kapilas may be the followers of the Sankhya system, or it may be a misreading for Kapalas. Lokayatikas are the atheists who do not believe in life after death. Kapalikas are a class of Sakta ascetics. The Buddhists and the Jainas, as already stated, stand on a different footing from the Saivas, Vaishnavas and Saktas. The Saivas, Vaishnavas and Saktas recognize the authority of the Vedas and claim Vedic origins. Therefore the origin of these three religions should be sought elsewhere than within the Brahmanic fold where among the Kshatriyas jealous of the Brahmans originated Buddhism and Jainism. Buddhism, Jainism and Sankhya share a very important common element with the orthodox Brahmanic Vedanta, the doctrine that final liberation can be gained by supreme knowledge only. They are all branches of the path of knowledge. But Saivism and Vaishnavism are branches of the path of *bhakti* or loving devotion to a personal deity. Madhava quotes this stanza from the *Puranasara*:—

"Saiva, Vaishnava, Sakta, Saura, Vainayaka, Skanda are the six religious systems belonging to the path of *bhakti*." ‡

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* अत्र सांख्यं योगः पञ्चरात्रमित्युपक्रम्य हेतुभिर्न विरोधयेदित्युक्ते तेषामदुष्टत्वमात्रे तत्पर्व्वं न तु प्रामाण्यमित्यपरार्कोक्तमनादरणीयमति प्रमाणानीत्यभिधानात् ।

Viramitrodaya (Chowkhamba Sanskrit series), Vol. I, p. 21-23.

† शैवागमोऽपि द्विविधः श्रौताश्रौतश्च संस्मृतः ।
श्रुतिसारमयः श्रौतः स्वतन्त्र इतरो मतः ॥

‡ कौर्मे—

कापालं पञ्चरात्रं च यामलं वाममार्हतम् ।
एवंविधानि चान्यानि मोहनार्थानि तानि तु ॥
इति पञ्चरात्रस्य यन्मोहकत्वाभिधानं तदैवदिक पञ्चरात्रपरम् ।
यानि शास्त्रानि दृश्यन्ते लोकेऽस्मिन् विविधानि तु ।
श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धानि निष्ठा तेषां तु तामसी ॥
इति तत्रैव वेदविरुद्धानामेवोक्तमे श्रवणात् ।

* कापालिकाः पाशुपताः शैवाश्च सहकारुकैः ।
दृष्ट्वाश्चेद्रविमित्तेत स्पृष्ट्वाश्चेत् स्नानमाचरेत् ॥

† बौद्धान् पाशुपतान् जैनान् लोकायतिक-कापिलान् ।
विकर्म्मस्थान् द्विजान् स्पृष्ट्वा सचेलोजलमाविशेत् ॥
कापालिकांस्तु संस्पृश्य प्राणायामोऽधिके मतः ।

Parasarasmriti with the commentary of Madhava (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 259.

‡ शैवश्च वैष्णवं शाक्तं सौरं वैनायकं तथा ।
स्कान्दश्च भक्तिमार्गस्य दर्शनानि षडेव हि ॥

Ibid, Vol. I, p. 327.

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The worshipper of the sun god (Surya) as the Supreme Being is called Saura. Such an worshipper of Vinayaka (Ganesha) or Skanda (Karttikya) is called Vainayaka or Skanda respectively. These three sects no longer survive. Paths of knowledge and of *bhakti* indicate different initial mental outlook. Independent origin outside the pale of Vedism is also indicated by certain non-Vedic primitive elements in Saivism and Saktism.* Untouchables are called *antya*, living on the frontier, and *antyaja*, born among those who live on the frontier, in Sanskrit. This *anta* or frontier is the frontier of the orthodox Brahmanist community now represented by the caste Hindus. Historical interpretation of the texts quoted above points to the conclusion that most of the important elements of modern Hinduism originated outside the pale of orthodox Brahmanism among the *antyas* and the *antyajas*. In origin Hinduism is more a religion of the untouchables than of the touchables. This stanza attributed to Svayambhuva quoted by Apararka gives a vivid picture of the Brahmanist Hindu:—

"Inwardly a Saiva, outwardly a Kaula, and socially a Vaidika, extracting the essence (of all), one should appear as a coconut fruit." †

Worshipping the deity with the offering of meat and wine is a feature of the Kaula ritual. Vedic domestic ceremonies like marriage and funeral rites and the employment of Brahman as the officiating priest (*Purohita*) constitute the shell of Hinduism. There is little that is Vedic within the shell. Even the Vedanta or the supplement of the Veda has ceased to be the monopoly of the Brahman. But it is the shell of the coconut that refuses to break.

In a fit of disappointment, therefore, the leader of the untouchables proposes to advise his followers to abjure Hinduism and embrace some other religion *en masse*. Conversion in a mass even in a limited area is not known in the history of Christian Missions in India. But there is authentic record of such conversion to Islam in Bengal in the fourteenth century A.D. This event throws light on the condition under which conversion in a mass is possible in India.

Muhammad son of Abdullah, surnamed Ibn Battuta, a learned and pious native of Tangier in Morocco travelled in Be 1445-46 A.D., when Sultan Fakh (Mubarak Shah) was reigning at S (Saptagram) and Sultan (Alauddin) Ali was reigning at Lakshmanavati (Gaur) Battuta arrived "at the land of Bangal sea. He writes:

"The first city in Bengal that we e was Sudkawan, a large town on the co the great sea. Close by it the river Gan which the Hindus go on pilgrimage, an river Jun unite and discharge together in sea. They have a large fleet on the river which they make war on the inhabitants land of Laknawti (Lakshmanavati)."

Ibn Battuta states that at the time visit Sultan Fakhruddin resided at Sudk He then proceeds:

"I set out from Sudkawan for the tains of Kamaru, a month's journey from . . . . . My purpose in travelli these mountains was to meet a notable who lives there, namely, Shaykh Jalaludd Tabriz. At a distance of two days jo from his abode I was met by four of his des who told me that the Shaykh had said t darwishes who were with him, 'The tra from the West has come to you; go out to come him.' He had no knowledge wh about me, but this had been revealed to I went with them to the Shakyh and arriv his hermitage, situated outside the cave. T is no cultivated land here, but the inhabi of the country, both Muslim and infidel, to visit him, bringing gifts and presents, the darwishes and the travellers live on offerings. The Shaykh however limits hi to a single cow, with whose milk he break fast every ten days. It was by his lab that the people of these mountains became verted to Islam and that was the reason his settling amongst them." *

Speaking of his return journey from hermitage of Shaykh Jalaluddin Ibn Ba writes:

"When I had bidden farewell to Sh Jalaluddin I journeyed to Habanq an exceedi large and beautiful city, traversed by the which descends from the Kamru mount This river is called the Blue River, and is by travellers to Bengal and Laknawti. people are infidels under Muslim rule, who mulcted of half their crops and pay taxes and above that. We travelled down the for fifteen days between villages and orch

* Primitive elements of Saktism, offering to the Mother Goddess wine and meat and other Tantric magical rites, are well-known. For the primitive elements of Saivism see Ramanuja's commentary in the Vedanta-Sutras, II, 2, 36.

† अन्तः शैवं बहिः कौलं लोकाचारे तु वैदिकम् ।
सारमादाय तिष्ठेत्तु नारिकेलफलं यथा ॥
Apararka, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

* Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa*. Trans and selected by H. A. R. Gibb (The Broadway Tr ler) London, 1829, pp. 268-269.

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just as if we were going through a bazaar . . . . . After fifteen days' sailing down the river, as we have related, we reached the city of Sunurkawan (Sonargaon), where we found a junk on the point of sailing for the land of Java (Sumatra), which is a journey of forty days from there, so we embarked on it." *

Before we can accurately determine in which part of Bengal conversion of Hindus to Islam on such a large scale took place under the influence Shaykh Jalaluddin Tabrizi it is necessary to discuss the confusing geographical data furnished by Ibn Battuta. In those days Kamru or Kamarupa was bounded on the west by the river Karatoya and included the Rangpur and Jalpaiguri Districts in Northern Bengal (Rajshahi division) and the Brahmaputra valley in Assam. Yule identifies Sudkawan with Chittagong and considers Sylhet as the sphere of Shaykh Jalaluddin Tabrizi's missionary activities. Local tradition recognizes Shah Jalal as the conqueror of Sylhet and an old mosque on his tomb near the Sylhet town is a place of pilgrimage. † But remains of monuments erected on the *astanas* or places of residence of Shah Jalal are also found at Pandua in the Maldah district in the Rajshahi Division in Bengal. In the inscriptions on the monuments and in *Riyazus-Salatin* the saint's full name is given as Shah Jalaluddin of Tabriz. ‡ So there can be no doubt that the Shah Jalal of Sylhet and Pandua is Shaykh Jalaluddin of Tabriz whom Ibn Battuta met in a hermitage (cave) in Kamarupa. So far as we know no *astana* of Shah Jalaluddin has yet been found in Kamarupa proper. Space will not permit us to discuss the geographical data of Ibn Battuta more fully. But Cordier's identification of Ibn Battuta's Sudkawan with Satgaon (Saptagrama) on the Ganges (in the Hughli District) appears to me more reasonable than Yule's Chittagong, and Ibn Battuta probably met the saint somewhere in Northern Bengal at the foot of the Himalayas. Muhammedans are as numerous in Sylhet as in Northern Bengal, and this number should be attributed to conversion *en masse* sometime in the past. Ibn Battuta's testimony warrants us to believe that such conversion took place in the first half of the fourteenth century under the influence of Shaykh Jalaluddin of Tabriz. Ibn Battuta further writes about the saint:

"This (Shaykh Jalaluddin) was one of the most eminent of saints, and one of the most singular of men, who had achieved most worthy deeds, and wrought miracles of great note. He was (when I saw him) a very old man, and told me he had seen the Khalif Mostasim Billah the Abbasid at Baghdad, and was in that city at the time of his murder (in A.D. 1258). At a later date I heard from the Shaykh's disciples of his death at the age of one hundred and fifty years. I was told that he had fasted for some forty years, breaking his fast only at intervals of ten days, and this only with the milk of the cow that he kept. He used also to remain on his legs all night." *

It was the fame of Shaykh Jalaluddin that attracted Ibn Battuta to Bengal. Landing at Sudkawan (Satgaon), Ibn Battuta did not visit the Sultan, but proceeded straight to the hermitage of the saint. The main shrine of the saint at Pandua is endowed with an estate called *Bais Hazari* held by a *Mutawalli* (trustee) out of which *fakirs* and travellers are still given meals throughout the year.

Conversion of Hindus to any other religion on a large scale is only possible under the influence of saints who can work miracles.

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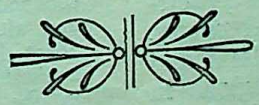
* Ibn Battuta, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-271.

† Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. IV, London 1916, p. 82 note 2 and pp. 152-155; *Assam District Gazetteers*, Vol. II, *Sylhet*, Calcutta, 1905, pp. 24 and 81.

‡ Abid Ali Khan and Stapleton, *Memoirs of Gour and Pandua*, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 20 and 97-107.

* Yule, *Op. cit.*, p. 87.



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NOTES

Fifty years of the Indian National Congress

There may be men among the members of the Indian National Congress as also among outsiders who think that it has not achieved anything worth mention, or in any case its achievement has not been such that its members can celebrate the completion of its fiftieth year with rejoicings and demonstrations. We think otherwise.

It is true the main object of the Congress has not yet been gained. Neither *Purna Swaraj*—complete self-rule, including independence—nor even the "substance of independence," has yet been won. It may even be admitted that, in spite of or rather because of the efforts mainly of the Congress and to a lesser extent of the Liberal party, the future Government of India has been made even more autocratic than now. But all this does not mean that failure is writ large on the forehead of the Congress.

There is no reason to be despondent because self-rule has not been won by fifty years' struggle. It is after some seven or eight centuries of subjection that the greater part of Ireland has won the substance of self-rule. Before she became one and free in the last century Italy was divided and a subject country wholly or in part for fourteen centuries. Both in Ireland and in Italy a united struggle for freedom was easier than in India for a good many reasons. Ireland and Italy have each practically one language, India has a good many. Practically one religion prevails in Ireland and in Italy, whereas there are many religions in India. The inhabitants of neither Ireland nor Italy consist of various races and castes, as in India. In addition to these numerous divisions, India is divided into the two main divisions of the Indian States, numbering many hundreds, and British India—the latter again be divided into many provinces. For these reas a combined struggle for freedom is very diffic in India. That Congress has neverthel succeeded in bringing representative men of Indian races, religious communities, cas groups, linguistic groups, economic classes a other sections on one common platform is mean achievement. All sections have not, is true, responded to its appeal for co-operati with equal zeal and alacrity. But that because they have not made equal education progress and do not occupy the same econom or social stratum. Moreover, persistent, co tinuous and steady efforts have been made keep some sections of the people away from t Congress and wean away those who ha already joined it, by appealing to and promoti their narrow communal, class or caste interest

The political movement in India h acquired considerable momentum because the activities of the Congress. There has bee it is true, a lull for some time past. But mo probably it is only the lull before a period renewed activity.

We wrote in *The Modern Review* f October, 1920:

> "The greatest significance which attaches to t adoption of a programme of non-co-operation by t Congress is the change in the mentality of the peop which it definitely indicates, though it is neither sudden nor an entirely new change. After the Par tion of Bengal there was such a change, but it w confined for the most part to the Bengalis. Befor and after that period there was the resignation about thirty municipal commissioners of Calcutta a a similar attitude of many municipal commissione in the U. P. after the passing into law of th Jahangirabad amendment. The change that has no taken place has affected all the provinces. Speakin generally, the mental attitude of the people ha hitherto been one of dependence on the sense of justic and generosity of the British people for the attainme of political freedom. That is no longer the prevalen

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attitude. The Indian people now want to win their right to freedom by their own strength. It is evident that a section of them would have resorted to physical force, if they had arms and if they had not been kept under control by wiser heads. So the choice has fallen on the adoption of non-violent methods. The programme adopted may or may not be effective; but what are most noteworthy are the revolt from previous methods and the confidence of the people in their own strength."

The changed mental attitude is that which is indicated in the question:

Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not,
Themselves must strike the blow who would be free?

Only the blow, intended to be struck by the Non-co-operators, was to be non-violent.

The changed mental attitude of self-reliance was a great achievement. It is true, civil disobedience is in abeyance for an indefinite period. But there has not been any return to that subservience which is officially misnamed co-operation. No true Nationalist, whether Congressman, Liberal, or known by any other name, is for such so-called co-operation.

Another achievement of the Congress is that there has been some political awakening among even the illiterate masses of the people, however small may be the number of the politically conscious among them.

That thousands of people have been ready to fearlessly face all risks and to make the utmost sacrifice in the cause of the country, that many of them have actually made the greatest sacrifice and undergone great sufferings and privations with great courage—is another achievement of the Congress.

That girls and women, whose lives were spent for the most part in the seclusion of their homes and many of whom had little or no book learning, came out in the open, bore the "mild lathi charges" of the police and went to jail—that they were inspired to such heroism was a very significant achievement.

That the British people in their Parliament have had to pass an Act in 1935 to make the Government of India as autocratic as may be necessary to frustrate the endeavour of the people of India to win swaraj, shows the strength of the freedom movement.

That the "depressed classes" and the labouring population have become self-conscious, is not a little due to the Congress movement. It is difficult to prophesy whether the leaders of the Congress will be able to prevent schism on their part from the main body. But if they can keep capital and labour, landlord and peasant, "high-caste" and "depressed-caste" people and the different religious communities under a common flag, for carrying on a combined struggle for the welfare of the common motherland, that will be a proof of their patriotism, wisdom and tact. What part in that struggle is to be assigned to and played by the people of the Indian States, is a problem which the leaders must face with courage, faith, hope, imagination, sympathy, and wisdom. It is not claimed that during its past life of half a century the Congress has not made any mistakes as to choice of men or methods. No human organization is or can be infallible. What is claimed and claimed rightly, is that the Congress has throughout stood for and striven for the whole nation—not for any class, section or community more than for any other.

Ahrar Leaders and Congress Jubilee Celebrations

Nine Ahrar leaders of the Panjab, including the President and the Secretary of the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, have issued a statement in relation to the Congress Jubilee celebrations, in the course of which they say:

"In some matters we have had differences with the Congress, but, just as we bravely and confidently expressed our views when we differed, in the same way it is our duty to leave no stone unturned to make the Jubilee celebrations a success. The sacrifices made by the Congress in the struggle for freedom and the excellent share contributed by the Muslims all over India towards those sacrifices is very well known.

"The Jubilee is the occasion for the demonstration of India's love of freedom, and everyone who loves freedom must partake in the Jubilee celebrations. If Muslims hesitate in participating in the celebrations, the whole world will have the impression that the Muslims of India do not like to see their country free.

"Our party has never been a mere spectator in Congress's struggle for freedom, but on the other hand most of our workers joined in the struggle and made every sacrifice.

"We appeal to all communities in general and the Muslims in particular to join in the celebrations of the Golden Jubilee of the biggest organization in India."

The signatories to the above statement are:

Maulana Habib-ul-Rehman, President, Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam-i-Hindi, Lahore and Maulanas Ghulam Ghaus, Mohammad Daud Ghaznavi, Ch. Afzal Haq, M.L.C., Maulvi Mazhar Ali Azhar, M.L.C., Maulvi Nur-ud-Din, Lyallpur, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Begowal, Maulana Abdul Reham Ghazi and Mr. Hisam-ud-Din of Amritsar.

Muslim leaders in other provinces also should appeal to their co-religionists to join not only in the celebrations but in other Congress activities as well.

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"Covering the Track of Centuries in a Year"

In our first note in this number we have pointed out how the freedom movement had to be carried on for centuries in Italy and Ireland before the goal could be reached or almost reached. In doing so, our object was not to say that we also must struggle for centuries. We only want that our people should not lose heart or hope. We must take heart from the example of other countries in Europe which have become free in the current twentieth century after a briefer struggle than ours. We, too, should strive so sincerely, so enthusiastically and with such wisdom as to be able to cover the track of centuries in a decade at the longest.

Many British politicians, including some Governors-General of India, have told us that Rome was not built in a day, that we must advance step by step, and so forth and so on. But there was also Mr. Lloyd George speaking at the American Luncheon Club six weeks after Russia ceased to be an autocracy and became a democracy, and saying:

> "There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace covering the track of centuries in a year. These are such times. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy. She is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world." (*Cheers.*)

Britishers are best pleased if the world in India spins as leisurely as is imaginable. Perhaps they would be even better pleased if the world in India moved backward. They have actually succeeded, by the new Government of India Act, in making India's constitution march backwards.

Question of Releasing Indian Political Prisoners in Parliament

Moving in the House of Commons the second reading of the Government of India Reprinting Bill,

> Mr. Butler said that no alteration of real substance or principle was involved. He explained the alteration with reference to Baluchistan and said that no point of controversy need arise. He hoped that the members would regard this first discussion of Indian affairs in the new Parliament as a happy harbinger of future dealings of Indian Affairs.

"Happy harbinger" indeed! We have no leisure to ransack a dictionary of the English language to find out the exact words for characterizing this observation of Mr. Butler's.

> Mr. Morgan Jones intimated that the Labourites did not object to the principle of the Bill, but reserved the right to raise at later stages a few matters, w seemed to make substantial changes.
>
> Mr. Maxton wished to raise questions conn with the treatment of Indians in India, but Deputy Speaker, Mr. Bourne, replied that questions could not arise on the Bill.
>
> Mr. Maxton replied that he did not wish no re-open the whole question, but referring Mr. Butler's words, "happy harbinger," he urged the question of treatment of political prisoners sh be approached more generously.
>
> Mr. Bourne replied that such a question was affected by whether the present Bill was passe not.
>
> Mr. Maxton argued that if the Government entitled to make certain substantive changes, he entitled to discuss what changes were desirable. said that the treatment of political prisoners was a more substantial point than the substitution of Governor-General for the Chief Commissioner Baluchistan.
>
> Mr. Maxton was ruled out of order; like Miss Wilkinson, who protested against the att that nothing could be done with regard to poli prisoners.
>
> Miss Wilkinson insisted that the Government sh not be allowed to alter a comma in the Governm of India Act and suggested the examining of Bill clause by clause so as to make its pas very difficult. "I protest against the passage of Bill, while thousands of Indians are held polit prisoners without any charge being preferred."
>
> Mr. Thurtle requested the Government to sug to the Government of India that the Government India should, as a friendly gesture to organi political opinion in India, mark the occasion of fiftieth anniversary of the Indian National Cong by granting amnesty to political prisoners wh cases appear suitable for such action.
>
> Mr. Butler replied he was unable to add to reply given on December 9.
>
> Mr. Thurtle asked, "Is not the Governm interested in creating a better atmosphere?"
>
> Mr. Butler replied the Government is interested creating and has created a better atmosphere. It m leave this decision to the Viceroy.—*Reuter.*

Mr. Butler shelved the question by leavi it to the Viceroy. Similarly, if the Gover ment of India were heckled, the question wou be left to the decision of the Governor of Beng and so on and so forth.

Separation of Burma Forced on unwilling Burmans

On the same occasion,

> Mr. Molaren, Labourite, asked why India a Burma are to be divided and said that the Bill w being forced on the unwilling people of Burma, w had never asked for this constitution.
>
> Mr. Butler replied that he was unable at pres to discuss the separation of Burma, but was qu ready at the proper time to debate on the vari points raised.

Mr. Butler was "quite ready," because h knew that, whatever the character of his fac

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d arguments, his party would support him th its standing majority.

Scrapping Prisons and Gallows": And nternment Camps?

Sir Douglas Young, Chief Justice of the anjab High Court, replying to the toast proosed by His Excellency the Governor at the nnual dinner of the Panjab Boy Scouts, said st month:

> The spirit which in happier circumstances produces Empire builders, explorers, Governors or great Missionaries, makes dacoits of some Punjabis. We revere and honour the one group and hang and imprison the other.

Proceeding, he observed:

> I never send a man to the gallows in this Province without having an uncomfortable feeling that there, but for the grace of God, goes the Chief Justice. (Cheers.) In spite of the gallows and the jail we continue to hang and imprison the same numbers every year—I believe the numbers increase.
>
> Further South in India where men are less virile and poorer in physique, violent crime is comparatively rare. It comes to this that the finer the men the more we destroy.
>
> Punishment can never stop violent crime when it is natural in origin. Discipline, education and healthy sports can and will, and that is again where the Scout Movement comes in: Train a Punjabi boy as a Boy Scout and we find that instead of murdering and burying his fellows he digs their dead bodies out of the ruins of Quetta. I firmly believe that better results might even be achieved if the prisons and gallows were scrapped in the town and in their place trained enthusiastic scout-masters and Boys' Clubs were installed in the villages. It would also be very much cheaper. Perhaps we might invite His Excellency the Chief Scout to suggest consideration for this point to His Excellency the Governor (Cheers). Brayne tells me that in Norwich the local police started a club for boys. Some 3,000 were taken out of the streets and given healthy games and training all supervised by the police. The result was a large diminution of crime. Is it too much to hope that in this Province the Police Stations may become centres of light in every village even if we cannot yet convert them into boys' clubs.

One is curious to know what remedy the Panjab Chief Justice would suggest for the cure of terrorism in Bengal and whether he would prescribe Boy-scouting as a substitute for internment without trial on mere suspicion.

"The Bengal Government's Standard of Morality"

The official Report on the Administration of Bengal for the year 1933-34 contains the following passage on page V, part I:

> During the third week of January, Jawaharlal Nehru paid a short visit to Calcutta, and after consultation with leaders of most of the subversive movements in Bengal, prescribed a militant programme based mainly on his own extreme Socialist views and designed primarily to attract the peasant masses. This agitation was to be carried on under the guise of anti-untouchability activities and with money collected for Harijan work. He was eventually prosecuted before the Chief Presidency Magistrate in respect of three violent statements. The Pandit did not defend himself beyond attempting to deliver a further seditious speech from the dock and was sentenced to two years' simple imprisonment on the 16th February.

A friend having drawn Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's attention to it, the Pandit observes in the course of a statement meant for the Press:

> "This paragraph contains a number of errors and insinuation, but realizing as I do that the Bengal Government and I are as poles apart in regard to ideas and outlook, it would serve little purpose for me to argue these matters with them. But there is one specific statement in it that I was attempting to carry on an agitation under the false cloak of anti-untouchability activities, and with money collected for Harijan work, which I cannot, in fairness to my colleagues in the Bengal Harijan Seva Sangh and myself, allow to pass uncontradicted. This statement is an absolute falsehood, which could not have had the shadow of a foundation. Whatever else I might be guilty of, I hope that I have never indulged in duplicity in my work. A definite and unequivocal statement having been made and contradicted by me, it is desirable, in the interests of public morals, for them either to justify it or to withdraw it publicly, and express regret for it. I do not know what the Bengal Government's standard of morality is, but I do know that there are certain things which are not done by decent people, and if an error is committed an apology is forthcoming. An error in my case may not matter much, for the opinions that my countrymen form of me are not based on the Bengal Government's views on the subject. But a Government has the tremendous power of the State's apparatus of coercion behind it, and its errors are likely to affect the lives and liberties of a vast number of people."

Mr. Nehru's contradiction has been published in England and *The Manchester Guardian* has asked the Bengal Government either to prove the allegation made in the Report or withdraw it.

> In the House of Commons Mr. Anderson and Miss Ellen Wilkinson drew attention to the repudiation by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of the allegations against him made in the Bengal Government Administration report. Mr. Butler replied that Lord Zetland was asking for a report from the Government of India.

The last paragraph in the "Introduction" to the Report runs as follows:

> "The Report is published under the authority and with the approval of the Government of Bengal, but this approval does not necessarily extend to every particular expression of opinion."

Taking advantage of the latter part of this sentence the Government of Bengal may say that their approval does not extend to the

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allegation made against the Pandit. But will they do it? Or will they stand up for the prestige of the nameless writer or writers of the Report?

Allegation Against Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose

In replying to a question in the British House of Commons Mr. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for India, said that the detention of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was due to his connection with revolutionary activities. This is an allegation which has never been proved, as Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was never brought to trial on this charge—and never will be, if one may judge from the Government's not taking up the challenge thrown out by his elder brother Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose against whom a similar allegation had been made. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose challenged the Government to bring him to trial. The result was that, after the lapse of a decent interval, he was unconditionally released.

Mr. Butler and others before him who have made similar allegations know that they cannot be sued for saying such things. That gives them their courage, if courage it can be called.

Renewal of Vow of Self-immolation

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has sent the following message in connection with the Congress Golden Jubilee celebrations:

"The Indian National Congress now completes fifty years of its existence. During this period it has grown from a small group into a country-wide organization with ramifications from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. It is the only organization which stands for the Indian people as a whole. It is the unique embodiment of all our political hopes and aspirations and is the central organ of our struggle for political emancipation.

"As we look to the past and the future we are filled with pride and hope, pride, because of the nation's past achievements and hope, because of the confidence in our ultimate victory. With feelings of pride and hope let us participate in the Jubilee celebrations of the Congress.

"On this auspicious occasion let us pay our respectful homage to our national heroes who made the Congress what it is today. Let us pray for added strength to continue their unfinished task till the victory is achieved and last but not the least, let us devise means and measures to rectify our past errors and ensure our future success.

"The Indian National Congress is not a property: its registered members only are the property of the Indian Nation. To the entire nation, I therefore, appeal to make the Jubilee celebration a success worthy of themselves and their country. Let us all renew on this memorable occasion our vow of self-immolation at the altar of India's Freedom."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Greetings

In the course of the message of gre to the Indian nation which Pandit Jawa Nehru has sent from Germany, he writes:

"Fifty years are not much in the life of a a mere flash in the millennia of India's long Yet fifty years are a long period in a huma and within their span can be crowded a wo endeavour and achievement. Those fifty years seen the end of an era passing of the world mighty transformation everywhere. How hav fared in this period? Have we moved with the rushing river of life and adapted ourselves t changing conditions, or do we remain in black that move not and change little, entangled in that paralyse us and benumb our mind and The real change and growth is of the spiri the mind, the rest merely follows it.

"Fifty years of the Congress tell us wher were and what we are. Read the reports o early Congress and the astounding and hardly prehensible new mentality that they now ex And then go through its later tribulations and flicts, its splits and divisions, when those who in the weeds and black waters wanted to h back but could not do so.

"With much travail it emerged to freer waters much to its own surprise found itself younger stronger than ever. A time came when under inspiration of a great leader it tried to brea shackles which still hold it back and hurled forward with the pride and confidence of youth

"There were greater difficulties and obstacles it had expected and many a time it stumbled staggered but ever it kept its eyes on the Sta Freedom that beckoned. It became a symbo millions of their hearts' desire and they gave willing allegiance. As the struggle became fie and difficulties greater, ever it kept in the fore and in its darkest hours never gave up hope.

What of us, who have grown up under its w and caught sometimes a reflection of its greatn We are of it, how can we think ourselves as from it? What we have done has been under inspiration; our achievements have not been achievements of individuals, but of a vast multi spread out all over our great country and b together by the invisible link of the Congress. have felt strong and brave because of that bond we have greatly dared because of it.

On the Jubilee occasion of the Congress I sh like to send from a far country my greetings to t innumerable links that make up the strong c of the Congress, to comrades who have many a ga struggle to their credit and many a another to in the future, to innumerable men and women India who have fought a brave fight for fredom un the Congress flag. In the past, Congress has s for full freedom and it has widened its horizon looked to the masses. May it never falter or fo its mission and may it become even more than has been the real representative and the voice millions who toil and suffer in our country and s to remove all shackles, political, social and econo that prevent them from rising to the height of th destiny!"

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Bengal Government's Retrograde Education Policy Condemned

The Government of Bengal's new education policy enunciated in the name of the Indian minister but really dictated by those who can dictate, has met with strong opposition. The Bengal Education League has already held two public meetings to criticise it and to formulate its own constructive plan. The Calcutta University Syndicate and Senate have also criticised the scheme published under the authority of the minister and made their own constructive suggestions. At the second public meeting held in Calcutta under the auspices of the Bengal Education League on the 19th December last many leading educationalists and others were present. Prominent among those noticed were Sir Nilratan Sircar, Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, Mr. J. N. Basu, Mr. Hirendranath Datta, Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerji, Mr. Sudhir Kumar Lahiri, and Dr. Pramathanath Banerji (in the Chair). Besides the President, Mr. J. N. Basu, Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerji, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Mr. Hirendranath Datta, Sir Nilratan Sircar, and others made speeches strongly condemning the Government scheme.

The meeting passed the following resolution:

This meeting is of opinion that most of the proposals contained in the Resolution of the Government of Bengal on the re-organization of school education are of a very retrograde character and calculated to prove detrimental to the educational interests of the country. The meeting, therefore, urges that the scheme be abandoned, and the following measures be adopted by the Government in order gradually to place the educational system on a sounder and more satisfactory basis:—

1. Free and compulsory primary education should be introduced within a period of five years. In the meantime facilities for education should be expanded as widely as possible, and with this object in view a large number of new primary schools should be established in unschooled areas, but no existing schools, however small, should be abolished.

2. Money spent on primary education should be immediately doubled and progressively increased year by year.

3. Substantial and increased grants should be made to the existing primary schools so as to enable them to enhance their efficiency by the appointment of better-paid and more qualified teachers and the provision of proper equipment.

4. All institutions imparting elementary instruction and supported mainly out of public funds, local or provincial, should be of an entirely non-sectarian and non-denominational character and should be known simply as "Primary Schools" and not as "Maktabs" or "Tols." But if and where the different religious communities want separate denominational schools for themselves, each such community may conduct its schools at its own expense under any denominational name it may choose to adopt, receiving grants-in-aid from public funds on an equitable basis, *e.g.*, the number of pupils taught, the number of teachers employed, etc.

5. Model schools should be established in the more important villages so that their influence may help to improve the efficiency of other schools in the neighbourhood.

6. Special care should be taken in the matter of framing curricula and of selecting text-books which should be suitable to the capacities of the learners, and the methods of teaching should be such as may be calculated to draw out the best in the pupils and encourage noble sentiments and correct ideas regarding social relations and activities.

7. Education through books should be supplemented by instruction of a practical character in conformity with environmental conditions, and such media as public libraries, the lantern, the cinema and the radio should be utilised for the purpose.

8. Arrangements should be made for imparting moral instruction in all schools of general type on non-denominational lines.

9. A number of vocational schools should be established in every Sub-division in which suitable training should be provided in agriculture, dairy farming, fruit culture, kitchen gardening and the various arts and crafts.

10. Instead of attempting to resuscitate Middle Vernacular schools which have died a natural death, Middle English Schools should be placed on a sounder basis; the curricula of such schools should include optional subjects which may be taken up by the students according to their capacities and requirements.

11. Better arrangements should be made for the sufficient training of teachers really qualified and inspectors with a broad and comprehensive social and moral outlook.

12. No person with inadequate qualifications should be appointed as inspectors, and it should be recognized as the main duty of the inspectorate to guide and inspire the teachers in the matter of school instruction and the development of a healthy community life.

13. The control of secondary education should be vested in the University, which should work through a Board representative of the teachers, the guardians of the pupils, the Governing bodies of the schools and the general public and adequate sums should be placed at the disposal of this board so as to enable it to improve the efficiency of secondary schools.

14. A fully-equipped Technological Institute should be established in the province with the object of providing further training to the capable students who have completed their courses in the vocational schools.

15. Adequate steps should be taken to extend education among girls by providing, where necessary, separate schools for them and prescribing curricula suitable for Bengali homes.

16. Physical training should be made compulsory in all the stages of education.

Student Demonstrations in China

Japanese imperialists have learnt from their Western masters all the various methods and means of empire-building. In addition they are devising new methods and means. They have

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placed on the throne of Manchuria a puppet emperor, who must dance to their tune. And they have now been trying to make northern China autonomous. Even if China were divided into really independent states, this sort of division must make that large country less powerful than if she could be organized into one free country. A so-called autonomous north China under Japanese leading strings must make China weaker still. So it is not surprising that there is unrest among large bodies of students in China. Youth in no country can submit to loss of freedom. One telegram relating to this state of things, dated Tientsin, December 19, runs thus :

> Three thousand students, including five hundred girls, demonstrated today in sympathy with the demonstration of the Peking students on Monday against the "Autonomy" regime. The demonstration was peaceful and there was no violence.
>
> The students paid a visit to the Mayor and forwarded five demands including the protection of the patriotic movements. The Japanese military officers protested against the demonstrations. The chief of the Chinese police is conferring with the College presidents for devising a method to avoid possible complications.

Treaty between China and Italy

According to a Hongkong telegram, dated December 20, a secret agreement has been signed between the Nanking Government and Italy. This sudden and astounding disclosure has come upon the various foreign embassies there like a bombshell. It is said that, according to the terms of the agreement, Italy has undertaken to reorganize the entire Chinese army, navy and airforce by the year 1939.

This reported secret agreement does not seem quite credible though it is not impossible. Japan is greatly interested in not allowing any Western power to have a finger in the Chinese pie, even to the extent of lending her money. Is it possible for any European power to conclude such an agreement with China without her near neighbour Japan having even an inkling of such an affair, considering that there must be an army of Japanese spies scattered all over China?

However, if such an agreement has actually been concluded, it cannot but give rise to complications between Italy and Japan. From before the outbreak of the Italo-Abyssinian War, Japan has been enjoying certain commercial concessions in Abyssinia and has been allowed to use an extensive area for cotton cultivation there. So, the prospect of Italy swallowing up Abyssinia must have already made her unfriendly at heart, though such unfriendliness may not have as yet manifested itself in any hostile action. The re secret agreement, if true, may precipitat hostile action.

After writing the above, we foun following two telegrams in the morning of the 22nd December :

> ROME, Dec
>
> A complete denial is given by the Foreig to a report circulated abroad that an agreem been reached between China and Italy for organization of the Chinese fighting forces b A Foreign Office spokesman declared that th never been any discussions with China thereon did not expect that there ever would be.—
>
> SHANGHAI, Dec
>
> Semi-official Chinese circles deny the above which they surmise has arisen from the nego interrupted by the Abyssinian war, for the es ment of a military aircraft factory in China Italian control. These negotiations followe arrival last year of an Italian air mission t and equip the Chinese air force, of which m the members have returned to Italy in consequ the war.—*Reuter.*

Fertilizing the Soil by Adding Molasse

Professor Dr. Nil Ratan Dhar, Preside the National Academy of Sciences, Allah delivered a very useful address last mon

Prof. Dr. Nil Ratan Dhár

its fifth annual meeting on "A New Metho Nitrogen Fixation and Conservation, Reclamation of Alkali Lands." He pointed that,

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It is well known that crop production in India is quite inefficient in comparison with the yield in other countries, as is evident from the following figures :

	RICE	
India	..	1,295 lbs. per acre.
Japan	..	3,040 „ „ „
Egypt	..	2,783 „ „ „
	SUGAR	
India	..	2,400 lbs. per acre.
Japan	..	3,340 „ „ „
Egypt	..	3,378 „ „ „
Java	..	11,988 „ „ „
Hawaii	..	18,799 „ „ „

The Professor said that this poor yield is mainly due to the deficiency of nitrogen in the Indian soil which contains only 0.04% nitrogen as against 0.1% present in the soil of European and other cold countries. It is gratifying to note that the Indian soil generally contains plenty of potash, lime, phosphate and other necessary plant food materials.

In order to improve the crop yield in India we must increase its nitrogen content. Unfortunately the Indian peasant is too poor to purchase artificial nitrogenous compounds imported from foreign countries as there is no nitrogen industry in this country.

It was next stated in the address that,

The researches of Prof. Dhar and his collaborators, notably Drs. C. C. Palit, Gopala Rao, A. K. Bhattacharya, Messrs S. P. Tandon, Atma Ram, N. N. Biswas, S. K. Mukerjee and E. V. Seshacharyulu, have definitely established that nitrogen is added to the soil by the application of molasses. The sugars present in the molasses combine with the oxygen of the air with the help of bacteria, sunlight, and substances like iron, manganese etc., which are always present in the soil. In this process of oxidation (combination of sugars with oxygen) large amounts of energy are set free and this energy is utilized for the combination of the nitrogen and oxygen of the air forming nitrates and ammonia which are excellent plant food materials, the free nitrogen of the air cannot serve as food for most of the plants. Molasses not only adds nitrogen to the soil but also increases its humus content and the beneficial effect lasts over two years.

Prof. Dhar and his colleagues have been able to increase the soil nitrogen by a hundred per cent on the addition of molasses. The crop yield has also been considerably increased in the molasses fields in comparison with the controls. Rice is highly benefited by the application of molasses, molassed land producing 14.5 maunds per acre as against 8.1 in the unmolassed field. The straw is also greater in the molassed than in the unmolassed field. Messrs Parry & Company of Madras, and the Government Shahjehanpur Farm have obtained an increased yield of 40% with molasses as manure in sugar cultivation. Prof. Dhar has made it amply clear that molasses must not be added to the growing crop, but should be added to the fields 2 to 3 months before the sowing of the crop. After the application of the molasses the soil should be ploughed 3 or 4 times before the sowing, watering the soil is just the same as in ordinary cultivation. Prof. Dhar and his collaborators have always found that the moisture content of the molassed field is greater than the unmolassed.

The addition of molasses to the soil produces another valuable result. It conserve soil nitrogen.

The results obtained by Prof. Dhar and his collaborators with the artificial fertilizer ammonium sulphate added to the soil with and without molasses show that the nitrogen of the molassed plots is always greater than that of the unmolassed ones. Hence molasses can act in the conservation of soil nitrogen. In tropical countries, a mixture of molasses and ammonium salt is a better fertilizer than ammonium salt alone.

The researches of Professor Dhar and his colleagues also show that for the reclamation of alkali soils molasses can be very usefully applied.

The results of Dr. Dhar and his collaborators show that molasses is a better reclaiming agent for alkaline land than either gypsum or powdered sulphur, as there is nitrogen loss from soils when these latter reclaiming agents are added to alkaline soils, whilst molasses adds nitrogen. The reclaiming effect of molasses is much quicker than that of gypsum or powdered sulphur.

It has been reported that four years are necessary for reclaiming alkaline lands on treatment with gypsum or powdered sulphur, but with molasses four to six months are quite adequate.

Alkaline lands have been successfully reclaimed in different parts of the United Provinces and in Mysore by the application of molasses, and good crops are growing in these reclaimed areas, where no vegetation ever grew.

Bengali Folk Art in London

Before a distinguished gathering of the India Society of London, an interesting lecture on the folk art of Bengal was recently delivered by Mr. Guru Saday Dutt, I.C.S. Mr. Laurence Binyon, the well-known literary figure and art-critic, occupied the chair. Mr. Dutt dealt mainly with what he described as the continuous survival of cultural expressions in living art traditions—song, dance, decorative work, cottage architecture, wood sculpture and painting. By a clever selection of lantern slides, he was able fully to illustrate his lecture and the audience highly appreciated the exquisite examples of Bengali domestic art, such as decorative work, mural painting, wood sculpture, etc., which he showed. The point that Mr. Dutt made was that the rural art of Bengal was something autochthonous, peculiar to the children of the soil, dating back to remote antiquity. It was the vital expression of the people of Bengal and no mere imitation of the art of Ajanta or Rajputana. In this Mr. Binyon agreed with the speaker. They were, as he pointed out, hitherto wrong in talking about Indian art "as if it were all one, just as they might talk of European art without realizing all the different growths in different soils and

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that they would not go far unless they studied first the arts of each region and then went on to see what they had in common with the other arts." Mr. Dutt then outlined the history of his own efforts in seeking the samples of rural art hidden away in remote corners of Bengal, culminating in the foundation of the Rural Heritage Preservation Society of Bengal in 1932. In concluding the meeting, Mr. Binyon congratulated Mr. Dutt on his attempts to awaken to fuller life arts that are still alive and rooted in the soil but had been neglected and largely forgotten and for thus being instrumental in bringing back to his own people "the sense of wholeness of life and the lost harmony of man with nature."

Kulapati Dr. James H. Cousins

James H. Cousins was born in Ireland, in 1873, and gained experience early in commerce and teaching. At 24 he removed to Dublin found his place as a fellow-worker with "A and W. B. Yeats as a pioneer of the I Literary and Dramatic Revival, to which contributed some of its earliest dramas an succession of books of poetry. In 1915 he c to India as a journalist, but soon returne teaching, and was for some time Principa Madanapalle College. From 1922 to 192 was Director of Studies of the Brahma-V Ashram at Adyar, Madras.

A year's professorship of poetry in T University, won him the first doctorate literature conferred by the Imperial Japa Ministry of Education on a foreigner. F 1928 to 1933, Dr. Cousins travelled in Eu and America lecturing on art and litera education, oriental culture and various asp of synthetical thought and life. For a year was visiting professor of poetry in The Col of the City of New York. America placed poetry as "among the major poetry of time," and brought out his life-work in volumes.

Dr. Cousins is known all over India as exponent of India's culture. He is back Madanapalle College as its Principal once m The South Indian Teacher's Union confer the title of KULAPATI on Dr. Cousins in year 1934. In the recent birthday celebrati of His Highness the Maharaja of Travanc the State presented him with the VEERA-SR KHALA and the PANDIT'S SHAWL in recog tion of his services to culture in the State.

V. K.

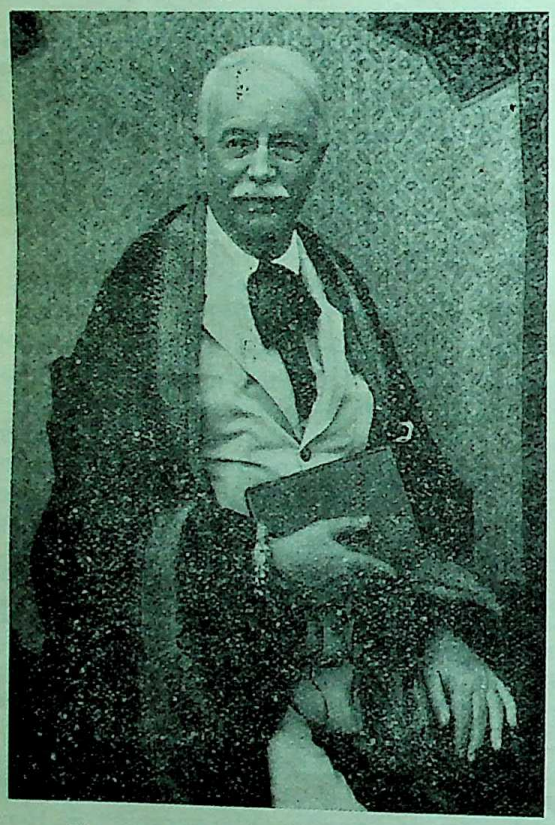

Photo by V. Krishnaswamy, Madanapalle.

KULAPATI DR. JAMES H. COUSINS, Principal of Madanapalle College, Madras Presidency, wearing the VEERA-SRINKHALA (gold bracelet of prowess with precious stones) and the PANDIT'S SHAWL (gold embroidered) with which he was invested by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore during the recent birthday celebrations, in recognition of Dr. Cousins' services to culture in the State, particularly in organizing the recently opened State Gallery of Indian Painting. He is the first European to receive these honours

The Philosophical Congress

The eleventh session of the Philosoph Congress was held last month in Calcut Sir Manmatha Nath Mookerjee, Acting Ch Justice of Bengal, opened the Congress with thoughtful speech, which he concluded by obs ving :

> "For the distracted world of today, the philosoph particularly the orientals, have got an important c tribution to make. The East may be a negligi partner in the geographical dispensation of the Lea of Nations, but not so, as we believe, on the spiri side of it. The star has always risen in the E and "eastern lights," to use the happy phrase of of our leading thinkers, are being hailed from expected quarters. As representing the West point of view, Dr. Tung has truly remarked, "It the East that has taught another wide, more profo and a higher understanding through life." Truly, the East, philosophy has never served as an intellect pastime merely, but always in its classical sense a Way of Life—life being in ultimate analysis only effective commentary upon the theory. Such outlook upon life may not commend itself to all. B

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it is there, as a silent preacher in the background, and greets us across the perspective of centuries. Therein consists the individuality of Indian thought and culture: and at this thought-exchange of the world it would be courting sheer bankruptcy if we were to undervalue our own thought-currency in order to secure an international credit."

The Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Principal, Scottish Church College, welcomed the delegates in the capacity of chairman of the reception committee. The Rev. Dr. A. G. Hogg, Principal of the Madras Christian College, was elected President and delivered a learned address.

Philosophers Discuss Democracy

At the second day's session of the Philosophical Congress in Calcutta there was an interesting discussion on the future of democracy.

Prof. D. N. Banerjee of the Dacca University, in the course of his speech, said:

> Democracy means nothing else than the rule of the whole people expressing their sovereign will by their votes. There may be occasional necessities for dictatorship when the safety of the State is at stake. But, the most serious objection against Absolutism is that it produces a most demoralising effect upon the Government. Freedom of thought, freedom of speech would be impossible in such a regime. But it is undeniable that it will be much easier for a democratic state to bring about a better distribution of wealth and to put a stop to the dehumanising process of the existing system than for any other form of state. Moreover, democracy promotes mental expansion and elevation of the average citizen more than any other form of state.

Prof. E. Asirvatham of the Lucknow University said:

> Democracy is not a mere form of Government. It is an order of society, an industrial condition as well as the moral and the spiritual principle. What it seeks to do is to reconcile the principle of equality with the fact of natural inequality. It attempts to bring into existence a social machinery which would make for the enrichment and expression of personality. The evils which we see in it are not inevitable. They can be cured by the people themselves by proper education, reflection and experience.

Prof. M. Venkatarangiya of the Andhra University said:

> It was in democracies alone that Government was carried on the basis of discussion, conference, and consultation and these resulted in power being conferred only on those that proved their capacity to exercise it in the interest of all.

Prof. H. Bhattacharyya of the Asutosh College, Prof. P. G. Dutta of Monghyr, Prof. Indra Sen of Delhi, Prof. R. N. Kaul of the Allahabad University, Prof. Euryyanarayan Sastri, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Madras University, Professors N. C. Mukherjee and N. B. Banerjee, Dr. D. M. Dutta of Patna and Mr. Lownde also took part in the discussion.

The Rev. Dr. A. G. Hogg, General President of the Session, in winding up the discussion, remarked:

> Good Government means self-government. It is to be seriously considered whether the voters who exercise their votes have any passion for some noble end. Merely by giving every one the right of vote will not further the larger interest of humanity if the right to vote in a democratic Government is not exercised for the realization of some noble cause. Tackling the problem from the religious side he remarked that complete self-mastery could only come from the margins of the individual in the divine will.

Prof. Vidhusekhara Sastri on Indian Philosophy

Professor Vidhusekhara Sastri, President of the section of Indian Philosophy, advocated co-operation between orthodox Sanskrit scholarship and modern scholarship.

> Such co-operation, he thought, might be facilitated by using the Sanskrit language, side by side with the English, as a medium of discussion in the Indian Philosophy section of the Philosophical Congress, and by urging young orthodox scholars to acquire a working knowledge of English. The Professor enlarged upon the necessity of translating into Sanskrit the important works of the Western Philosophers. He also pointed out that the two other foreign sources of Philosophic thought, *viz.*, the Chinese and the Tibetan, should be tapped with a view to enriching our own fund of knowledge.

Prof. Vidhusekhara Sastri

Prof. Sastri next proceeded to say a few words on Indian Philosophy.

> Indian Philosophy, he declared, was not merely an abstract or speculative science. It is intimately bound up with the problems of life and it has a supreme interest for men in that it shows the 'way to liberation.' Thus there exists no gulf between Philosophy and Religion in India. The two are harmoniously blended together.
>
> Prof. Sastri concluded by pointing out the great popular interest and appeal of Indian Philosophy. "The profound teachings of Philosophy," he said, "filter down to the masses through poems, tales, dramas, stories, legends, architecture, etc."

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Tributes to Dr. Sir Brajendra Nath Seal

Eloquent and striking tributes were paid to Dr. Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, the great Indian philospher and savant, at the celebration of the completion of the 72nd year of his life, held under the auspices of the Indian Philosophical Congress in the Calcutta University Senate Hall on December 19 last. A distinguished gathering, including delegates to the Congress and a large number of women students, was present. Sir Nilratan Sircar presided.

Prof. Damle, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, Dr. A. G. Ho[illegible] and Dr. Urquhart.

The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, sent a magnificent poem, of which the following is an approximate English rendering :

TO BRAJENDRANATH SEAL

On the inaccessible heights of
Knowledge
Thou art soaring in supreme majesty,
O thou Pilgrim,
In regions where ridges of self-realization embrace thy far-reaching vision.
Where, from deep caverns emerge the ocean-going Message, in rock-cleaving current, building ever new banks of pilgrimage;
Where, free-eyed mountain peaks stand piercing the mist of Illusion, reading the epistle of the Morn conquering darkness:
Where Eternal Time appears in the stellar sphere, turning the rosary of fiery globes in myriad lights;
Where, on the heights of sunrise, appears that One who resembles the Sun in glory, who unfolds through the drapery of the dying Earth the awaking of the world of Immortality, resounding the many throated voice of ascetics :
"Listen ye creatures of the world,
Ye children of the Immortal,
I have seen the Supreme Person
Shining beyond darkness,"—
Where Man listens to superhuman message, gains the radiant sight in a trice and receives anew the intimation of the Infinite on the frontiers of finite regions.
Thou noble guest! Thou seer in the penance-forest of Humanity,
Where in the heavens of meditation, in the interval of aeons, the stars greet one another, emerging from the deep,
Where, on the canvas of Imagination the Adoration of Eternal Beauty is painted in diverse tones and colours.
The ineffable white radiance of that region, like a garland of glory from the gracious hand of the Goddess of Speech, bedecked thy lofty forehead!
Thou knowest me as thy friend,
The Poet in his folded palm of rhyme,
Brings thee the benediction of the Motherland.
And, in the time of parting,
I entwine this thread of loving regards in thy arm.

19th December, 1935. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

For Bengali-knowing readers the orig[illegible] Bengali poem is transcribed below :

আচার্য্য শ্রীযুক্ত ব্রজেন্দ্রনাথ শীল, সুহৃদ্বরেষু—

জ্ঞানের দুর্গম ঊর্দ্ধে উঠেছ সমুচ্চ মহিমায়,
যাত্রী তুমি, যেথা প্রসারিত তব দৃষ্টির সীমায়
সাধনা-শিখরশ্রেণী ; যেথায় গহন গুহা হ'তে
সমুদ্রবাহিনী বার্ত্তা চলেছে প্রান্তরভেদী স্রোতে,
নব নব তীর্থ সৃষ্টি করি যেথা মায়া কুহেলিকা
ভেদি উঠে মুক্তদৃষ্টি তুঙ্গশৃঙ্গ, পড়ে তাহা লিখা
প্রভাতের তমোক্ষরে লিপি, যেথায় নক্ষত্রলোকে
দেখা দেয় মহাকাল আবর্ত্তিয়া আলোকে আলোকে
বহ্নিমণ্ডলের জপমালা, যেথায় উদয়াচলে
আদিত্যবরণ যিনি, মর্ত্ত্যধরণীর দিগঞ্চলে
অনাবৃত করি দেন অমর্ত্ত্য রাজ্যের জাগরণ,
তপস্বীর কণ্ঠে কণ্ঠে উচ্ছ্বসিয়া—শোন বিশ্বজন,
শোন অমৃতের পুত্র, হেরিলাম মহান্ত পুরুষ—
তমিস্রের পার হ'তে তেজোময়, যেথায় মানুষ
শোনে দেববাণী। সহসা পায় সে দৃষ্টি দীপ্তিমান,
দিক্‌সীমাপ্রান্তে পায় অসীমের নূতন সন্ধান।
বরেণ্য অতিথি তুমি বিশ্ব-মাঝারের তপোবনে
সত্যদ্রষ্টা, যেথা যুগ-যুগান্তরে ধ্যানের গগনে
গূঢ় হ'তে উদ্ধারিত জ্যোতিষ্কের সম্মিলন ঘটে,
যেথায় অঙ্কিত হয় বর্ণে বর্ণে কল্পনার পটে—
নিত্য সুন্দরের আমন্ত্রণ! সেথাকার শুভ্র আলো
বরমাল্য-রূপে তব সমুদার ললাটে বুলালো
বাণীর দক্ষিণ পাণি।
মোরে তুমি মানো বন্ধু বলি
আমি কবি আনিলাম ভরি মোর ছন্দের অঞ্জলি
স্বদেশের আশীর্ব্বাদ, বিদায়কালের অর্ঘ্য মোর
বাহুতে বাঁধিনু তব সপ্রেম শ্রদ্ধার রাখীডোর॥

Sir Michael Sadler's "Tribute of Gratitu[illegible] and Admiration" is printed elsewhere in th[illegible] issue.

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An address on behalf of the Calcutta Philo-phical Society was presented to Dr. Seal by r. Sir Nilratan Sircar. This was followed by peeches by Dr. Urquhart, Dr. Hiralal Haldar, rof. Jay Gopal Banerji, Prof. Krishna Chandra hattacharya, Mr. Hirendranath Datta, Prof. rasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, Dr. Damle of ysore and others. Sir Nilratan Sircar offered m respectful felicitations on behalf of the ublic and himself, paying a tribute to his reat personality, his extraordinary genius, his ildlike simplicity, his lifelong and single-inded endeavours for the economic, moral, ntellectual and spiritual advancement of the ation. Dr. Sircar hailed him as the foremost essenger of the culture of the age.

In reply to the felicitations Dr. Sir Brajendra ath Seal said :

"Dear friends, out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh. This may be so, but when the heart is overfull, silence is its only expression. I will not therefore attempt to express the inexpressible. I can only with bended head accept your kindly greetings in all human fellowship and indeed in all reverence. I bow to you all and to that spirit of love and sympathy which has brought you together. I will not speak of my weakness or decrepitude today in the presence of an all-sustaining love which wins strength from weakness and life from death itself.

My last days are embittered by one thought: the wranglings of those who as the children of India should be bound by ties of brotherhood and friendship. Remember that Hindu or Moslem, Christian or Sikh, you can fulfil the best in your religion by a spirit of give and take, by giving out of your abundance and taking in a spirit of sincere amity and goodwill. All that is merely sectarian and communal must yield to the spirit of a common nationality and nationality itself must be fulfilled in one common brotherhood of man in Universal Humanity. And I will not attempt to express my own sense of unworthiness in the presence of a love that out of its own abundance makes up for my own poverty of spirit in my present physical and mental condition.

This is perhaps my last appearance in public and I am therefore overwhelmed with a sense of solemnity in which I must betake myself to that silence which is the best expression of the inexpressible.

From this personal aspect I will proceed to certain impersonal reflections on the nature and meaning of that human sacrament, 'Jayanti,' which has called us together. I will, however, preface my remarks with one personal note which I cannot avoid on this solemn occasion.

In my case it so happens that this "Jayanti" coincides not with the triumph of life but of that other great master of our fate, death and its companions, weakness and suffering. If fate has denied to me fruition in my life, it cannot deprive me of that other fruition, which is the last and greatest, the heritage of silence, the mystery of mysteries, Death the revealer and the Consummator.

I will now turn to that observance, "Jayanti," which calls us together today. Our national heritage and culture has nothing more characteristic or more beautiful than this observance of "Jayanti."

Let me speak of certain Jewish, Greek and other national rituals which are so cognate and yet so disparate. The Jews in their Silom had a conception of individual immortality but their exclamation of triumph "Hallelujah" emphasises the triumph of the Lord Ya, Yovah, sinking the personal in the national or tribal aspect. Similarly the Greek cry of "Is Paean" misses the personal aspect and with the Romans also the state was all in all and personal immortality was only a shadow life in Hades and birth equally with death lost much of its personal significance.

Christ indeed had a heart to bless all human festive occasions like feasting and marrying. He sympathized even with the lot of publicans and sinners. But theology with its original sin and its doctrine of damnation turned Christ's religion of love and sympathy into despair. But human nature finally triumphed over theological dogma and in the end birthday greetings and festivities had their due place in Christian Society.

In this history the Hindus have a distinctive note in their observance of "Jayanti." At first "Jayanti" was a solar festival connected with the return of the Sun in spring. This gave rise to the legend of the Suras and Asuras and the victory of the former over the latter which was commemorated in the "Jayanti" festival. The hymn of triumph was now "Jayanti Devas."

This was as far as the Vedic Hindus reached, but in Buddhism "Jayanti" took on a cosmic human significance, in the triumph of the Buddha over Mara, in other words of Humanity over darkness and death. This was what was first commemorated in "Jayanti," and when "Jayanti" became a birthday greeting, what it meant to the Buddhist and later on to Post-Buddhistic Hindus was the triumph of powers of light over those of darkness, which was symbolised afresh in each birth. Indeed it was a promise of the ultimate redemption in "Moksha" or "Nirvana."

Apart from its cosmic significance "Jayanti" has a deep human meaning and import. The individual is born but once but the annual observance of "Jayanti" (the birthday) confers a sempiternal and recurrent character to what occurs but once in reality at a definite point of History. By this human device, the birthday is annually renewed and we thus win a sort of perpetual life for the temporal and occasional. It is thus that we win immortality and rejuvenescence from the Heavens.

With these words of immortal hope and greeting you in the name of Universal Humanity I bow to you again, taking refuge in that silence which is the first and, Yea! shall be the last."

Honour for an Indian Artist

It is with pleasure that we learn that the Council of the Royal Society of Arts (London) have invited Mr. Barada Ukil, artist and editor of the art journal *Rupa-lekha*, to be a Fellow of their Society. Our readers will find some account of Mr. Ukil's work and that of his two artist brothers in last year's July number.

The Royal Society of Arts is one of the three oldest Societies in England. When it was founded in 1754, only the Royal Society and

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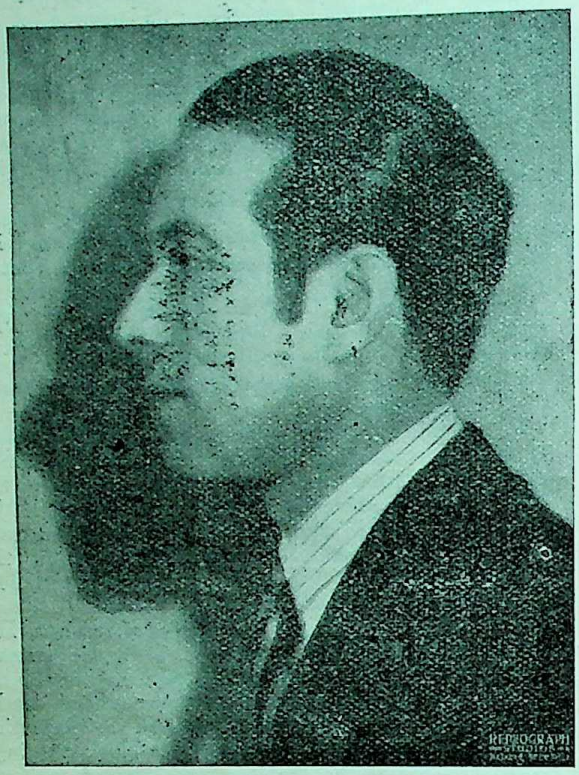
the Society of Antiquaries were in existence. In 1908, King Edward VII, who was then the President of this Society, granted permission to it



Mr. Barada Ukil

to add the adjective "Royal" to its title. King George V is its Patron and the Duke of Connaught is its President. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York are Vice-patrons.

The Meaning of Dadabhai Naoroji's Swaraj

It is more or less generally known that it was Dadabhai Naoroji who was the first among Congress presidents and workers to use the word Swaraj in the sense of self-government. But what kind of self-government did he want? It is generally thought that he claimed such self-government as the British Colonies enjoyed. But let us examine the passage in his Congress presidential address of 1906 in which he used the word.

> "(1) Just as the administration of the United Kingdom in all services, departments and details is in the hands of the people themselves of that country, so should we in India claim that the administration in all services, departments and details should be in the hands of the people themselves of India.
>
> "This is not only a matter of right and matter of the aspirations of the educated—important enough as these matters are—but it is far more *an absolute necessity* as the only remedy for the great inevitable economical evil which Sir John Shore point hundred and twenty years ago, and which fundamental cause of the present drain and The remedy is absolutely necessary for the moral, intellectual, political, social, indust every possible progress and welfare of the of India.
>
> "(2) As in the United Kingdom and the all taxation and legislation and the power of ing the taxes are in the hands of the repres of the people of those countries, so should als rights of the people of India.
>
> "(3) All financial relations between Engl India must be just and on a footing of equa whatever money India may find towards exp in any department—Civil or Military or N the extent of that share should Indians shar the benefits of that expenditure in salaries, emoluments, etc., materials, etc., as a partner Empire, as she is always declared to be. We ask any favours. We want only justice. In going into any further divisions or details rights as British citizens, the whole matter comprised in one word—'Self-government or like that of the United Kingdom or the Colon

The Congress session at which Da Naoroji read his address was held in the week of December. We remember the attended that session and took with us Allahabad copies of the first—the Jan number of *The Modern Review* for 1907. was in the February (1907) number th had an opportunity to comment on the ad And with reference to the passage quoted we wrote:

> The great merit of the address lies in the fa it states in clear and unequivocal language ou political demand, namely, Swaraj or Self-gover
>
> Some of us have concluded in a mood of hasty appreciation or of equally hasty fault that Mr. Naoroji is in favour of Self-governm colonial lines, but not of absolute autonomy the actual words that he uses, "Self-governm Swaraj like that of the United Kingdom colonies"—do not warrant any such con There is nothing to prevent us from interpret words to mean that he desires absolute au like that of the United Kingdom, but w content to have Self-government on colonial under British suzerainty.

What we wrote in 1907 we have rep several times in this journal and also in *Pr* It is necessary to point out again wh understand by what Dadabhai Naoroji

It will be observed that in (1), (2) (3) he wants for Indians all the powers rights which the people of the United Kin possess, *not* the powers and rights of Colonists. As the United Kingdom is colony of any other Power, as it is free independent, his goal was certainly abs autonomy. He knew, of course, that freedom and independence could not be ha at once, and, therefore, only in the last

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ined "Self-government like that of the ited Kingdom **or** the Colonies." Now, self-vernment like that of the United Kingdom ans absolute autonomy. If that could not had, he would be content, to begin with, to ve self-government like that of the Colonies.

This has always appeared to us to be a interpretation. Therefore, we have never mitted that Congress advocated *Purna araj* or complete self-rule only after coming der the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, though is true that that expression is of recent coinage. e Congress objective has been *Purna Swaraj* ce Dadabhai Naoroji spoke in December, 06, though that expression was not then used.

It is indisputable in any case that Dadabhai oroji wanted the substance of independence, ich Gandhiji has also demanded. For proof, d the enumeration of the rights he demands his countrymen.

There is a difference, no doubt, between means and methods advocated and adopted the pre-Gandhian and the Gandhian Con-ss. But methods of self-reliance had been opted in Bengal long before Gandhiji became minent. And Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the nce of Liberals, was not entirely against the ption of passive resistance if all other means led.

So there has been evolution in the Congress not a complete revolution.

beration by Enslavement

Italy claims that her soldiers have gone to hiopia on a mission of liberation. It is a ange mission this—that of liberation by slavement.

It may be true that there are in Ethiopia any slaves in the ordinary sense. They uld, however, have been emancipated from very by the League of Nations putting pres-re on the Emperor of Ethiopia, and he had ready taken steps in that direction. Fighting as not necessary for effecting the complete eration of the Abyssinian slaves.

Assuming that Italy would succeed in nquering Ethiopia, what would be the result? present in that country there are some ves in the ordinary sense and more free-en in the sense of non-slaves. After the nquest of the country by foreigners, both the ves and the non-slaves would be reduced to e position of political servitude. And there uld be ruthless exploitation of the country, , by foreigners. Would that be a very desir-e condition?

It may be argued that, as the Abyssinians ve no civic and political rights like those enjoyed by Britishers, Frenchmen, Americans and other free occidentals, their condition will not be worse than what it is now. But from the way in which the Abyssinians are fighting for their country, they appear to have some kind of citizenship which they value, though it may not be of the European or American brand. And their country is not impoverished by foreign exploitation.

But suppose they have no citizenship. Hence, though in subjection also they will have no citizenship, the conquest of their country will not make any difference in their political status. That may be the argument of the advocates or advertisers of Italy's mission of liberation. But foreign conquest will certainly make the economic condition of Ethiopia worse than it is now.

It is forgotten, moreover, that there is at least one man in Ethiopia who is a really free man, who can do what he thinks fit, and is, therefore, the political equal of any free man in the freest country in the world. He is the Emperor of Ethiopia. The conquest of Ethiopia by a foreign nation will reduce him, too, to a state of political servitude. So, whereas now there is at least one free man in that country, after her subjugation there will be none. One man's loss of freedom may seem insignificant, but it is not, and that for two reasons. One is that the freedom of even a single person, however humble, is valuable—at least to him, and so he ought not to be deprived of it. Another is that the position of this particular free man is such that he can, if he likes, make all his people free. And considering the intellect and character and patriotism of the Ethiopian Emperor, there is every reason to expect that, if he be not conquered by Italy, he will confer on his people the boon of representative Government, as the Emperor of Japan did in the last century.

But even if this expectation be not fulfilled, unconquered Ethiopia will have at least one free man, whereas subjugated Ethiopia can have none; unconquered Ethiopia will not be like a sucked orange, which it will be like, if conquered.

Death of Anglo-French "Peace" Proposals

A famous ancient Roman author said: "They make a desert and call it peace."

The British home Government and the French home Government, through their ministers Hoare and Laval, wanted to partition Ethiopia, giving a portion to Italy and the rest to the League of Nations as a "mandated" territory, and they called their designs a peace proposal.

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What did the proposal actually come to? It was a proposal to reward the aggressor, Italy, by conferring on it about half of Ethiopia, and to grab the remainder in the name of the League —other "mandated" territories have been swallowed up by the trustees ere this.

And a fine piece of idealism was this so-called peace proposal! The League of Nations has for its principal object the prevention of war and of spoliation by war. It could not prevent the Italo-Abyssinian war, but it made as if it wanted at least to prevent Italy from coming out victorious and swallowing up Ethiopia. But in the meantime the two most powerful members of the League were hatching a plan in secret to fulfil Italy's desire—at least in part, a desire of a kind which the League was established and exists to frustrate! And Italy would not agree to accept half of Ethiopia—she wanted the whole of it!

How generous these two European governments were! They wanted to give away to Italy property which did not belong to them. And, what is far worse, they wanted to give away to Italy human beings living in Ethiopia, who are not property, as if they were transferable like cattle and as if, because their complexion is not white, they do not possess the right of self-determination. No wonder, the Ethiopian Emperor could not appreciate and admire their generosity. He could not part with the independence of his country in order to enable others to become generous at its expense.

And why was this peace offer made? Mussolini said that oil embargo would mean war, and if Italy was prevented from having as much oil as she wanted, she would fight. The two European governments were afraid of a European war, and so proposed to make a free gift of an African country, not belonging to themselves, partly to Italy and partly to the League. And as they were the most powerful members of the League, the gift to the League meant a gift to themselves in part.

Those Britishers are entitled to praise who raised such an outcry against this nefarious proposal as to compel Sir Samuel Hoare to resign, though he is only a scapegoat. He could not possibly have been a party to such a proposal without the knowledge and consent of his colleagues.

Mr. Eden appointed Foreign Secretary

Mr. Eden has been appointed British Foreign Secretary in place of Sir Samuel Hoare. *Reuter* has cabled out what British newspapers, Geneva, Germany, Italy,.....think of the appointment. But as the British Gove remains unchanged, British policy al remain substantially unchanged.

The Late Principal Nava Krishna Ray

The late Rai Saheb Nava Krishna Ra began his career as a teacher as third ma the Berhampore collegiate school in Afterwards he was appointed professor of in Meerut College, U. P. His next appoi was that of professor of English in the Maharaja's College, Rajputana. His s ship, ability and character led to his pro to the post of principal of the College director of public instruction of the

Nava Krishna Ray

Though he was only a B.A., he used appointed paper-setter and examiner B.A. and M.A. examinations. He retir pension in 1928 and died recently in Ca at the age of 72.

The Late Principal Lalit Kumar Ghosh

In the late Principal Lalit Kumar G M.A., B.L., of the Bihar National C Bankipur, Bihar has lost a distinguished

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tionalist. He was born poor. By self-reliance and industry he passed the M.A. examination, and was appointed professor of mathematics in the Bihar National College in 1906. From

Lalit Kumar Ghosh

almost the foundation of the Patna University he was a member of its senate and a member of its syndicate from 1920 to the day of his death. He was appointed principal of the Bihar National College in March, 1935, and, during the short period of his incumbency of that office, effected improvements in it in many directions.

Infection of Communal Representation Spreads

The spread of infectious diseases from country to country and continent to continent is sought to be prevented in various ways. But no attempt is made by any powerful organization to prevent the spread of mischievous political devices. The British people have introduced the plan of separate communal representation in India in order to ensure the permanence or prolongation of their domination in India. Other countries and peoples have looked on unconcerned. But the virus will travel. Therefore, all who love human liberty and democracy ought to fight this harmful political bacillus.

One proof of the fact that the infection is spreading is afforded by the composition of the proposed legislature in Palestine.

"The Jews are opposing the plan the details of which have been announced by the High Commissioner, Sir A. G. Wauchope, in a communique proposing the grant of a measure of self-government to Palestine. The proposed Legislative Council based on communal proportional representation would contain 11 Moslems, 7 Jews, 3 Christians, 2 Commercial representatives of undefined nationality and 5 British Officials. The Jews are thus in a minority in it."—*Reuter.*

Are there so many British officials in Palestine that they can have 5 seats in consideration of their numerical strength?

Education and Communalism : and Communal Rewards and Communalism

The Governor of the Panjab concluded his convocation address to the Panjab University with the following words:

> "Believe me, the solution of communal tension lies in the hands of the educated classes but not the masses. As education extends, the responsibility of this university grows for the formation and moulding of the conceptions of civic duty and the manner in which it discharges this responsibility will largely determine the political and social future of the province."

His Excellency the Governor of the Panjab will, we hope, excuse us for saying that we do not believe that the solution of communal tension lies wholly or mainly in the hands of the educated classes, though it does lie to some extent in their hands.

The Governors-General and the provincial Governors of India ought to tell the British nation and the British home Government that the solution of communal tension in India lies to a very great extent in their hands. They can do their share of the work by putting an end to Communal Reward No. 1, miscalled the Communal Decision, Communal Reward No. 2 by which particular communities and classes have been assigned fixed proportions (and excessive proportions) of appointments in the public services, and Communal Reward No. 3 by which differential and discriminatory franchise qualifications for different communities have been introduced, and by preventing the advent of other Communal Rewards in the future.

Depressed Class Leaders to Counteract Conversion Propaganda

It is good news that

> A party of depressed class leaders of Bengal, Bihar and U. P., consisting of Mr. Rasik Lal Biswas, B.A., B.L. (Vice-chairman, Jessore District Board), Mr. Jagneswar Mandal, M.A., B.L., Babu Gajadhar Prasad (Bengal); Babu Jagjivan Ram, B.Sc. Dr. Raghunandan Prasad (Bihar); Dr. Dharamprakash and Babu Ram Prasad Jayaswal (U. P.), is proceeding

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on an extensive tour in the Bombay Presidency to counteract the propaganda launched by Dr. Ambedkar. They would interview Mahatma Gandhi on their way to Bombay.

Centenary of Mark Twain

There are many centenaries of which men generally do not take note. But of the centenary of the American humorist Mark Twain more note should have been taken than men have. On the 30th of November last Will Hayes wrote in *The Inquirer* of London:

> A hundred years ago today Samuel Langhorne Clemens was born at Florida, Missouri. He became a printer, and afterwards a Mississippi pilot. It was on the river that he heard the frequent call, "Mark twain!" (*i.e.*, "By the mark two fathoms") used in sounding. Clemens took the river-call as his pseudonym, and made it famous all over the world.
>
> And all this happened, as he explained later, because Cæsar crossed the Rubicon! And Cæsar crossed the Rubicon because—But that would take us back to Adam and Eve! Mark Twain's closely-reasoned argument about life-chains tells us, like Francis Thompson's poem, that
>
> All things by immortal power,
> Near or far,
> Hiddenly
> To each other linked are.
> . . . . Thou canst not stir a flower
> Without troubling of a star.
>
> And every link counts.
>
> Mark Twain became a popular writer, and a Prince among Trippers. His books are still well known—even if not read! *Innocents Abroad, A Tramp Abroad, Tom Sawyer, The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur*—these, and others, anyone could name. Two of Mark Twain's books (*Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*) are still read; and Stephen Leacock has bracketed Mark Twain and Charles Dickens together as the greatest humorists of modern times.
>
> Mark Twain made the world laugh. That was a great achievement. We are all more human because he lived. For man is the animal that laughs.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's Illuminating Address:

At the Second Annual Dinner Meeting of the Penguin Club held on 18th December last at the Spences Hotel, Calcutta, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar gave a picture of his vision of the India of the future.

> It was to be an India, said the speaker, where religion which is essentially a matter for a man's personal or inner life, was to be relegated nay sublimated to its proper sphere—the home. Religion unfortunately has today become a bargaining counter for the exchange of social and political privileges. It is sought to discover religious sanction for much of the communal unrest which has become a degrading feature of our body politic. As a contrast he cited the conditions obtaining in Turkey and China. In Turkey Kemal Pasha had the foresight to insist that religion should not obtrude in politics. We may approve of the method followed in Turkey but cannot be denied that they have proved emin successful. In that much-spoken-of country, Ch the father could be a Christian, the mother a Bud and the son a Mussalman and yet no one sugge that domestic life was unhappy. Sir Ramaswami made a passing reference to the recent contro in the Indian press on the question of admissio Indians into European Clubs. It struck him th was very necessary for them to shed this inferi complex as it was necessary for Europeans to their superiority complex. Personally he did not to which club he was invited or allowed to go. W he cared for was that Indians should shed off th inferiority complex and realize their equality. conflict of ideas is not necessarily a conflict interests and there is no reason, thought the speak why all who should dwell in the India of the fut should not be able to strive side by side for common good, irrespective of religion, caste or cre He referred to the traditional hospitality of India wh has sheltered—nay, pampered—the fugitives and persecuted of other lands who have sought the wh some shelter of her shores throughout the ages. cited instances from history of immigrants who ca and flourished in India. India of the future, said speaker, has to carry on the traditions of such glorious heritage and be a home to whatever ra choose to dwell in her lands in the new regime.

"India's Interests Are Your Interests"

Addressing the Associated Chambers Commerce of India in Calcutta on the 16th Dec ember last, the Viceroy paid a glowing tribu of praise to the British Mercantile Communi in India. Said he:

> I feel in common with everyone of you a justifiab pride in the contribution you have made to buildin up the India of today as we know it and in th service you have rendered to this country. In ma fields of endeavour you have led where others ha failed. By your perseverance, your industry and yo enterprise, India has in many directions enjoye advantages which might otherwise have been longe delayed. In the history of the relations betwee Great Britain and this country yours has indeed bee an honourable part.

If the British men of business deserve thi praise, let them enjoy it. But when the Viceroy spoke of "the service you have rendered to this country," or when he said that by their perseverance, their industry and their enterprise "India has in many directions enjoyed advantages which might otherwise have been longer delayed," to what country, to what India did he refer? The mercantile community have rendered service to themselves, to Anglo-India and it is Anglo-India which has enjoyed the fruits of their perseverance, industry and enterprise more directly and to a far greater extent than the India of Indians, if any, and in many directions the advantages gained by Anglo-India have been at the expense of Indians.

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The Viceroy concluded his speech in the following words:

> I have no doubt that as in the past, your leaders will be willing to come forward and take their part in the public life of the country. It will be their function to voice your interests. But, above all things, keep before you the future destinies of India, her welfare, her progress and prosperity. These are all matters of no less concern to you than to those for whom India is their home and motherland. India's interests are your interests. May I ask you to associate yourselves with all that leads to the advancement of this country and adds to her position and advancement. If you hold this ideal constantly before you, I am sure you will be fully recompensed in the future.

This is not the first time that a Viceroy has spoken to the British mercantile community in this strain. But they have never in the past considered the interests of the Indians to be their interests. How could they? They come out to India to make money, and the money they make would have been the money of Indians if India had been politically and economically independent. Can a body of as many British merchants and men of business as those engaged in commerce and industry in India make as much money in politically and economically independent countries like Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Japan, or even the Dominions of Canada and Australia, as in India? They cannot, because the citizens of those countries will not allow them to.

No, India's interests are not the interests of the British mercantile community in India. If the interests of both had been the same, there would not have been so many "safeguards" in the Government of India Act, 1935—particularly there would not have been Chapter III, Part V, in that Act, containing "Provisions with respect to Discrimination, etc."

Unemployment Among Cadets of the "Dufferin"

The Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, has drawn the attention of the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce, to

> the growing uncertainty as regards the cadets of the Indian Mercantile Marine Training Ship "Dufferin" obtaining employment as Officers after they receive their Board of Trade certificates of competency. My Committee understand that about eight duly qualified cadets are without employment at present and that when about 25 more cadets will obtain their certificates of competency as Second Mates early next year, the problem for finding employment for nearly 33 cadets will become really serious. My Committee further gather that this question has filled the members of the Governing Body of "Dufferin" with great anxiety and they have also made representations to the Government of India in this connection.

According to the Chamber,

> this growing uncertainty for securing employment has been mainly due to the non-Indian Shipping Companies either refusing to employ these cadets as Officers or not employing them in accordance with the undertaking given by them to the Government of India. My Committee find that the British India Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., with its very large fleet of over 130 steamers have given employment to only four cadets as Officers, while the P. & O. have refused to take any cadet as Officers on their steamers. My Committee are further informed that the Asiatic, the Moghul Line and the Nourse Line do not employ these cadets as Officers according to the undertaking given by them to the Government of India.

In 1926 and 1928 Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, expressed a hope that

> "British Shipping Companies will co-operate to make the training ship a success by giving fair opportunity of employment to Indian cadets."

In reply to a question in the Assembly Sir George Rainy said:

> "While anxious to avoid giving the impression that employment is assured to every passed apprentice, the Government desire to emphasise the opportunities of employment which exist for those apprentices who give satisfaction."

In January, 1934, Lord Willingdon expressed his appreciation that these shipping companies have made the scheme of the Training ship "Dufferin" a success. What sort of success, we wonder.

The Committee of the Chambers state

> whenever questions were put in the Legislative Assembly requesting the Government to take action by law for finding employment on the lines recommended by the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee, the Commerce Member told them that everything was O. K. and that the need for legislation had not arisen. Even last March, the Commerce Member stated in the Legislative Assembly:
>
> > "In this connection, the Government of India will take steps to impress on all shipping companies, whether British or Indian, engaged in the coastal trade, the importance of employing duly qualified Indian Officers in adequate numbers."

The Committee also point out that non-Indian shipping concerns have been unduly favoured at the expense of the Indian tax-payer and that they are getting favours from the authorities and public departments. So they are under obligations to employ trained Indian cadets. But they disregard these obligations.

The Committee of the Chamber further point out that

> "The Hon'ble Sir Frank Noyce stated in the Legislative Assembly on the 29th March, 1935, that, if any necessity arose, the Government would attach conditions as regards the training and employment

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of Indians as apprentices and officers on board the steamers of the Companies to whom they were giving annual subsidies for the carriage of mails."

So the Chamber "strongly urge upon the Government of India the necessity of taking immediate steps to attach conditions as regards the employment of these cadets as officers by the British India and the P. & O. Steam Navigation Companies 'in adequate numbers,' especially as they have been getting large amounts by way of subsidies from the Government of India."

If the interests of India and of British capitalists doing business with and in India had been the same, it would not have been necessary for the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, to write the letter on unemployment among trained cadets which they have written to the Government of India.

The Total Number of Trained Cadets

Considering that India is a big country having a population of 353 millions and several thousand miles of coast line, one might think that perhaps thousands of cadets had been trained and so 8 or 33 unemployed cadets are not too many among thousands. But no. There are neither thousands nor hundreds, nor even scores of trained cadets. They are only a few dozen.

In times past there were a thousand ports in round numbers in India and a large shipping and ship-building industry. All these found employment for millions. But now we cannot employ even a small number of cadets.

Scindia Steam Navigation Company to the Rescue

We understand that it is only because the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., having a comparatively small number of steamers, has given employment to 21 trained cadets that the number of unemployed among them is only 8; otherwise it would have been 29.

If India's shipping had received as much help in various ways from her Government as the shipping of other civilized countries having national Governments receive, the Scindia Steam Navigation Company would have been a much bigger concern than it is and there would have been many more such patriotic steam navigation companies.

Japan and China

We wrote in our last December number: "Perhaps taking advantage of the European situation arising out of the Italo-Abyssinian war, Japan has been trying to establish overlordship over China and extending her empire there." *The New Republic* of America wr in its issue of November 27, 1935:

> The Italo-Ethiopian war undoubtedly supplie reason why Japan has chosen the present mo to strike. The British fleet is engaged in Mediterranean, and Japan believes that Engla unlikely to protest while the European situ remains uncertain. Both England and America, ever, have substantial commercial interests in China. In the next few months, as the Jap begin slowly shutting the Open Door in their puppet state, the outcries from British and Ame business men are certain to be loud. . . . . .

The American weekly continues:

> The attitude of the Tory Cabinet in England s curiously mixed. Apparently the Tories would to see a strong and prosperous Japan in the Far as a counter-weight to the influence of the U States and Russia. But they are finally begin to suspect that a Japan which is too strong prosperous threatens the whole British positio Asia. Once Japan has absorbed north China, it be only a question of time and opportunity b it moves down into the Yangtze valley. If J should ever succeed in displacing British banks trading companies in Shanghai, the blow to Engla prestige would seriously weaken her grip upon I

U. S. A. and Japan

Las Vegas (Nevada) Dec. 2

> Senator Pittman, Chairman of the United St Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, in a stri speech declared that the United States would evitably be forced into a defensive war in the Pa Ocean if the present Militaristic Government contin in Japan and plans of conquest of the entire w based on ambitions similar to those of the ex-Ka were nurtured.
>
> If it should so happen that the navies of Bri and the United States participated in necess manœuvres in the Pacific near Japan at about same time, Japan would probably listen to reason without a shot being fired or a life being lost.

Mixed Motives Making for Filipino Freedom

The same American paper writes:

> On Friday, November 15, in the presence of President Garner and Secretary of War Dern, independence of the Philippine Commonwealth formally proclaimed and Manuel Quezon was augurated as its first President. Thus began ten-year probationary period that will end in the and final liquidation of America's most ambiti experiment in imperialism. Satisfaction over redemption of repeated pledges was tempered knowledge of the shameless barter and bicker that preceded the authorization of independe the knowledge that financial interests in the Un States were willing to let go of the Islands when they became convinced that they had bec a liability rather than an asset, and a realization the depth and seriousness of the economic plight the Philippine Commonwealth. Her natural resour were developed almost entirely as a feeder to American economy, and now that economy, barrassed by an excess of supply that threatens

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all-precious profits, is willing to turn the Philippines adrift in the Pacific.

ral and Spiritual Progress and ientific Knowledge

In the course of his address at the Andhra iversity Convocation, Dr. Tirumurti, profes- of Pathology at the Vizagapatam Medical llege, observed :

> Though intellectually a race is adult, morally and spiritually the men may be still children. Do we not find men using their newly acquired knowledge to work desolation and death in their folly and fear and greed and pride ?

Sir Oliver Lodge and some other great entists have said that man's moral and ritual progress has not kept pace with his entific knowledge and power of mechanical vention. Hence scientific knowledge is utilized destructive purposes also, instead of being d solely for human happiness and welfare.

P. Unemployment Committee's Report

The report of the U. P. Unemployment mmittee, of which the very able chairman s Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, has been submitted the Government. It is said to consist of pages. Some of the suggestions made by the mmittee have been mentioned in the papers. r example,

> Primary education should be made compulsory throughout the Province with a view to absorb the educated unemployed as teachers and simultaneously to spread mass education.
>
> Agriculture, irrigation, sanitation and medicine should likewise be enlarged both to find new occupation as well as for the welfare of the masses.
>
> Legal education is not to be discouraged, but the Committee has recommended a three years' course and suggested division of lawyers into two classes—attorneys and practitioners—the seniors only being qualified to draw legal documents.
>
> Education should be bifurcated at the intermediate stage towards industry or otherwise; the Government to provide facilities for both large-scale and cottage industries.

These suggestions are practicable and useful.

peal for More Land for Transvaal dians

> JOHANNESBURG, Dec. 16.
>
> The "Star," commenting on the appeal to the Government by the Indian Government Agent, Sir Saiyd Raza Ali for additional exempted land for Indians in the Transvaal gold areas, meeting not only the present needs, but providing for the increase of the Indian population for the next twenty years, hopes that the appeal will command the sympathetic attention of the responsible minister and Parliament.
>
> —*Reuter.*

The appeal should certainly evoke just and erous response. Indians have given their t to South Africa. There should be recipro- towards them.

A British Theatre's Contemptible Cowardice

> LONDON, Dec. 5.
>
> The German Embassy in London last week protested to the Garrick Theatre against the name of a pageboy, "Hezekiah Hitler," in the play, *Vicki*.
>
> The Actress Manageress producing the play regretted that she was unable to make any alteration, but the Lord Chamberlain to-night requested the Manager to omit all references to Hitler, and the pageboy has acordingly been re-named "George Bernard Gandhi."
>
> It is stated that the Embassy officials complained particularly that the boy's first name suggested that he was of Jewish descent. The Manager said that the Lord Chamberlain's instructions had been received at 5-20 p.m., and the name "Gandhi" had been temporarily included, owing to the impossibility of writing and rehearsing a new scene in so short a time—and hoping that Mr. Gandhi was "not in direct telephonic communication with London."

Even if Mahatma Gandhi were in direct telephonic communication with London, he is too high-minded a man to take any notice of such contemptible and ridiculous cowardice. High thoughts and important duties leave him no time for trifles.

Heroism of the Abyssinians

That Mussolini's threat that oil embargo would mean war and Italy would fight against such embargo led Britain and France to make their peace proposals in order to avoid a European war, shows how formidable Italy's army, navy and air-force are. The Emperor and people of Abyssinia are defending their country against such an aggressor and sometimes driving the enemy back and capturing his tanks and other modern armaments, though their own equipment is not at all completely up-to-date and adequate.

When during the last world war the Belgians and their King manfully defended their country against Germany, the white civilized world admired their patriotism and heroism, though Belgium had the help of such powerful friends as Britain and France. Abyssinia is fighting single-handed. But, because she is not in Europe and her Emperor and people are not white, therefore no chorus of praise of her heroism is heard in the West.

Progress of Womanhood in Iran

From New Year's Day to-day the women of Iran are not to observe parda. They will appear in public without the veil. Women teachers and adult girl pupils will freely go to school and women will attend public meetings with men.

Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan

The thirteenth session of the "Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan" was held in the premises of the Raisina Bengali School, New

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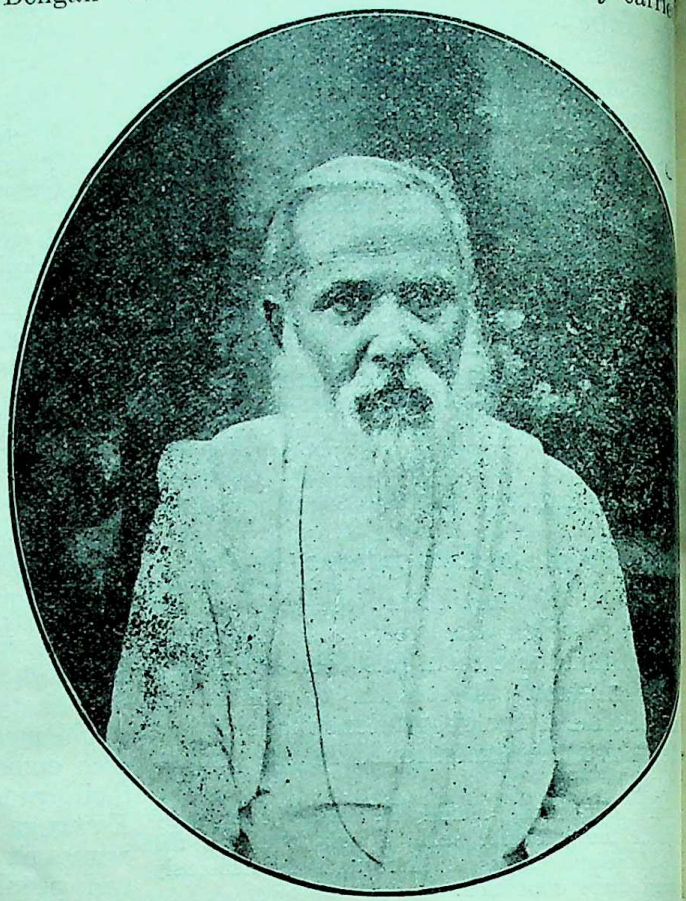
Delhi on the 26th, 27th and 28th December, 1935, under the presidency of Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan. This Sammelan may be styled as the All-India Bengali Cultural Conference in which Bengalis residing in different provinces of India take part. The Conference was formally opened by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee. In the absence of Sir Nripendranath Sircar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Nishi Kanta Sen welcomed the delegates. Thanks to the ing energy of Major Anil Chandra Ch General Secretary, Mrs. Sailabala Devi and workers its function was successfully carri

Prof. Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan
General President



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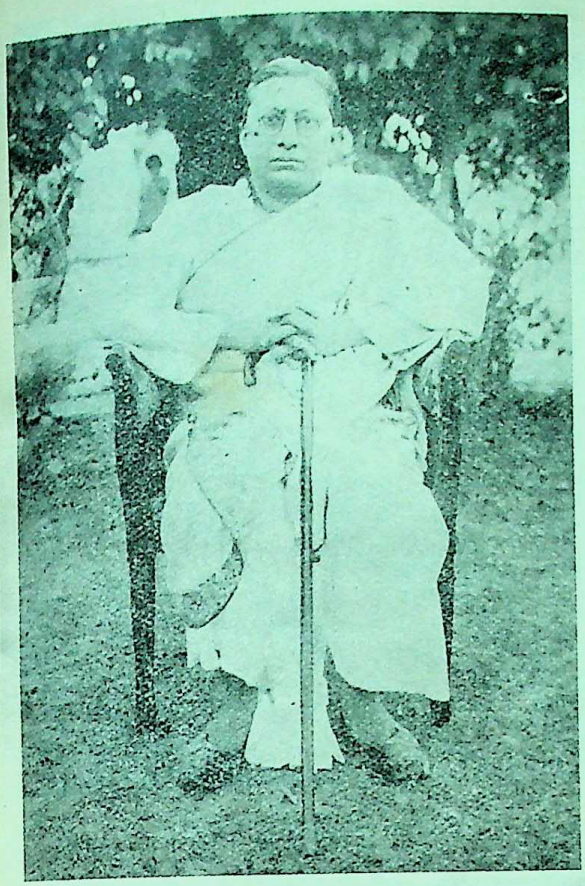

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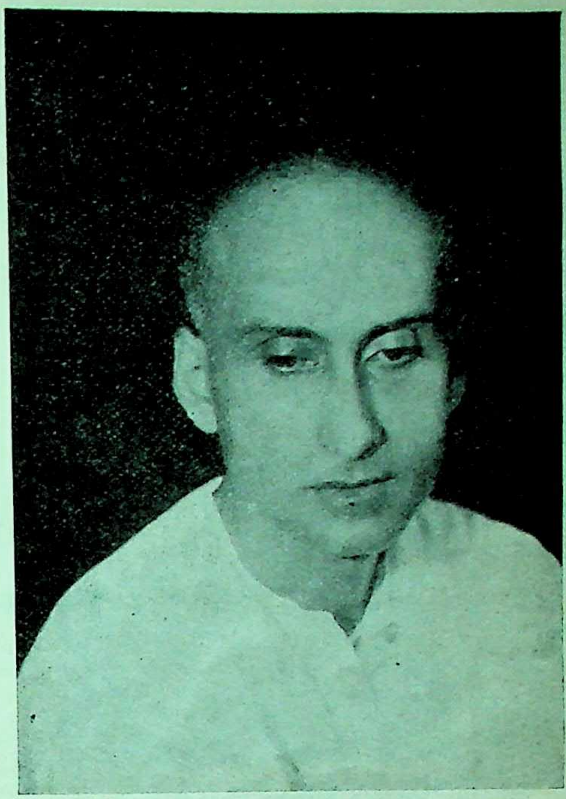

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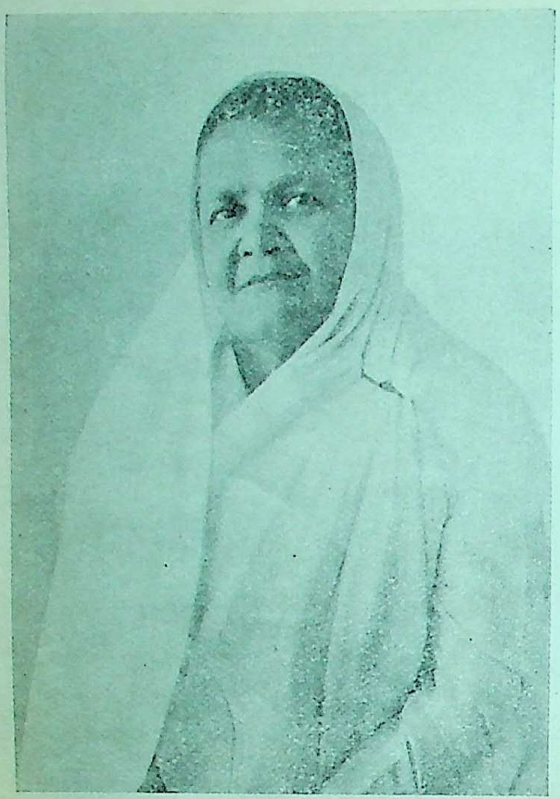

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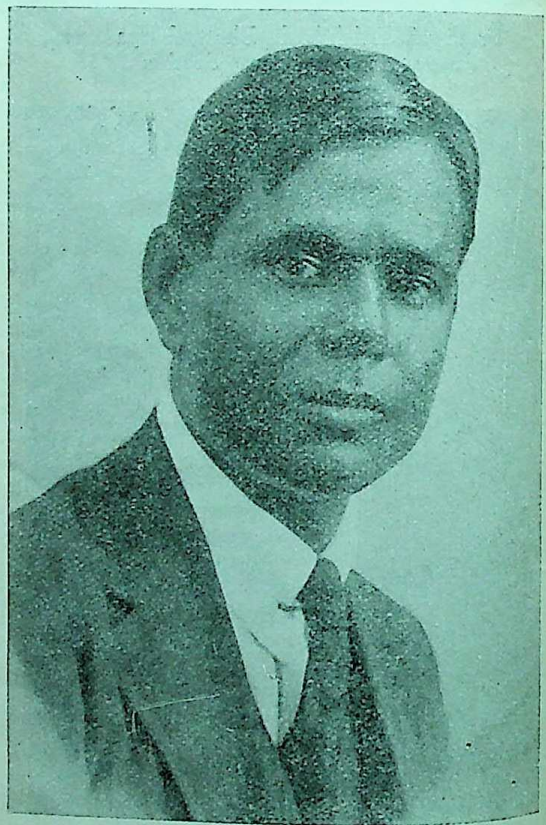

Mr. Nishi Kanta Sen
Chairman, Reception Committee

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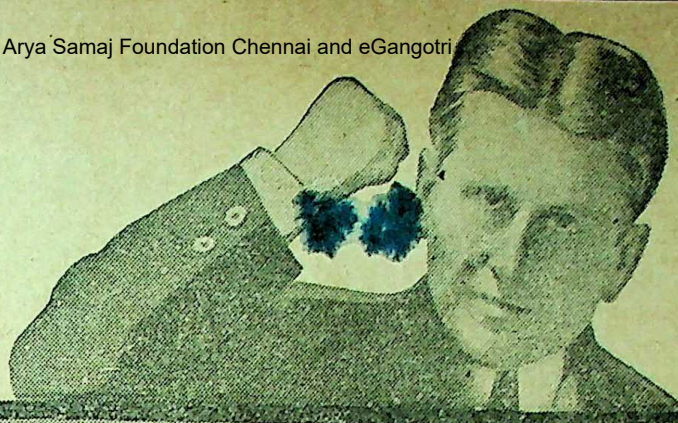

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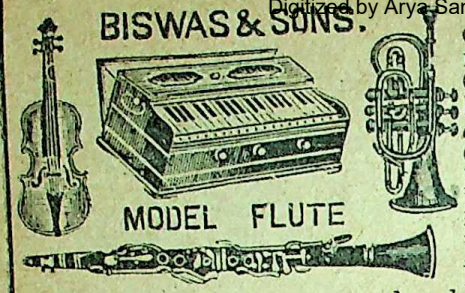

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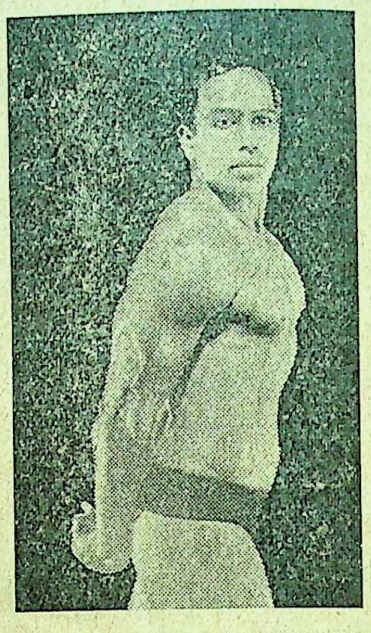

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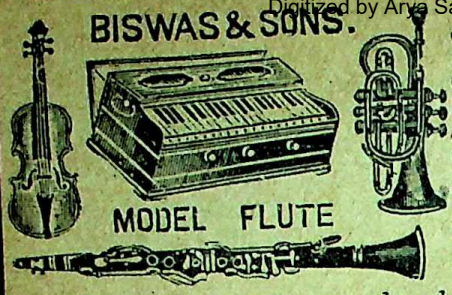

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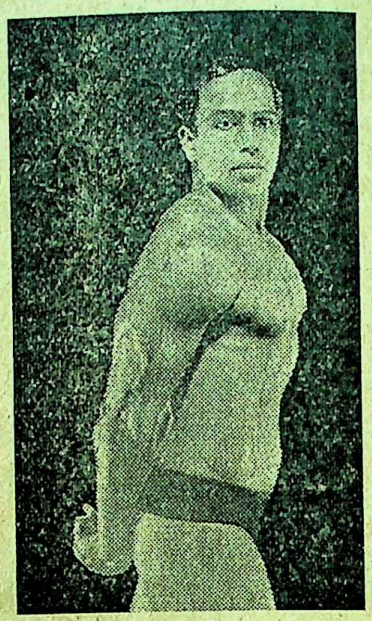

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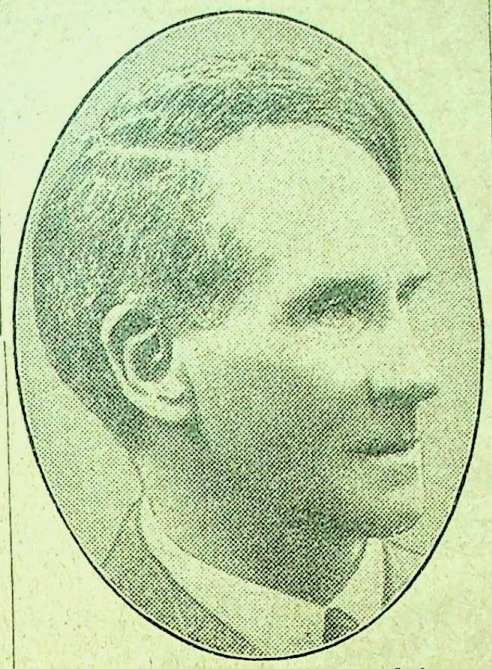

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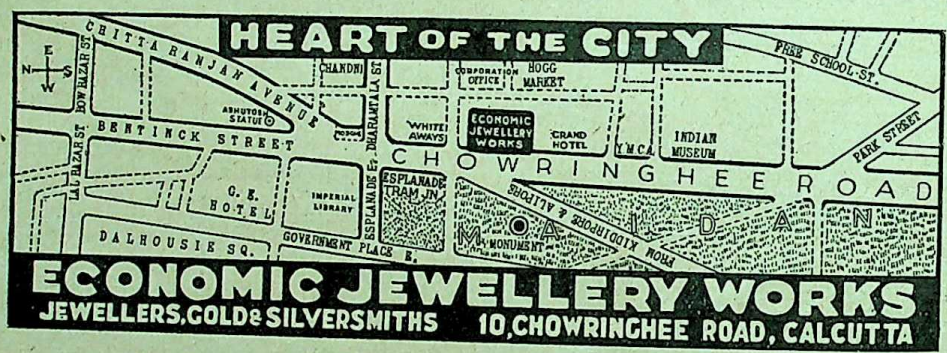

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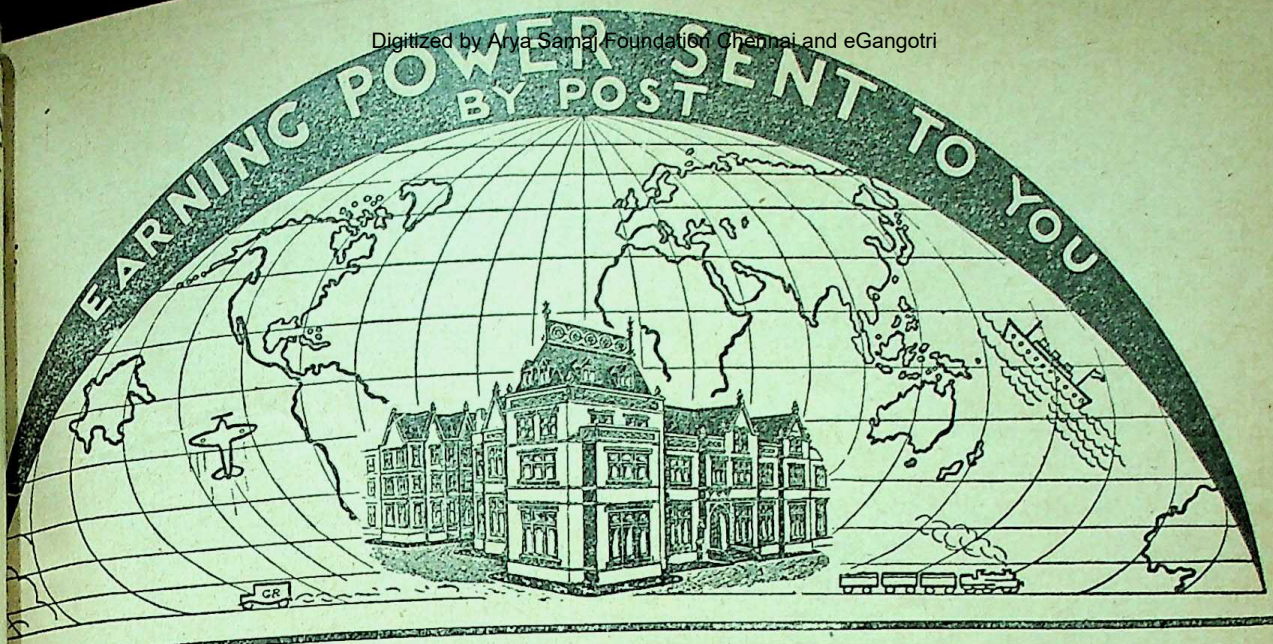

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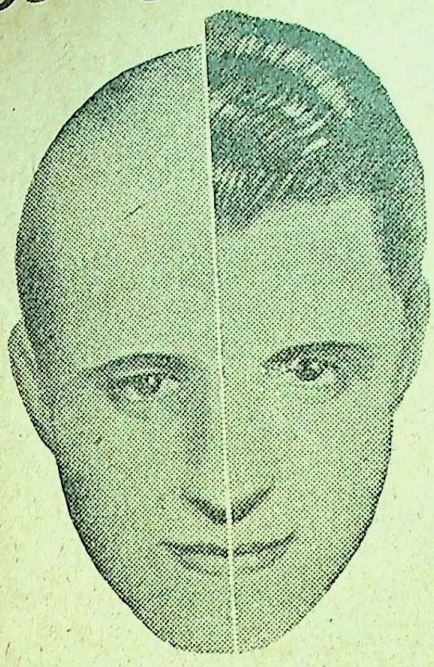

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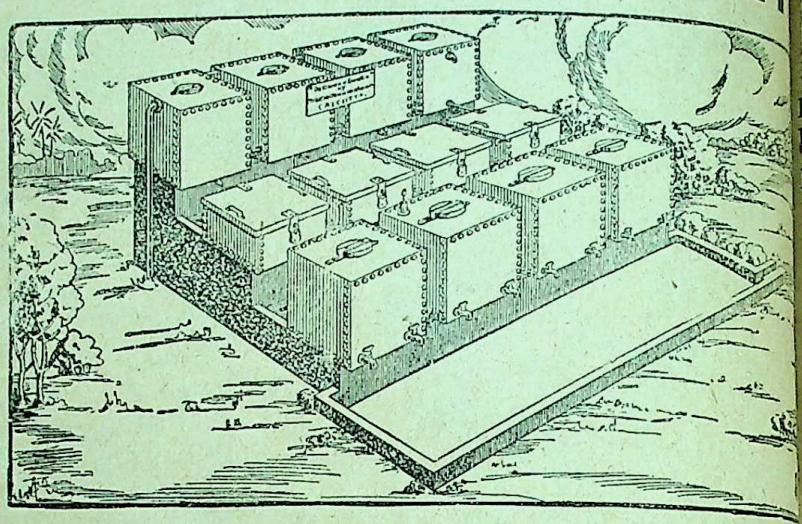

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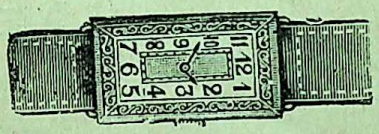

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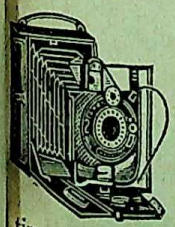

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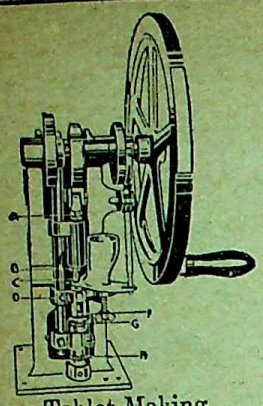

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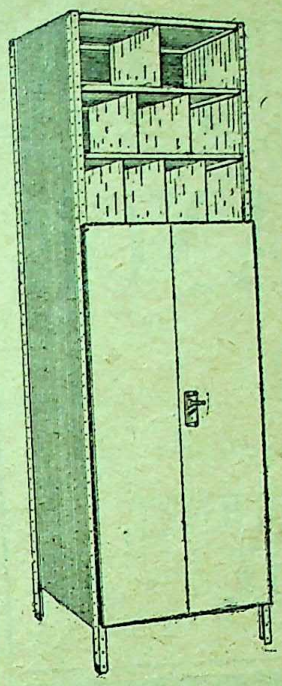

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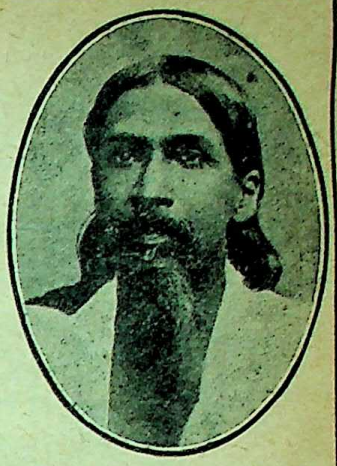

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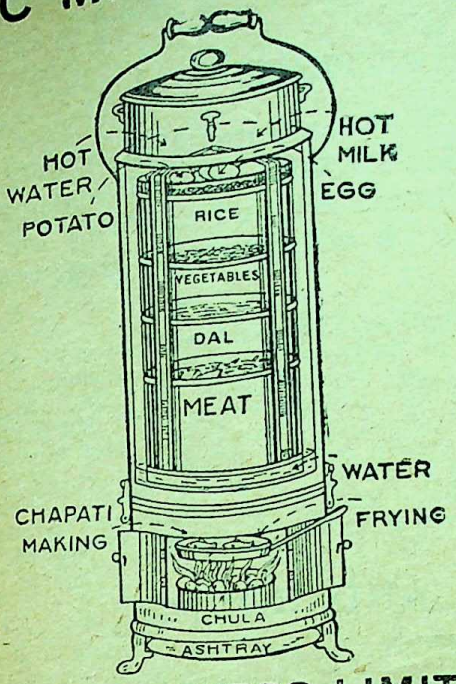

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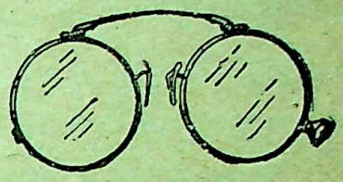

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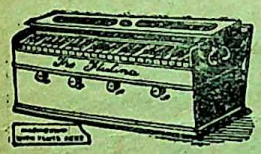

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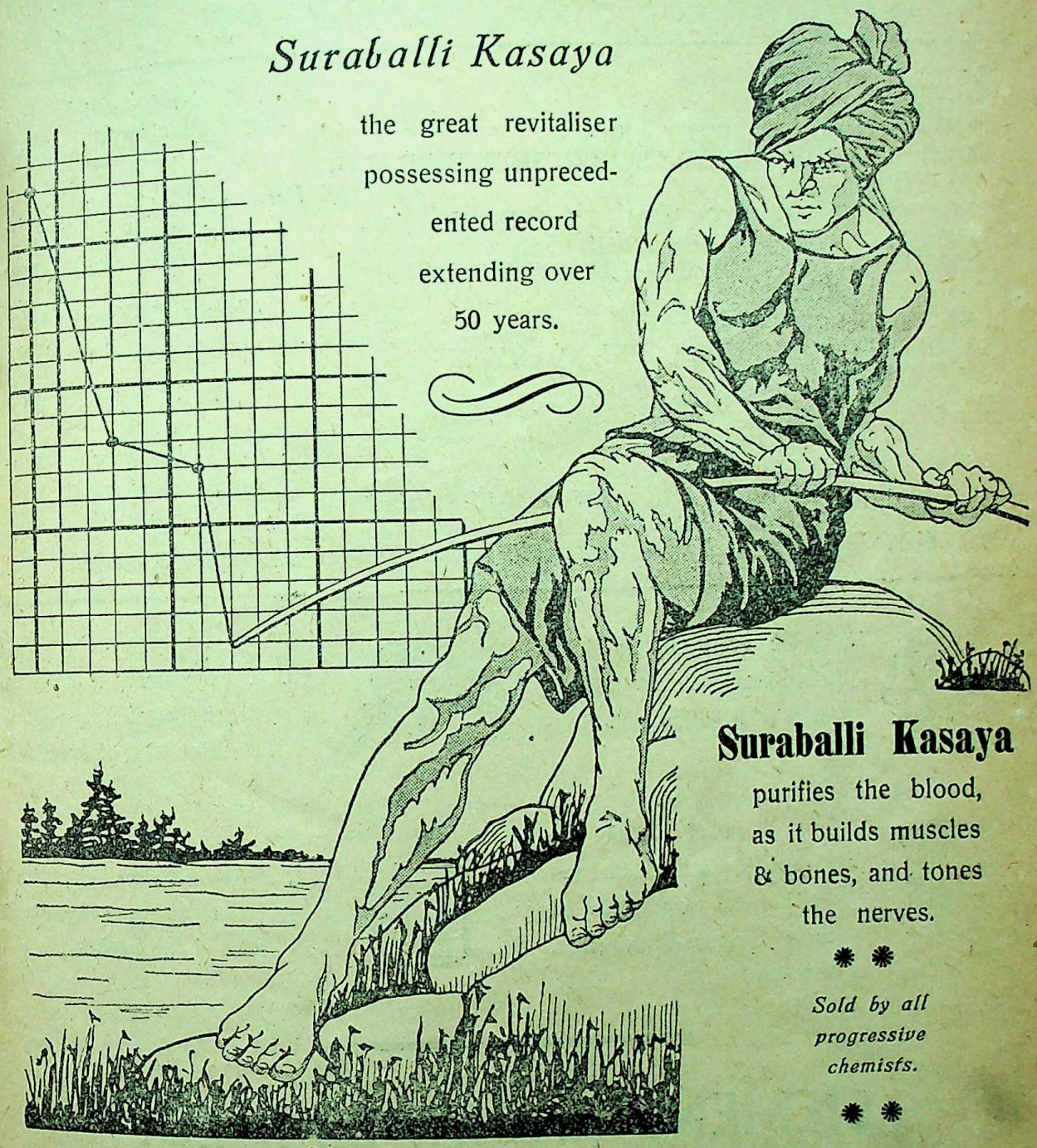

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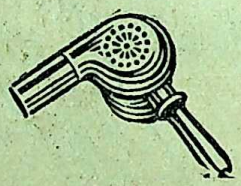

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A HILL MAIDEN
By Kiranmay Dhar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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ROBERT BURNS

BY J. T. SUNDERLAND

It is a century and three quarters since Robert Burns first saw the light of earthly day. It is a century and a third since his eyes closed for the last time on the Scotland that he loved —the Scotland which has since come to love him with such a tender and passionate affection.

When he died, his countrymen generally did not quite know what to think of him. A great throng gathered at his funeral. Most that came loved him, and poured out sincere tears at his death. Unquestionably he had already attained a strong hold upon the affections of his neighbors and friends because of his own great heart, and because of his abilities as a poet,—abilities which were bringing fame to the whole region. But his life had not been altogether regular, and he had written things which had put him out of favor with all the more soundly orthodox and the stricter elements of the Church. These were disposed to draw their garments about them, and shake their heads, and stand aside. His fame had gone over Scotland, and over England; and many men of the highest standing in literature had declared his writings to be wonderful for their brilliancy. And still Scotland was not yet quite sure, as England was not, whether this new light which had risen with such splendor, was to be enduring, or whether it would fade away, with the passing of a little time, and lose its dazzling quality. Was it really a new fixed star that had appeared in the sky of song, to hold its place there permanently? Or was it only a comet which would vanish as speedily as it came?

This was the situation when the sod fell sadly upon all that was mortal of him who had sung with such rollicking glee and power of Tam o' Shanter, and with such tender pathos of Highland Mary.

How stands the matter now? Does anyone doubt any longer where Robert Burns belongs? Today nobody questions his place among the fixed stars of the firmament of the world's great singers, and in that firmament how few stars shine with so brilliant a light! Scotland accepts him today as incomparably her greatest poet. England freely confesses that she has no lyric poet that can be named beside him. I believe he is the best beloved poet of the Western World. Scotchmen love him as they love their own kith and kin. All English-speaking peoples love him. His songs are translated into all civilized tongues, and wherever they go they have marvellous power to stir hearts and awaken affection for the singer. In every land of earth where Scotchmen live—and what civilized land is without them? —the anniversary of Robert Burns is a great day. And why not? Has he not sung for all peoples? True, he had in mind only his own beloved Scotland. But the human heart is one. And he sang so true to the Scotch heart that he found the heart of humanity.

What was there in this poor ploughman, that first his own land and then the world should take such an interest in him, and lift him up to such a place of honor? Let us see if we can discover in any degree the secret of that power, with which he has laid hold upon human hearts.

For one thing, he was young. He began writing at 17. Some of his finest poems were written before he was 25. He died at 37. There is a sort of fascination about youth.

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Possibly we feel a little of it,—possibly the world has always felt a little of it, in connection with Burns. His life was a romance, and yet a tragedy. Externally it seemed plain, quiet, commonplace. But only the shallowest of men judges lives by what the eyes can see. Into those 37 years were crowded events that would make dramas and epics as thrilling as any to be found in literature.

A poor boy, struggling with poverty; struggling to get knowledge; often overworked; ambitious; eager to know books, yet having few within his reach; eager to read, yet with only such time as he could get in the evenings after the hard toil of the day, or in the field holding his book in one hand and his plow with the other; eager to make a place for himself in the world, yet shut up on every side; loving his father dearly, yet losing him early; the oldest member of a family of brothers and sisters who looked to him for help; with strong passions which he could not always control; with high and noble ideals, which he sometimes fell far short of reaching; surrounded by friends and companions, the influence of many of whom was to lead him astray, instead of to help him; surrounded by a society in which drinking was almost universal; surrounded by a religion which was hard and dogmatic, and with which he had little or no sympathy; himself a veritable genius, feeling all the fiery emotions of the muse sweeping through his soul, yet having all his life to do battle for his daily bread, in his own words, "hunted from covert to covert under all the terrors of a jail;" his difficulties and hardship so great that at one time he prepared to leave Scotland and migrate to the West Indies; after he had published his first book "picked up by fashionable society, taken to Edinburgh, lionized, and then when the novelty was gone, thrown aside like an exhausted bauble;" "today patted and flattered by fashionable prigs," tomorrow set—this poet soul, this child of the gods, this singer of songs sweet enough for angels to hear—tomorrow set to gauging beer for a living at a salary of 50 pounds a year! and soon deprived of even this beggarly pittance, because he dared to give free expression to his thought, and only kept from starving by the charity of a kind patron; until at last, with health broken, spirits gone, hope blasted, and vile slanders continually cast on his name, he sinks into an untimely grave. Such was the tragic side of the life of Robert Burns. Such were the clouds that darkened its skies and the storms that swept over it.

And yet, there was another side too; else he could never have written all that wealth of joy and hope and rollicking fun and tende with which his poems abound.

He loved his friends, and many of he saw much; he mingled in the festi going on among the people around him— of which we have so fine a picture in his "Halloween;" he greatly enjoyed the fields woods, the hills, the streams, the birds flowers, the "banks and braes of b Doon,"[1] the varied changes and beauties o seasons, which his eye was ever quick to He had warm affection for parents, brothers sisters, wife, children, neighbors, and into joys as well as the sorrows of all he em heartily, taking eagerly the cups of ple that offered themselves—sometimes, alas! of pleasure which he would better have alone—as well as drinking manfully also cups of sorrow and pain that came. Thus life was filled with shadow and sunshine, p and storm, crowding fast upon each other. may well picture his life as a mountain str Here its waters rippled and sang, while m of birds filled all the air; but anon the str was dashed against rocks, and hurled over cipices which tore it to tatters, and drow all music with its own dull roar.

Thus is understood what I mean wha say that his experience was mingled roma and tragedy. Both come out to view in wonderful poems. He wrote out of his he His writings are the ever changing mirror his soul. He dipped his pen now in laugh now in tears, now in his own very hea blood.

Perhaps this, more than anything else the secret of the fascination and the power his poetry. He who thinks clearly and gi his thought to others, helps them to think. who feels deeply and expresses his emo stirs feeling in other breasts. He who w clearness and power portrays the deep e periences of his own life, paints a picture wh interests all men, fascinates all men, stirs men, because in it all men see the shado forms of their lives, actual or possible.

But if Burns gives us himself, no less d he give us Scotland. No other writer so clea so vividly, with such wonderful insight genius, gives us the very life and soul of Scotland of a hundred and fifty years ago that is, the Scotland which existed before changes and the disintegrating influences caus by our modern telegraphs, telephones, rad cheap mails, automobiles, railways, tra mercialism and science. The old Scotla

1. "Banks and braes of bonny Doon"—bank hills of beautiful river Doon.

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largely gone, as has the old England, the old Wales, and the old Ireland. But the Scotland that has *been* will live forever in the pages of Scott and Burns, especially Burns. Burns has made it immortal.

It is true that Burns wrote good poetry in pure English. But that which is most characteristic of him, that in which his peculiar genius comes out in all its inimitable perfection, is what he wrote in the Scotch dialect, that is, in the speech of his mother and his father and of his childhood. But if Burns has made the dialect of his people immortal, he has also given a very real kind of immortality to their customs, their habits, their traits of character, their manner, their many-sided life. No matter what changes may come over the Scotland of the future, the Scotland of the eighteenth century is secure. Even if some Vandal hoard should sometime overrun the land and wipe out all traces of its present civilization, even plowing up the sites of its present cities and villages, as Titus is said to have plowed up the site of Jerusalem, still in the poetry of Burns the Scotland of the past would live forever.

Burns was so perfect a representative of the Scotland of his time not simply because he was born in it, and lived all his days in the midst of its scenes and its people, but because he was the finest embodiment of its genius. If you ask me how or why he was so, I cannot tell. If you ask me why the genius of a people should come to its most perfect flower in a poor peasant's son, instead of in some one in a higher rank of life, I cannot answer. If you ask me what genius is, I cannot explain. I only know that here, there, and there, all up and down the Earth, and all along the ages, God pours celestial fire into this soul and that, of man and woman, sometimes of royal blood, more often of plebeian, and lo, history is starred with prophets, seers, poets, artists, teachers of the hidden things of nature and the deep things of the soul, leaders of their fellows upward and onward to larger life. Thus in the great Providence of God the world moves forward toward the better day.

Burns was very richly endowed in both head and heart. Perhaps his greatest lack was in will. If he had been possessed of greater will power, perhaps he would have done more sustained literary work—work less irregular, less fragmentary, less confined to short productions. Perhaps, too, if his will power had been greater it would have helped him morally, by holding him more steady and firm in the hour of temptation.

But in his intellect there was no lack. When he went to Edinburgh, the intellectual capital of Scotland, he held his own with the best minds. Indeed his mental keenness and grasp, and the brilliance of his conversation, seem to have impressed all who came in contact with him.

His endowment in heart-qualities too was not less rich than his intellectual gifts. He was generous and unselfish. He was frank and sincere, hating all shams and all pretenses. He was manly and self-respecting, honoring all men according to what he considered to be their worth, not according to their wealth or titles. This is strongly brought out in several of his poems, for example in his "Honest Poverty."

"Is there, for honest poverty,
Wha[2] hangs his head, and a'[3] that?
The coward slave, we pass him by,
We dare be poor for a' that.
For a' that, and a' that,
Our toil's obscure, and a' that,
The rank is but the guinea stamp,
The man's the gowd[4] for a' that.

What tho' on hamely[5] fare we dine,
Wear hodden[6] gray, and a' that;
Gie[7] fools their silks, and knaves their wine,
A man's a man for a' that.
For a' that and a' that,
Their tinsel show and a' that;
The honest man, though e'er sae[8] poor,
Is king o'[9] men for a' that."

Burns had great sympathy for the suffering. He had suffered too much himself not to feel for others. His expressions of sympathy and pity are numberless in his poems. In his poem "A Winter Night" he cannot forget that while some are warm and comfortable, others are cold and in want, and he breaks out—

"O ye! who, sunk in beds of down,
Feel not a want but what yourselves create,
Think for a moment on his wretched fate
Wham[10] friends and fortune quite disown!"

In his poem, "Man was made to Mourn," he gives us the fine lines,

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."

and then he follows on with other lines in which his pity for poverty mingles with sharp reproof for those who have power to relieve it and will not.

His feelings of kindness and pity extended

2. "Wha"—who.
3. "A'"—all.
4. "Gowd"—gold.
5. "Hamely"—homely.
6. "Hodden"—coarse cloth of undyed wool.
7. "Gie"—give.
8. "Sae"—so.
9. "O'"—of.
10. "Wham"—whom.

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to suffering brutes as well as to suffering human beings. In his "Verses" composed on seeing a wounded hare limp by, which a hunter had just shot, he bursts out in indignation,

"Inhuman man! curse on thy barbarous act,"

and then he tenderly apostrophizes the suffering creature—

"Seek, mangled wretch, some place of wonted rest—
No more of rest, but now thy dying bed!
The sheltering rushes whistling o'er thy head,
The cold earth with thy bloddy bosom press'd."

But the most charming of his poems in which he expresses his sympathy for dumb creatures is that entitled "To A Mouse" written on turning up her nest with a plough.

"Wee[11] sleekit,[12] cow'rin, tim'rous beastie,[13]
Oh, what a panic's in thy breastie![14]
Thou need na[15] start awa[16] sae hasty,
Wi' bickering brattle![17]
I wad[18] be laith[19] to rin[20] an'[21] chase thee,
Wi'[22] murd'ring pattle![23]

I'm truly sorry man's dominion,
Has broken nature's social union,
An' justifies that ill opinion,
Which makes thee startle
At me, thy poor, earth-born companion
An' fellow-mortal!

Thou saw the fields laid bare and waste,
And weary winter comin'[24] fast,
And cozie here, beneath the blast
Thou thought to dwell,
Till crash! the cruel coulter past
Out thro' thy cell.

And then comes the sermon for men as well as mice:

"But Mousie, thou art not thy lane,[25]
In proving foresight may be vain;
The best-laid schemes o' mice and men
Gang aft agley,[26]
An' leave us nought but grief an' pain,
For promis'd joy!

Still, thou art blest, compar'd wi' me
The present only toucheth thee:
But och![27] I backward cast my e'e,
On prospects drear!
An' forward, tho' I canna[28] see,
I guess an' fear!"

His sympathy does not stop with a wounded mouse; it extends even to a hurt flower, seen in his exquisite poem, "To a Mountain Daisy."

"Wee, modest, crimson-tipped flower,
Thou'st met me in an evil hour;
For I maun[29] crush amang the stoure[30]
Thy slender stem;
To spare thee now is past my power,
Thou bonny[31] gem!

Cauld[32] blew the bitter-biting North
Upon thy early, humble birth,
Yet cheerfully thou glinted forth
Amid the storm,
Scarce reared above the parent Earth
Thy tender form.

The flaunting flowers our gardens yield,
High sheltering woods and wa's[33] maun shield,
But thou, beneath the random bield[34]
O' clod or stane[35]
Adorns the histie stibble field,[36]
Unseen, alane.[37]

There, in thy scanty mantle clad,
Thy snawie[38] bosom sunward spread,
Thou lifts thy unassuming head
In humble guise;
But now the share uptears thy bed,
And low thou lies!"

Robert Burns was a patriot. There was no warmer lover of Scotland than he. His love for his native land is well shown in his poems, "My Heart's in the Highlands," "Bannockburn."

But while he is a devoted lover of his native land and her freedom, he is too noble a soul to confine his love of freedom within territorial lines. The liberty which he desires for himself and his fellow Scots, he desires for all men. Hence one of his most stirring poems is that entitled, "The Tree of Liberty."

"Wi' plenty o' sic[39] trees, I trow,
The warld[40] would live in peace, man;
The sword would help to mak[41] a plough,
The din o' war wad cease, man;
Like brethren in a common cause,
We'd on each other smile, man;

11. "Wee"—very small.
12. "Sleekit"—sleek.
13. "Beastie"—diminutive of beast.
14. "Breastie"—diminutive of breast.
15. "Na"—no.
16. "Awa"—away.
17. "Wi' bickering brattle"—with hurrying scamper.
18. "Wad"—would.
19. "Laith"—loath.
20. "Rin"—run.
21. "An'"—and.
22. "Wi'"—with.
23. "Pattle"—a plow-staff.
24. "Comin'"—coming.
25. "Thy lane"—alone.
26. "Gang aft agley"—go often astray.
27. "Och"—alas.
28. "Canna"—cannot.
29. "Maun"—must.
30. "Amang the stoure"—amid the dust.
31. "Bonny"—beautiful.
32. "Cauld"—cold.
33. "Wa's"—walls.
34. "Bield"—shelter.
35. "Stane"—stone.
36. "Histie stibble field"—bare stubble field.
37. "Alane"—alone.
38. "Snawie"—snowy.
39. "Sic"—such.
40. "Warld"—world.
41. "Mak"—make.

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And equal rights and equal laws
Wad gladden every isle, man."

One of the finest qualities of Burns as a is his humour, which runs rippling through verse in hundreds of unexpected places. Another quality which is not always so ely, but which he can use with withering ect when he will, is sarcasm. He has several ems of considerable length which are satires. d Damascus blades they are! The most table of them are, "The Holy Fair," "The dination," "Address to the Unco Guid,"[42] The Kirk's Alarm,"[43] and "Holy Willie's ayer." These satires are sometimes said to be rected against religion. This is not true. ey are directed against certain theological ctrines which he believes to be untrue, and rtain men whom he believes to be hypocrites ing religion for a cloak.

I have referred to Robert Burns' love of ture. Of this more should be said. This e was deep and almost passionate through- t all his life. It forms a sort of background all his poetry; or perhaps it would be better say that it runs like a thread of gold through his poetry, lighting it up and greatly autifying it. His love of nature is shown the fact that both as boy and man he loved wander in the fields, by the streams, in the ods. Often when toil at the plough or else- ere had occupied him all the day, his quiet lks were taken in the night. It was here at many of those thoughts had their birth ich found expression in his poems. He mented his early poverty partly because it nfined him so closely at home and prevented m from making excursions to other parts of s native land to see the fine natural scenery which Scotland is so rich When he had tained the first considerable sum of money om the publication of his poems, almost the rst thing he did was to make a series of urneys to the country round about the River Tweed and its tributaries, to the Highlands, nd elsewhere, to give himself the delight of iewing the scenery which he had so long desired o see.

No poet more abounds in descriptions of ature, and none gives us finer ones; and yet Burns did not write much poetry with the rimary aim of describing nature. The fact imply was that Nature was so much to him hat he could never get far away from her. oving her as he did it was impossible for him o write without painting pictures of her, and rawing illustrations and symbolism from her objects and scenes. No one whose attention has not been directly drawn to the subject can at all understand how much of the charm of his poetry comes from this everywhere present nature-element. To erase it would be like wiping the stars from the sky, or destroying the flowers of a garden by an untimely frost. Without it he would not be Burns, but would sink to a third rate poet, dreary and commonplace, whereas he is now the delight of the world. Illustrations almost without number might be cited. For example this from "Tam o' Shanter." He wants to tell us that pleasures are short-lived. Any ordinary expression of the thought will be a mere truism, which nobody will care to hear. How does the genius of Burns overcome the difficulty? He makes nature his ally. He summons to his aid a flower, a snow-flake, the aurora borealis and a rainbow, and lo! the thought has taken a form that is beautiful, impressive, immortal.

"Pleasures are like poppies spread,
You seize the flower, its bloom is shed;
Or like the snow-flake in the river,
A moment white—then lost forever;
Or like the borealis race,
That flits ere you can point the place;
Or like the rainbow's lovely form,
Evanishing amid the storm."

Was a thought ever given a more splendid setting of diamonds and gems? And where did he get the gems and diamonds? Out of the heart of Nature—that Nature which he loved, that Nature with which he had communed at the morning sunrise and the evening sunset, at his toil in the fields by day, and in his walks under the silent stars by night.

Take a song like "Auld Lang Syne,"[44] and how much of its charm comes from his inimitable bits of description of the scenes of childhood:

"We twa hae run about the braes,
And pu'd the gowans fine.
We twa hae paidl'd in the burn,
Frae morning sun till dine;
But seas between us braid hae roar'd
Sin' auld lang syne."[45]

Take the song, "The Banks of Doon" and the nature element is still more important.

"Ye banks and braes o' bonnie Doon,[46]
How can ye bloom so fresh and fair,

42. "Unco Guid"—uncommon good.
43. "Kirk's Alarm"—Church's Alarm.

44. "Auld Lang Syne"—Long Ago.
45. Translation:
We two have run about the hills,
And picked the mountain daisies fine,
We two have paddled in the brook,
From morning sun till dinner,
But seas between us both have roared,
Since days of long ago.
46. "Ye banks and braes o' bonnie Doon"—Ye banks and hills of beautiful Doon.

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How can ye chant, ye little birds,
And I sae weary, fu' o'[47] care!
Thou'lt break my heart, thou warbling bird,
That wantons thro' the flowering thorn:
Thou minds me of departed joys,
Departed—never to return.

Oft hae[48] I roved by bonnie Doon,
To see the rose and woodbine twine;
And ilka[49] bird sang o' its love,
And fondly sae did I o' mine.
Wi' lightsome heart I pu'd[50] a rose,
Fu' sweet upon its thorny tree;
But my fause[51] lover stole my rose,
But ah! he left the thorn wi' me."

Is it possible to conceive of lines more full of rarest gems of nature-allusion? And yet nothing is artificial or far-fetched. Everything is simple, natural, as much an essential part of the song as the blossoms of an apple tree in May are an essential part of the tree.

Even in the case of those songs and poems which were most personal, and were the expressions of his deepest, tenderest and most earnest feelings, allusions to nature run through them just the same, showing that this love of nature was a part of his very being. That exquisitely tender poem, "To Mary in Heaven," you remember, begins:—

"Thou lingering star, with lessening ray,
That lov'st to greet the early morn,
Again thou usherest in the day
When Mary from my soul was torn."

And the tender lines to his dead child are not less rich with nature-imagery.

"Here lies a rose, a budding rose,
Blasted before its bloom;
Whose innocence did sweets disclose
Beyond that flower's perfume.

To those who for her loss are grieved,
This consolation's given—
She's from a world of woe relieved,
And blooms a rose in heaven."

Such are a few almost random illustrations of Burn's love of nature, and the profound and happy influence which that love exercised upon his writings as a poet. We may say that his love of nature was a part of his genius—a part of his high endowment. Without it he would have been a bird robbed of its wings. Without it he would have been a painter deprived of his finest colors. Not only the beauty but the perennial freshness of his poems and songs come largely from the nature-element that is in them. They are full of mornings and evenings, bright springs and glorious autumns, stars a[illegible] moons, warbling birds, nibbling sheep, th[illegible] and braes not only of bonnie Doon, [illegible] many another bonnie stream. None o[illegible] things ever grows old. We tire of b[illegible] cages, but not of birds in the hawthorn [illegible] meadow grass. We weary of shaven la[illegible] artificial gardens and parks; but we [illegible] weary of nature's hills and valleys and s[illegible] Book poets, artificial poets, grow old and [illegible] and pass away. But nature-poets [illegible] Burns saw nature in the light of a s[illegible] genius, and loved her with all his great [illegible] ate heart. And out of this genius and th[illegible] he sang. The result was, songs which w[illegible] and be loved forever.

Burns wrote poems of many kinds. "Tam o' Shanter" has all the qualities [illegible] epic, save its length. He has numerous de[illegible] tive pieces. He has epistles, elegies, h[illegible] epigrams, and many poems which it is h[illegible] classify. But his genius is preeminently [illegible] Above everything else he is a song-writer. [illegible] songs number more than 200; and nothing [illegible] he has given the world is quite so fine [illegible] songs.

Those who do not know the histo[illegible] Scotland are apt to think of Scotch son[illegible] having been born with Burns. But no m[illegible] could be greater. Burns does not stand [illegible] beginning of Scotch song, but far on dow[illegible] stream. For hundreds of years before B[illegible] Scotland had been rich in folk songs, both [illegible] and words. Perhaps no country in the [illegible] was richer. The whole air, among the co[illegible] people, was redolent with them.

"You heard the milk maid singing some old [illegible] as she milked the cows in the byre or the field; the [illegible] wife went about her work or span at her wheel [illegible] lilt upon her lips. In the Highland Glen you mig[illegible] some solitary reaper singing, like her whom Wor[illegible] has immortalized; in the lowland field, now on[illegible] another, of the reapers taking up an old melody, an[illegible] the whole band breaking out into some well-known [illegible] The plowman, too, as he turned his furrow, begui[illegible] time by humming or whistling a tune; even the [illegible] as he clashed his shuttle between the threads, m[illegible] the harsh sound with a song. In former days so[illegible] the great amusement of the peasantry as they of a [illegible] night met for a hamlet-gathering by each others' fi[illegible] This was the usage in Scotland for centuries."

In general it may be said that the [illegible] were older than the words. Nearly all [illegible] tunes had had two or three sets of wo[illegible] earlier and later.

Into such an environment Robert B[illegible] was born. To such a heritage was he b[illegible] he, then, create Scotch song? He no more [illegible] it than Shakespeare created the English d[illegible] He no more created it than Homer created [illegible]

47. "Fu' o'"—full of.
48. "Hae"—have.
49. "Ilka"—every.
50. "Pu'd"—pulled.
51. "Fause"—false.

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eek epic. Shakespeare found the drama in hands of the people, where it had en for centuries. He took it up, and rried it forward to a height which body had dreamed of, by impressing his lendid genius upon it. Homer found poetical les everywhere among the people of Greece. e gathered up the best, remoulded them, ssed them through the crucible of his own let-soul, and lo! the world had an Iliad and dyssey.

In the same way Burns, not created, but rried forward, lifted up, crowned by his own comparable genius the rich song products of otland. Many old songs he rewrote. Many hich we think of as his have in them verses lines of older songs. Part of the material old, but the present completed form and the nius are his. Others are wholly new. What ppened was that the stream of Scotch song hich had been flowing for centuries rose to s flood in Robert Burns. The plant which d been growing and blossoming for generans, burst, in him, into such a splendor of oom as it had never known before. Scotch ng did not begin in him; it culminated in him; t its culmination was so glorious that it drew e eyes and awoke the admiration of the world.

Another thing Burns did for Scotch song. e greatly purified it. We complain of him at not all the songs that come from his hands e as high morally as we could wish. Some them praise strong drink. Here and there e deals with love in ways that are unworthy. r this we are tempted severely to condemn m. But wait! Let us see what is really the uation. The popular songs of Scotland were gely re-written by Burns. We know that he t them vastly finer as literary productions an he found them. How about their moral uality? Did he leave that injured, or improved. He left it vastly improved. He urged away much of the Bacchanalian ement; he purged away very much of e unworthy love-element and the low orality. This we should not forget. We may ish he had gone farther in his good work. he wonder is that he went so far, when we member the times in which he lived and the stoms prevailing around him. Scotland should eal gently with Robert Burns. She should member how great a debt she owes him for orally improving and purifying the popular ngs of her people.

It only remains to me now to make some rther inquiry concerning the religion of Burns. o one can understand the attitude of Robert urns toward religion who does not bear in mind the general religious conditions prevailing in Scotland at the time he lived.

Ever since the time of John Knox, Scotland had been the home of Calvinism, and Calvinism in its severest form.

Calvinism appears in history under two aspects—theological and ecclesiastical. On its ecclesiastical side—or perhaps it would be better to say on its side of church government—it has been nearly always the friend and promoter of human liberty, particularly political liberty. In the struggles of Europe between the people and tyrants who have oppressed them in state or in church, the Calvinistic and Presbyterian churches have generally been on the side of the people. This must forever be said in their praise. Calvin rejected the Papal hierarchy, with its pope, cardinals, archbishops, bishops and priests, who ruled churches from outside and from above downward; and he located ecclesiastical authority in representative bodies known as presbyters or elders chosen by the churches from among themselves. Thus he did more than perhaps any other man to lay the foundations of representative government, both ecclesiastical and civil, in the modern world. This is a great service to have rendered to mankind. When John Knox carried Calvinism into Scotland, he carried with it the Presbyterian or representative system of church government. It had a battle to fight to establish itself, and several times since it has had battles to wage to maintain itself. But it has always been successful. And the spirit of liberty which has been so strong in Scotland has ever found a staunch ally in the Presbyterian churches.

But of the other side of Calvinism—the theological—it is impossible to speak in so high praise. The Scotch mind is naturally logical, and in the iron of its Calvinistic theological doctrines it has had a chance to exercise its logic to the full. But the awful assumptions of Calvinism have always been shocking to many minds. That God could elect a part of the human race to be saved, and a part to be lost through no fault of their own; that men today can be guilty for the sin of Adam, committed thousands of years before they were born; that God so planned things that there should be at the very beginning of human history a world catastrophe of such appalling magnitude as to involve the eternal ruin of a vast majority of mankind, that human nature is totally depraved, having no good in it; that God with all power in his hands can have created a devil and a hell of endless torments even for a single soul—to say nothing of the

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countless millions whom the Calvinistic system condemns to its flames,—this view has always seemed to many thoughtful, earnest and devout souls, too shocking and too unreasonable to be believed.

It was exactly in this way that these things seemed to Robert Burns. This explains much of his poetry. Many poems which at first sight seem irreverent, and which might appear to be attacks upon religion, are really not attacks on religion at all, but only deep fiery protests against views of God which he believed to be untrue, unworthy, and calculated in their nature to hurt and degrade religion and God.

Perhaps none of the poems of Burns bearing on theology are more startling than his "Holy Willie's Prayer."

"O Thou, wha in the heavens dost dwell,
Wha, as it pleases best Thysel',
Sends ane[52] to heaven, and ten to hell—
A' for Thy glory,
And no for ony[53] guid[54] or ill
They've done afore Thee."

Severe as these lines are we are wrong if we call them an attack on religion. They are an attack on doctrines which Burns believed drive men away from religion. This awful irony is really a plea for views of religion and of God which shall be more sweet, more reasonable and more true. Burns would have religion and the Church purified. It is the best that is in him that speaks, not the worst.

"I own 'twas rash, an' rather hardy,
That I, a simple, countra[55] bardie,[56]
Shou'd meddle wi' a pack sae sturdy
Wha, if they ken me,[57]
Can easy, wi' a single wordie,
Lowse[58] hell upon me.

But I gae[59] mad at their grimaces,
Their sighin', cantin', grace-proud faces,
Their three-mile prayers, an' hauf-mile[60] graces,
Their raxin' conscience,
Whase greed, revenge, an' pride disgraces
Waur nor their nonsense.[61]

All hail, Religion! maid divine!
Pardon a Muse sae mean as mine,
Who in her rough imperfect line,
Thus daurs[62] to name thee;
To stigmatize fause freends[63] o' thine
Can ne'er defame thee."

Yes, here we have it. To B... Religion is something divine, in whose ... he stands with head uncovered, hardly ... to take her holy name upon his lips. ... is trying to do is to defend her from ... believes to be "fause freends." So ... may at least admit that his motives are ... even if he be too severe sometimes ... methods.

In the "Cotters Saturday Night" ... a picture of the kind of religion that ... Burns believed in and loved.

"From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur
That makes her lov'd at home, rever'd a...
Princes and lords are but the breath of k...
An honest man's the noblest work of G...

Burns had many faults. Nobody ... this better than he. Nobody confessed ... frankly or with more sincere regret a... and penitence. What heart that is hum... not feel the force of his plea, as regards ... and all the rest of us, when he writes,—

"Oh gently scan your brother man,
Still gentler sister woman;
Tho' they may gang a kinnin wrang,[64]
To step aside is human.
Who made the heart, 'tis He alone
Decidedly can try us:
He knows each cord—its various tone;
Each spring—its various bias:
Then at the balance let's be mute,
We never can adjust it;
What's done we partly can compute,
But know not what's resisted."

A vast change has come over the ... of Scotland since Burns' time. And ... beneficent as it is vast. The old Calv... largely gone. The dark and awful ... which were such a weight of lead u... loving heart of Burns, have been larg... away. And in their place has come, ... more and more coming, a sweeter, ... tenderer, more man-loving and God-... faith.

What has wrought this happy, this ... change? Many influences have wro... Many men have wrought it. But I bel... time will come, if it has not already ... when it will be generally recognized a... fessed, that, among them all, no influe... no man has rendered more effective se... effecting this great result than Robert B...

52. "Ane"—one.
53. "Ony"—any.
54. "Guid"—good.
55. "Countra"—country.
56. "Bardie"—diminutive of bird.
57. "Ken me"—know me.
58. "Lowse"—loose.
59. "Gae"—go.
60. "Hauf-mile"—half-mile.
61. "Waur nor their nonsense"—Worse than their nonsense.

62. "Daurs"—dares.
63. "Fause freends"—false friends.
64. "Gang a kennin wrang"—go a little ...

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THE HOLY BODY

By MAUD MacCARTHY

(NOTE. Hindu classical dance recognizes two main phases—the *tandava* or masculine phase, and the *lasya* or feminine phase. Miss Maud MacCarthy, in her poetry, keeps consistently on the feminine side of the metaphysical line between the two phases. By and by, when a sufficient quantity of her poetry is available, some speculative student of the mystery of creative expression will make a study of it in contrast with the poetry of Rabindranath, in which the *lasya* spirit is expressed by a poet habiting the *tandava* form. Meanwhile, it is helpful to know what Miss MacCarthy herself thinks of the poetical aspect of her many-sided expressiveness—for she has the rare capacity of moving between creative absorption and critical awareness. "I have always felt," she says, that in poetic expression one should be utterly simple, bold, and, as it were, naked." Poetry, she says, "a vent, a psychological explosion, which reveals the true individual." She deprecates the reticence by which women add a false allurement to sex. "This reticence is a subtle form of sensuality; but so curiously twisted has the human mind become that it is almost universally extolled as a shining virtue!" She asserts that "until woman cuts this unhealthy reticence out of her art, or her reactions to life, and all her judgments thereon, life will continue complex, essentially barbarous, and true civilization will remain a dream." These are challenging statements: they have important implications, which, however, cannot be developed in an introductory note; not the least significant implication being that, in her prose, Miss MacCarthy shows that the *tandava* energy can express itself through a *lasya* embodiment!

The following poem, "The Holy Body," is a sequel in 1932 to the previous poem, "A Young Woman Thinks on Mahadev," written in 1909. In the interval between them Miss MacCarthy developed her studies in yoga and her creative expression in art. These two lines of experience come together in "The Holy Body," which expresses the yogic attainment in the terms of the artist. It would be an error, however, to regard the language of the poem as entirely figurative. Like certain of the modern Indian painters, who have told me that they only paint what they have "seen" (referring thus to their paintings of the Gods and Goddesses), Miss MacCarthy here, as in other poems, chants of a more complete experience than just that of the imagination. The poem is a transcript of events participated in by the seeress in a London boarding-house. Hindu readers will see that, though the poetess uses the name of Christ, as was natural in a Christian environment, the reality behind the expression can be called by any name whereby humanity has denominated the *Purusha* or Divine Being at the core of the individual and universal life.

JAMES H. COUSINS)

I carry Thine Image in my heart.

I see before me the body of the Great Yogi—
Body as God made it, without pollution of man's thought.
The small, lean Image—
Perfect feet, slender legs and arms,
Thin shoulders, straightened back—
Body as God made it, unpolluted by man's thought!

Seeming frail,
Strong with the strength of Him,
I see this Body, sitting cross-legged in space.
Ascetic, full of love's effulgence, free,
Naked and pure.

Skin like petals of an olive rose—
That Body, quiet and poised,
Alert as the leopard,
Light, invincible and penetrating—
I carry that Image within my heart.

In infinite space It takes shape:
Out of the ineffable and formless
This Form takes birth, Self-born.
This is the Form of Christ—*
The Body of all mankind—
The End and the Beginning.

It is small,
It is as nothing

* The Form of Krishna, Buddha—Man Divine.

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It penetrates all things—
It lives in all—
It swallows life—
It lives, Thine Image, in my heart!

I see the little Form suspended in infinite space,
Which Thou didst make, Thou Lover of men,
Out of Thy thought unpolluted—
Out of Thy breath, Thy harmony!

When the lungs move, it is Thy breathing—
The heart, Thy pulsing;
Every organ
Each sense
Each faculty
Thine own complete unfolding.

From each part of this Body there flows all the beauty and perfection of limitless Perfection to mankind.
Into each part of this Body there enters all the agony, the grief and the black sorrow of ignoring multitudes—of death, and of longing.

Ah! I carry this Image in my heart—
This pure, piercing, tender Image—
This mighty One,
This Yogi—
Here, is my Redeemer!

Behold!
One strand of His hair will fortify all the hosts of angels.
The seraphic company dwells upon His temples.
(There, the lines of sorrow are as rivers of compassion).
When He speaks,
I shall hear the crying voices of the children of men,
The song of the Divine Mother,
And the thunders of the destruction of all iniquity.
When He raises His hand the worlds are moved.
I bend my forehead to the soles of His feet.
It is the holy, mystic Body of the Lord.
It is more real than Reality and more present than life itself—
Within and without my heart
Here is Thy Body!

* * * * * *

One night
I lay down to sleep.
In my sleep
The Holy Body lay beside me—
Eyes upon mine eyes—limbs upon my limbs—
Knee to knee, shoulder to shoulder,
Heart to heart—
Touching, without Sense,
Possessing, without Person.

He said:
"Lay thy head upon My shoulder."
I replied:
"Lord! I am not worthy!"

Then the dream became reality.

He laid His head upon my shoulder the
And said :
"I love you and I will come to you—
I need you and you are My comforting

And so I put my hands all unworthy O
About Thy Divine Body
And all my love O so small and impure
Fled out to Thee,
And I pressed
That small spare Form
With utter tenderness
Gently
Slowly
Over and over.
With all my poor love,
I clasped Thee
Over and over
To my poor human heart.

Small, frail, Thou wert!
Mighty, invincible, Thou wert!
Body of the Divine Yogi,
Cleansing me by Thyself!

My love surged:
I worshipped Thee in spirit, flesh and bone
I bowed my being to Thee
Whilst Thou
As Child of Man,
Lay, Thy head upon my shoulder,
Asking me for rest.
Lord! I gave myself to Thee without giv
And in that moment my flesh was redeeme

Thou art the Lover and the Redeemer!

My tears wash away my follies
As I think
Again and again
Upon that time when Thou, God of Gods,
Whole
Real
Lay upon my heart.

Thy Body is everywhere
Thou supreme Lover!

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ou art the only Beloved of each body and each soul.
ved art Thou, thus,
et is there no division, no sorrow, and no jealousy.

speak of that which is—the Body of Christ).
carry this Image and my heart is redeemed.

* * * * * *

Holy Yogi!
What shall I do to take Thy Body to the children of the world?
What offer
That this feast may be spread before them?
Where shall I go to find a word which shall awaken
And a power which shall shatter
Their slumbers?

cannot show Thee to them—
Yet Thou art everywhere.

cannot hold Thee within the prison of my mind—
cannot make these unreal words paint the Real.

The form is a prison,
But Thy Form has set me free!
Unlock their prison doors,
Yogi, Liberator,
And set them free!
Only Thou art the Desired One,
The Lover and the Liberator—
Only Thine Image within their hearts shall break their bonds.

* * * * * *

I will carry Thee on my heart,
I will carry Thee in my arms,
I will lay Thee down before them—
Supreme Lover Crucified.

How shall they perceive Thee,
The blind, the suffering ones?

I will paint Thy lines—
Thy shape shall be my Image!
I will sing Thy beauty—
Thy Voice shall be my Music!
I will mould Thy Form—
Thy Flesh shall be my Clay!
I will portray Thy Grace—
Thy Movements shall be my Dance!

I will show this Thy glorious Body
Which I carry in my heart
Which they carry in their hearts
Which lies before them, the suffering ones
Forever and ever.

* * * * * *

What do I hear?
They tell me that Thine Image is not!
But I carry Thee in my heart
And Thou appearest before mine eyes
Forever.

Can the blind see and the mute speak?
Blind and mute are they—
But I carry Thee in my heart
Forever and ever.

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THE GOLD COAST: WEST AFRICA

By C. F. ANDREWS

I

During a recent visit to West Africa for the purpose of giving some lectures at Achimota near Accra on the Gold Coast I had abundant opportunities of learning about the primitive West African religious beliefs and their spiritual background. To my great surprise I found myself continually meeting with ideas of the spirit-world which I had already known in rural India. About these I shall write later on in this article.

It needs to be understood that this part of Africa is far more intelligent and imaginative than anything which I have met on previous visits to Africa along the East Coast. Their life seems never to have become crushed and depressed by continual tyranny from outside nations, as has happened in East Africa. On the West Coast, the worst forms of slavery, which were continued for more than three hundred years, might have been expected to produce the same result. But the pure African race, which inhabits these regions, was so virile that, in spite of the millions of young men and young women carried off into slavery, the race itself never lost its vigour, and it is remarkably healthy today.

On the Gold coast, where I stayed for nearly two months, there are different tribes. The Ashanti has been the dominant tribe for more than half a century. Their capital has always been at Kumasi, a place in the interior, 250 miles from the coast, remarkably suited to be the capital of the whole country in the years to come. At present Accra, on the sea-coast itself, is the seat of Government. But it is neither a good port for shipping, nor is it well placed as a metropolis.

When the large expansion of gold mining in the interior takes place, as it is sure to do, Kumasi will become the centre both of trade and Government. While I was in the country the gold boom had reached its height. Two extra steamers had to be chartered from Elder, Dempster Co., to bring out engineers and miners along with machinery. I was told that the new gold reef, which had been discovered in the interior, was 150 miles in length and contained a high percentage of gold per ton of quartz, compared with the Transvaal. Some who were experts told me that there were possibilities of gold mining in Ashanti than those on the main reef that runs Johannesburg. They also told me gold-bearing soil was nearer to the surf

II

Two things have prevented the full ing of this reef before:

(*a*) The coast is so shallow and harb that it was impossible to tranship and up-country the heavy machinery need crushing the quartz and extracting the g

(*b*) The cost of European engi labour was almost prohibitive in such a h unhealthy country, so near the eq Health conditions for the European had b bad that the country had been called white Man's Grave."

Now, however, owing to the formati the deep-water harbour at Takoradi an building of a railway from this part to K the difficulty of heavy transport has been come. The further difficulty of health labour costs has been overcome also ow better sanitation and the rise in the pr gold. Only two years ago, gold was sell half the price which it is now fetching world market. This has made gold profitable, even though the cost of Eur labour is still high.

Those who have lived longest on the Coast and have learnt to love the African very doubtful whether this gold mining will really help the country. They are that it will bring some of the worst ele from Europe and increase drunkenness the Africans themselves. Thus the last of the Gold Coast may be worse than the even though money may pour in, as it is pouring into the Transvaal. For money, quickly made and quickly spent, has a te power of corruption.

III

Another danger that may come, if g care is not taken, is that of deforestation. gold mining industry is at present using as fuel, and the railways use wood-fuel. This means an immense consumption of

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There is already a danger of what is called "letting in the desert" from the north. For the great Sahara desert is not far distant and the whole northern territory of the Gold Coast is becoming more and more dry every year. If the great forest belt is broken through by the sandstorms, which come down from the Sahara, the damage done might be quite irreparable. Indeed, in some parts along this West African Coast the danger of the Sahara coming through has been imminent. A few years may work havoc in this direction. To show how near the danger is, let me relate that at Achimota itself, which is eight miles from the sea coast, a wind blows everyday from the Sahara, called "Hamadan," which often carries very fine articles of sand with it, though the amount is very small. The heat and dryness of this wind is quite perceptible as compared with the sea breeze which is moist and cool.

IV

In future, when this vast gold-field about which I have written is developed, Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti territory, is likely to become by far the greatest city in this part of West Africa. All the labourers who come from the Northern Territory pass through Kumasi. They undergo vaccination at the Depot and are passed by the medical officers before they can proceed. While the health conditions of the gold mines are kept up to the mark by strict medical provisions, the continual exodus of thousands of men from the northern villages, who leave their wives behind, creates a grave moral danger. This is likely to be no less serious than that which has already made such havoc in the Transvaal. If in the next few years the number of labourers goes on increasing at its present rate, the evil conditions of the villages may become so serious, owing to the diseases brought back from the mines, that depopulation may become very rapid.

The Ashanti tribesmen themselves are aristocrats in labour matters. They refuse to undertake this labour in the mines. They have tribal possession of the fertile land which is now becoming more and more valuable owing to the rapid development of the mining industry around them. They can also use the land for cocoa which is a very profitable product in the British market.

V

Altogether the population of the Gold Coast is between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 in number. These form a compact body of virile people who have a strong sense of independence. They are going through a political development which is not unlike that of India itself. Already the claim for Swaraj is being raised. On the whole, the race and colour prejudices are not very noticeable along the West Coast. The number of Europeans is very small indeed, and this gives to the African the opportunity of developing on his own lines. While I was there, I met the Attorney-General and other members of the Government who were Africans. They received the same standing at social functions as Europeans. The standard of English education is high and at Achimota School and College even the small boys and girls could speak English with considerable fluency. One of the teachers, Dr. Aggrey, who rose to be Vice-Principal, had received the highest education possible in America. He was a man of such sterling character that he would have been made Principal of the whole Institution if he had lived, but unfortunately he died at the height of his power and left no immediate successor. There are other teachers who are rapidly advancing in sense of responsibility and power of maintaining discipline, and the hope was often expressed to me that in the end Achimota would have its own African Principal and its own African staff.

All this that I am relating represents an advance far ahead of anything I have known hitherto on the East Coast. In time, no doubt, both in Uganda and also in Zululand, as far south as Natal, such development will occur (possibly within a generation) but Achimota quite obviously leads the way at the present time.

VI

Practically, all the people of the Gold Coast, who are educated and advanced, belong to the Christian community. The whole country is covered with churches and the pagan tribes are rapidly becoming Christian. Islam fully maintains its own position in the north and also towards the east where Nigeria stands out prominently as a Muhammadan country, but from the Gold Coast right on to Sierra Leone Christianity prevails.

Certainly the Christian religion has had a powerful and beneficial effect on the West African people. They have taken to Christianity with great eagerness and have not found that it is a foreign religion to them. Indeed they have blended with their Christian faith many of their old customs and the whole tribal system bodily within the Christian church.

To give a single example of this, King Prempeh, the Paramount Ruler of the great

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Ashanti tribe, sent to me a message when I spoke at the church service at 9 o'clock on one Sunday morning at Kumasi. He sent word that he greatly regretted that he was unable to be present because there was a meeting of chiefs on that morning over which he had to preside. He sent me a present of a very large brass bowl full of eggs which he asked me to accept by way of hospitality. I found on enquiry that he had already been to the church that morning at 6 o'clock to the Communion Service and that it was his custom to do so on every Sunday. The church, when I gave my address at 9 o'clock, was crowded to the doors with men and women and I spoke with an interpreter standing by me who gave a very powerful effect to my words.

VII

In this very town of Kumasi, not many years ago, human sacrifices in large numbers were offered and often the sickening sight of human skulls displayed on poles was visible. During the last century the number of men thus murdered must have been immense. Travellers who passed through the place spoke of the decapitated bodies lying about unburied and also told the story how at the death of some chief hundreds of slaves would be sacrificed till the streets ran with blood. All this is now entirely a thing of the past.

Only in some of the dances, accompanied by the incessant beating of the drums, can one realize what the horror must have been in the old days when human sacrifices were common and internecine war between the tribes hardly ever ceased. This dancing in harmony with the drum-beats and the singing which accompanies it are weird in the extreme. They have lost their terror; but the feeling of something awful remains, while the drum-music is being played.

Some of the missionaries have wished to put an end to this dancing and drum-music altogether, but wiser counsels have prevailed, and it is being gradually sublimated instead. It possibly expresses deep primitive instincts in the people which ought not to be ruthlessly repressed. Just as the old Greek tragedies, with their chorus, took the place of the old Dionysiac revelries, so these weird performances take the place of the old war dances which ended in cruelty and bloodshed.

VIII

While I was at Achimota, the students who came from different tribes gave to me an exhibition of their drum-beating and dancing. A large bonfire was lighted which sent up its flames to the sky. They danced in the the flames and their bodies seemed to they leapt in the air and the drums bea Each tribe had its own special dance a its own special war chant. One could see how maddened with war passion they have been in the old pagan days when it not a mere play or performance, but a li death reality leading on to bloodshed. reminded one of those famous lines of Col *Kubla Khan* where the poet says:

> And, mid that tumult, Kubla heard from fa
> Ancestral voices prophesying war.

One could almost hear these an voices as the music grew louder and loude the dancing became more and more ex Each tribe in time tried to rival the ot dramatic effect and the whole audience th present swayed to the beating of the drum the chanting of the music. It quite carri away by its strange effect.

IX

If it be asked whether it is wise to tinue these old customs in the new atmos of peace which Christianity has brought wi we can point in other lands to the harm has been done by the sudden removal o that was emotional in the old pagan life ever the Christian missionary was a Pr in his aim and purpose. In some islands Pacific, for example, whole tribes have die because life itself lost its own interest an came deadly dull under the new re There is no danger of this on the Gold C for the people those, who have become Chri seem to be more full of the zest and enjoy of life than before. They certainly enjoy singing in the churches and the processions music in the streets, with the Christian ba flying and the drums beating. Every Chri body finds itself obliged to take its own in this.

X

A few more sentences may be added cerning the primitive beliefs of the A tribesmen on the West Coast before they came Christian. Many of these beliefs been taken over into the Christian church then transformed and given a new Chri value. One of the most interesting of the a ceremony which often takes place at bap After the child is baptized, the father o baby takes his own child in his arms and puts water on the child's lips and says time that he does so: "Remember, my

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this is water. When you grow up, remember this is water." The father repeats this each time that he touches the child's lips with the water.

When I asked the meaning of this strange ceremony, I was told that the infant, when it was born, still remained half in the world of spirit and half in the objective world of concrete things. The father told the child that it would soon come out of the dream-world of spirit and enter the world of outside, objective things, when it did so, it would realize the objectivity of the natural elements such as water.

Whether this is the real meaning of this symbolic act or not, there is clearly among these African people a vivid, consciousness of the spirit-world while they are young. The well-known words of the poet Wordsworth give the picture of what the Ashanti child thinks:

> Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
> The Soul that rises with us, our life's star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar:
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come from God, who is our home:
> Heaven lies about us in our infancy!

These words, with their mystical implication, are somewhat strange and unintelligible to the English schoolboy. But they do not seem difficult at all either to the Indian or the African child. For with both of these the subjective world is intensely real in early days and the "shades of the prison-house," about which Wordsworth speaks, come very slowly over the lives of the children of the East. This ceremony after baptism, therefore, appears to me to be the symbol of the awakening consciousness to outward things which human life involves.

XI

Another ceremony which is near to the Hindu idea of the spirit-world is that of offering food and drink to the departed spirit sometime after death. This symbolism went to such extreme lengths that human beings were sacrificed in order that their spirits might accompany and serve the spirits of the dead chiefs Thus a king's death was often the cause of an awful slaughter of human lives, and the greater the monarch the greater would be the slaughter.

In relation to the same belief in the spirit-world, the new-born child in the king's household was regarded by the Ashanti as the reincarnation of one of the departed tribal ancestors. In a special chamber, the different seats or stools,—often covered with gold,—whereon the kingly ancestors sat, were treasured and stored. The new-born child of the king was brought into this chamber where these different stools were placed. It was supposed that the spirit of each ancestor resided in his own stool. When the child had thus been brought into this dark chamber where the spirits of the departed kings were supposed to dwell, the father and relatives of the child consulted together as to which of the ancestors had come to birth again in the new-born baby. Usually there would be (so I was told) a remarkable unanimity of choice. Then the child would be given the name of the kingly ancestor who was chosen and it would be announced to all the tribe as the child's relatives came out of the dark chamber, that this special ancestor had now come back to the earth.

The theory of reincarnation thus plays a vital part in West African beliefs and children are said to remember scenes which had happened long ago. This is regarded as a proof of their previous existence on earth.

Whether these ideas, which run parallel to many ancient Hindu ideas, were received in pre-historic times from the East or developed in West Africa spontaneously is difficult to prove. It must be left uncertain. When, however, I was speaking with the children at Achimota School and College and one child said to me, "Do you believe in reincarnation?" and another said, "Do you believe in spirits?" I seemed to be back in India once more, among Indian children.

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THUS SING THE COUNTRYWOMEN IN THE PUNJAB

By Prof. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

II

A Set of Wedding-songs

The tradition of wedding-songs is almost as old as the history of marriage itself. That these songs must have an auspicious influence on the happy couple's marital life is the belief of the countrywomen in the Punjab, and this lends a new colour to their love for these songs, which are numerous and have the charm of variety.

The two main types of wedding-songs, generally sung in chorus, are *Suhag* and *Ghorian*. As regards tune and subject-matter, these types stand apart from each other: the former are sung in the bride's house and the latter at the bridegroom's place. All the women of the locality assemble daily at night and sing these songs for hours together. This assemblage begins to gather a few weeks prior to the wedding-day. Besides *Suhag* and *Ghorian* songs, almost all the types are actually sung in accompaniment of marriage-rituals.

Here is a *Suhag:*

Make me a bride, papa, and marry me in a family,
Where the mother-in-law is honourable,
And the father-in-law is a *Sirdar;*
Where the mother-in-law gets invitations from her sisters,
And the father-in-law is a judge.
A charitable deed will it be on thy part, dear papa,
An auspicious fame will be thy share, dear papa.

Make me a bride, papa, and marry me in a family,
Where the mother-in-law is lucky
And is the mother of many a son;
Her sons' betrothals and weddings, I would perform
And would see the days of joy and charm.
A charitable deed will it be on thy part, dear papa,
An auspicious fame will be thy share, dear papa.

Make me a bride, papa, and marry me in a family,
Where they keep sixty she-buffaloes, both dark and brown,
In constant milking and butter-making, I'll be busy;
Where fortunate enough is thy daughter,
And always takes plenty of butter.
A charitable deed will it be on thy part, dear papa,
An auspicious fame will be thy share, dear papa.

Make me a bride, papa, and marry me in a family,
Where the goldsmith is at hand to serve me,
Turn by turn I'll wear ornaments, so many;
Where fortunate is thy daughter, of course,
And keeps many ornaments, arranged in a box,
A charitable deed will it be on thy part, dear papa,
An auspicious fame will be thy share, dear papa.

Here are two *Ghorian* songs:

They may say whatever they like, but the mother, it makes no difference in the expression of her filial love:

'So dark, so dark is thy son,' they say;
'My son knows seven lores,' breaks forth the mother,
Thy mare is ready, ride dear bridegroom.
'Faulty, faulty is thy son,' they say;
'My son is the light of our family,' breaks forth the mother.
Thy mare is ready, ride dear bridegroom.
'Thy son is a scandal-monger,' they say;
'My son is reviving herb to our fomily,' breaks forth the mother.
Thy mare is ready, ride dear bridegroom.

The sister has her own *Ghorian*—the [illegible] of sisterly love. Here is one:

'Who made a demand for the mare and who sent it?
Who is the trader who hath fetched it?
For my brother, so blessed.'
'The son made a demand, the father sent it
My brother hath fetched it,
He is the trader, so blessed.'

'How many lacs of rupees is the *Tejan* mare worth
And to what comes its cost price?
O my parents' son, so blessed.'
'Rupees one lac is the *Tejan* mare worth
And to two lacs comes its cost price,*
O my parents' daughter, so blessed.'

'A queenly couch will I offer to my mother,
When I bring my bride here,
O my parents' daughter, so blessed.'
'My wealth will I offer to thy bride,
For thee I'll sacrifice my life and pride,
O my parents' son, so blessed.'
'A kingly couch will I offer to my father,
When God blesses me to bring my bride here,
O my parents' daughter, so blessed.'
'My wealth will I offer to thy bride,
For thee I'll sacrifice my life and pride
O my parents' son, so blessed.'
'I'll fix thy wedding and will get thee married, dear,
When God blesses me to bring my bride here,
O my parents' daughter, so blessed.'

* The underlying idea is that in the ecstasy of wedding-joy the bridegroom cannot prove to be a businessman; he likes to get the best specimen of mare from the market, no matter if he is to buy it at the double price.

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'My wealth will I offer to thy bride,
For thee I'll sacrifice my life and pride.
O my parents' son, so blessed.'

Deep and lasting is the pathos of the hour hen according to the tradition the bride is ked to take her seat in a *Doli* (lit. palanquin), hich carries her to the place where the arriage-party is lodged. It is the time when e women begin the farewell songs, known as *oli-De-Git* in the native terminology. The ride, too, is naturally moved and is over-owered by the predominating pathos of eparture from the parental nest to her new ouse.

In some of these songs we see the bride peaking for herself.

Sixty fellow-maidens wait for me at our door, dear papa!
My heart so sad goes to none of them, dear papa!
Every one smiles with rapture, dear papa!
Into a river (of tears), flows my heart, dear papa!

A splendid palanquin waits for me at our door, dear papa!
My heart so sad goes not to it, dear papa!
Every one smiles with rapture, dear papa!
Into a river (of tears) flows my heart, dear papa!

To the niches full of dolls have I bid adieu, dear papa!
My heart so sad is not inclined to play, dear papa!
Every one smiles with rapture, dear papa,
Into a river (of tears) flows my heart, dear papa!

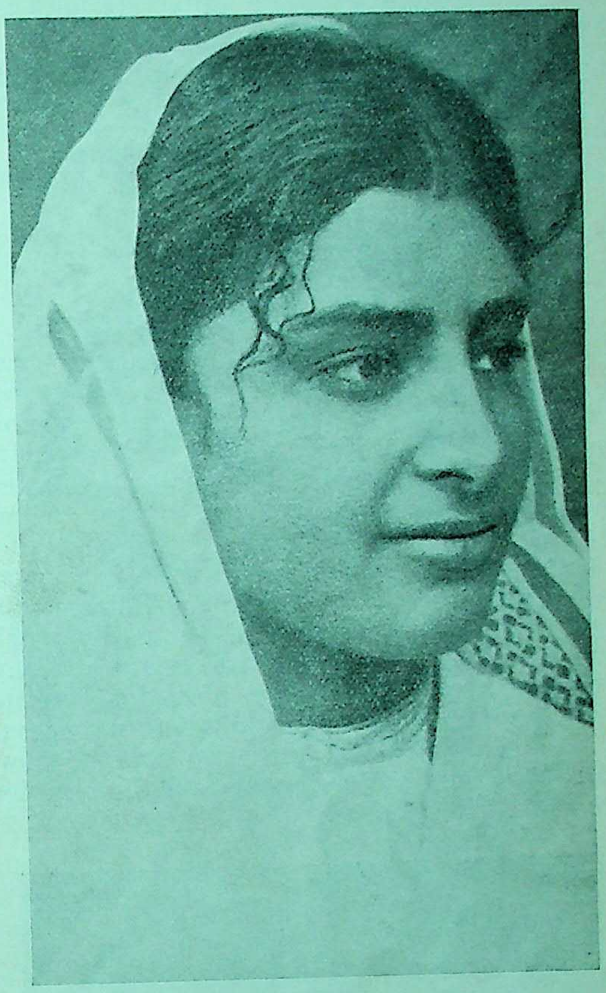
Too narrow have turned thy broad streets for me, dear papa!
Where many a sweet moment delighted me, dear papa!
Every one smiles with rapture, dear papa!
Into a river (of tears) flows my heart, dear papa!

My mamma weeps and lo! her garment turns wet, dear papa!
Tears from thine eyes flow into a river, dear papa!*
Everyone smiles with rapture, dear papa!
Into a river (of tears) flows my heart, dear papa!

No more, impressive than those of the strangers are my brothers' tears, dear papa!
Their wives are glad (because of my withdrawal) dear papa!
Every one smiles with rapture, dear papa!
Into a river (of tears) flows my heart, dear papa.

"The girls are like the sparrows" is a popular proverb. Its motif is well-realized when the girls, as soon as they are married, fly away to their new nests. They have introduced this theme in many farewell songs.

We are a flight of sparrows and will fly away, dear dad!
Long is our journey and to a strange land we'll fly away, dear dad!



A town-bred Punjabi girl

Many of her relations may be residing in the interior; at times she goes there to see them. Especially during the wedding-festivities such a daughter of contemporary Punjab is often seen among so many countrywomen who put their songs to purely indigenous tunes with an unruffled devotion and child-like simplicity.

Here is a colloquy between the departing bride and her father :

'O who'll care to clean thy utensils after me, dear dad!
Lo! my mamma is seen shedding tears in her compartment, dear dad!'
'I'll send for thee soon and thou wilt come to see thy mamma,
Pray, darling, now leave for thy new home.'
'My dolls—my dolls are lying so uncared for
In the niches of thy palace, dear dad!'
'My sons' daughters will play with thy dolls,
Pray, darling, now leave for thy new home.'
'Who'll finish—who'll finish my half-finished embroidery
That lies in the palace, dear dad!'

* The father is, of course, a strong man not usually given to a show of weakness. But he is completely overcome by the thought of his impending separation from his daughter.

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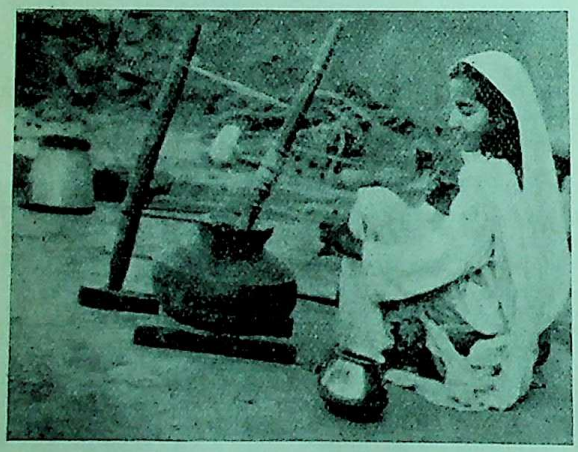
'My sons' daughters will do it,
Pray, darling, now leave for thy new home.'
'My palanquin—my palanquin can not pass
Through the door of thy palace, dear dad!'
'I'll dismantle a part of the door to make the way,
Pray, darling, now leave for thy new home.'
'My palanquin—my palanquin can not pass
Through the narrow path of thy garden, dear dad!'
'I'll lop a big branch of the tree to make the way,
Pray, darling, now leave for thy new home.'
'Thy daughter—thy daughter will be thirsty,
In the stages of the journey through thy estate, dear dad!'
'I'll construct a few wells,
Pray, darling, now go to thy new home.'

* * * *

When They Sing of New-born Sons

Song-feasts are held for days together when a new son appears on the scene. All women from the locality assemble on this auspicious occasion with hearts rejuvenated with the spirit of song. They are attired gaudily as butterflies: some are newly married brides, radiant with lovely looks and smiles: they look like blossomed jessamines: some of them look every inch a nymph: others are mothers: all enjoy the native wit; spontaneously it flows and the whole atmosphere is surcharged with gaiety and joy. They then soar in the realm of national music, which reveals a golden world where no woman is childless. *Holar* is the term for the new-born babe, and the songs sung on the occasion are called *Holar* songs.



A country girl. She sings as she churns the curds

The description of the physical pain and travail as well as the joy and hope of the mother, of the period immediately before the arrival of the great moment, is the constant theme in these songs. The new-born babe often figures as Krishna.

How blessed is my first travail!
Wake up, O mother-in-law, wake up,
Wake up to cheer me in my agony, and
pain.
The travail rises and travels straight to my
This *Sundh* and *Sandhola** I wouldn't take!
This powder of *Lwang*† I wouldn't take!
Why did I ever carry a child in my womb?

How blessed in my second travail!
Wake up, O elder sister-in-law, wake up.
Wake up to cheer me in my agony, and
pain.
The travail rises and travels straight to my
This *Sundh* and *Sandhola* I wouldn't take!
This powder of *Lwang* I wouldn't take!
Why did I ever carry a child in my womb?

How blessed is my third travail!
Wake up, younger sister-in-law, wake up,
Wake up to cheer me in my agony, and
pain.
The travail rises and travels straight to my
This *Sundh* and *Sandhola* I wouldn't take!
This powder of *Lwang* I wouldn't take!
Why did I ever carry a child in my womb?

How blessed is my fourth travail!
Wake up, sisters of my yard, wake up.
Wake up to cheer me in my agony, and
pain.
The travail rises and travels straight to my
This *Sundh* and *Sandhola* I wouldn't take!
This powder of *Lwang* I wouldn't take!
Why did I ever carry a child in my womb?

How blessed is my fifth travail!
Wake up, women of the neighbourhood, wake
Wake up to cheer me in my agony, and
pain.
Now no travail travels straight to my heart,
This *Sundh* and *Sandhola* I must take,
This powder of *Lwang* I must take,
How happy am I that I carried the child
womb.

As the physical pain is too agonizi
bear, the mother quite naturally breaks
'Why did I ever carry a child in my
But the anticipated joy of the coming
is no less, and she instantaneously bless
pain. Ideas of decency differ: the tow
woman cares more for an outward sh
decency, the countrywoman for its
aspect, with the result that the tow
woman is formal, reserved, but sugge
while the countrywoman is outspoken,
but alluring.

Here is something more:

Lo! we see a room above a room,
O who hath built it, my love?
Lo! we see a room above a room,
O Lord Rama hath built it, my love.
Lo! we see a garden over and above, a gard
The gardner hath adorned it with *Champa* flo
my love.

* *Sundh* is a native drug given to the mothe
when mixed with *Gur* (sugar) it is known as S
† *Lwang* is one of the spices.

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Lo! we see a son over and above a son,
The proud bride is blessed with it, my love.

Thou art engaged in tending the cows,
O come home and cheer me in my agony, my love.

A happy couple after the honey-moon.

Soon came the husband in his wife's apartment and exclaimed:
'Where didst thou feel the travail, my love?'
'O, the travail I feel in my heart,
Make haste and send for my mother-in-law, my love.'

'O the travail I feel in my heart,
Make haste and send for the mid-wife, O mother-in-law.'

A body-guard is behind him and two servants are seen in front,
The husband rides on horse and leaves for the mid-wife's house.

'O which is the mid-wife's house?'
In various streets he enquires;
Lo! some one exclaims in a street,
'That is the mid-wife's, where a little child frolics and *Champa* blossoms.'

'What wilst thou award to the mid-wife,
If God, with a new son, blesses thee?'
'Rupees five in cash and a splendid head-wear
Promptly will I award to thee.'
'What will be the mid-wife's share?
If it is a daughter, and sadness prevails on thee and thy family.'
'A rupee in cash and a second-hand head-wear
Will I then award to thee."

The husband rides on his horse,
For the mid-wife is arranged a splendid palanquin.

The village-bride: her mother sends for her during the rains

Lo! here arrives the mid-wife,
The drummers attend their drums and invoke auspicious chants.

'A little oil I'll apply on thy belly and a son will just appear,
Come and recline on the couch, O thou the woman in delicate state.'

'Let thy husband give me my remuneration and discharge me soon,
Send for him, O thou the mother of a new-born son.'

'What hast thou done for me, O mid-wife?
My wife underwent a series of travails, and God blessed me with a son.'

'Let us give rupees five in cash to the mid-wife
And also a send-off, to the auspicious rhythm of the drums.'

As the custom goes, it is the duty of the father to send ghee and other viands to the

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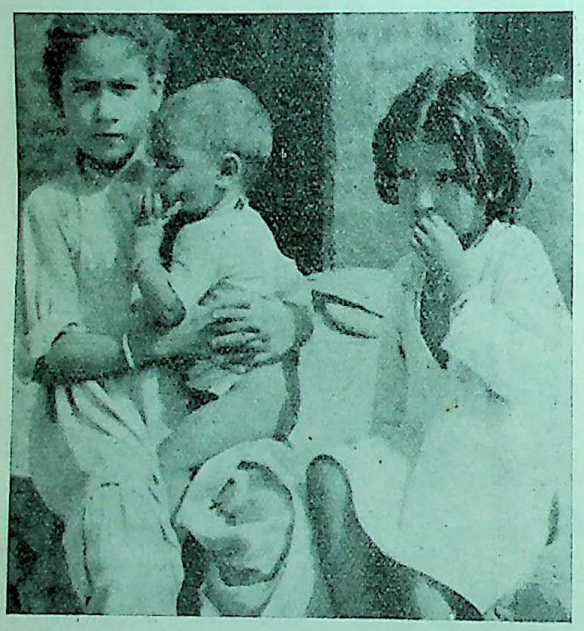
daughter when she is at her father-in-law's. Here and there may be seen a reference to it in the realm of *Holar* songs, which is traditionally considered to be as auspicious as the new-born babe itself, and is, in fact, an exact window into the personality of the Punjab mother.

Listen, listen, O thou the father
Of my new-born son—my tiny offspring,
Listen, listen, the demands of thy queen,
Get her *Sundh*, *Sathva*, and fresh green *Moong*,
Get her a cauldron from Mandi or Suket state,
And a spoon direct from the city of Multan.
Get her ghee of cow's milk, a thing so auspicious,
A lot of good it will do to her.
'Have ghee from thy father, my dearv.
Let me supply thee (immense) dry-fruits,'
'My father is the King of Delhi and the suburbs,
And too young is my brother to come over here.'
'Then dispatch letter after letter to thy father, my darling;
Tell him that his daughter hath got a son.'



Village-children: song-feasts are held for days together whenever a new son appears on the scene

'Immense nutritious food as well as a pot full of ghee,
On elephants and carts, dear daughter, I'll supply thee.'

Arrange for a couch, my new babe's father,
The queen-mother of the new babe, thy love, will recline and rest on it.
Arrange for a feast of Holar songs on the top floor,
Let it be declared that here appears a new son,
Get thy yard adorned with pearls,
Thy love, the queen-mother of a new babe will walk here with delicate steps.
Let me have the favour of thy sister and thy mother
Sundh Panjiri should they prepare now for the new son's mother.
Adorn me, my sweet heart, with ornaments and grace,
Just I'll unveil to thee thy new son's face.

Songs during the Rains

The rainy season comes with its ow and tradition has taught the country respond to it. There is much of life and in these seasonal songs. The enchanting to which these songs are originally pu an aesthetic joy to all. There is a current among countrywomen to se married daughters in the month of S (pronounced as *Savan* by the Punjabis). are the days when *Tian* festivities ap with an ever-new charm and grace. Th who had been friends during their maide get a chance to see one another. Their felt joy is evident as they swing and sin songs come as easy to them as cooings to Besides swinging and singing, there is, of an appropriate place for the *Gidha* dance lends an additional colour to the *Tian* fest

One of the most popular themes songs, generally sung during the rains, unfortunate girl, passing the days of S her father-in-law's as she is not yet invi her parents.

Spread out the *Hena* leaves in the sun, dear m
How sad turns the colour of these leaves, d mamma!
Let us sing the song of *Savan*, dear mam
Send thy sons' brides to their parents, dear m
And forget not to invite thy married daughter mamma!
Let us sing the song of *Savan*, dear mam
Here do I stand on the river-bank and on y bank I see thy face, dear mamma!
Alas! I am helpless to see my papa's land mamma!
Let us sing the song of *Savan*, dear mam
The smoke in the kitchen brings forth water eyes, dear mamma!
Always yearns my heart for my papa's land mamma!
Let us sing the song of *Savan*, dear mam
Hard am I to labour here on the grinding-ston very painful are the bruises on my hands mamma!
Always yearns my heart for thy home so swee mamma!
Let us sing the song of *Savan*, dear mam

Several songs describe the brides hav talk with the rain-cloud:

'Pour down first on my papa's land, O rain-c
Then shower on my father-in-law's fields.'
'I've watered thy papa's land, O *Bibi!**
And have also showered on thy father-in-law's

Or :

What refreshing repose hast thou brought, O cloud!
All men and women have gone into raptures, O cloud!

* *Bibi* is a popular form of address to wom the Punjab, and is as polite as 'madam.'

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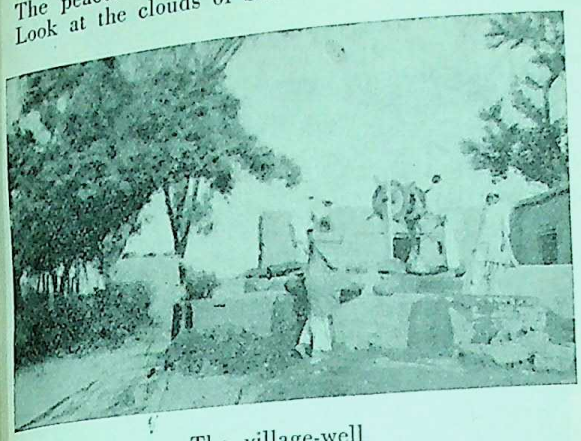
Then we see something else, in no way less interesting:

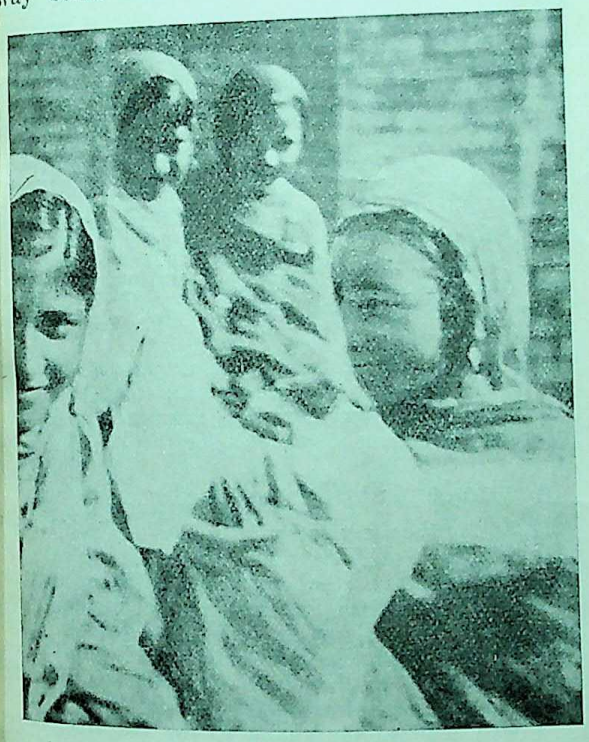
The peacocks are dancing;
Look at the clouds of *Savan*, lo! it rains in torrents.



The village-well

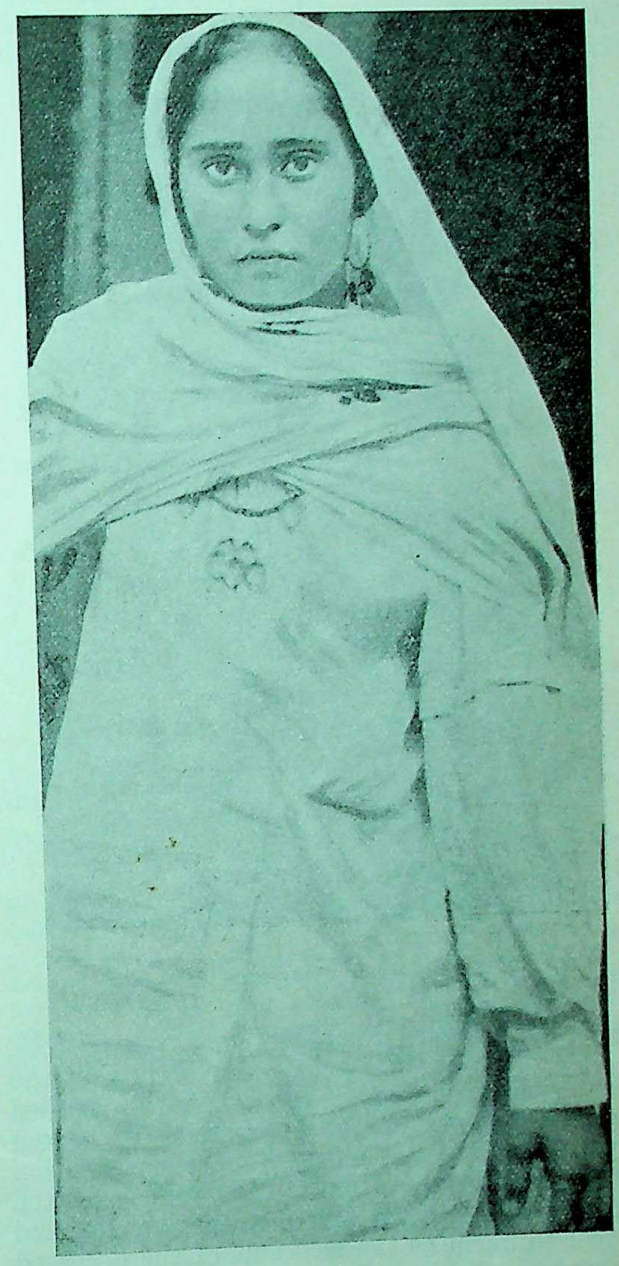
A set of Dirges

Siapa is the Punjabi word for the typical expression of grief and lamentation whenever the cruel hand of Death succeeds in snatching away some one from the scene. The women



The rapture of the holiday-spirit
These young girls—the happy progeny the country-women—imbibe the true spirit of national song.

of the locality assemble to mourn for hours together at the house of the deceased. The fixed period for the *Siapa* assemblage is, as a rule, of seventeen days but it is prolonged to any number of days when only the relations of the deceased sit for mourning. The key-note of *Siapa* lamentation is, of course, the harmonious process of the women's beating of their breasts



A village-beauty: how she awaits her sweetheart—no less than a moon to her—when she sings:
O moon, rise and spread the light
In counting the stars have I passed the night.
Lo, here appears the moon, dear fellows,
Here appears the moon.

and cheeks and thighs with their hands. Besides *Siapa*, the women burst into a variety of dirges, known as *Kerane* or *Vaina* in the native terminology. Some of the dirges have come down from mouth to mouth, while the

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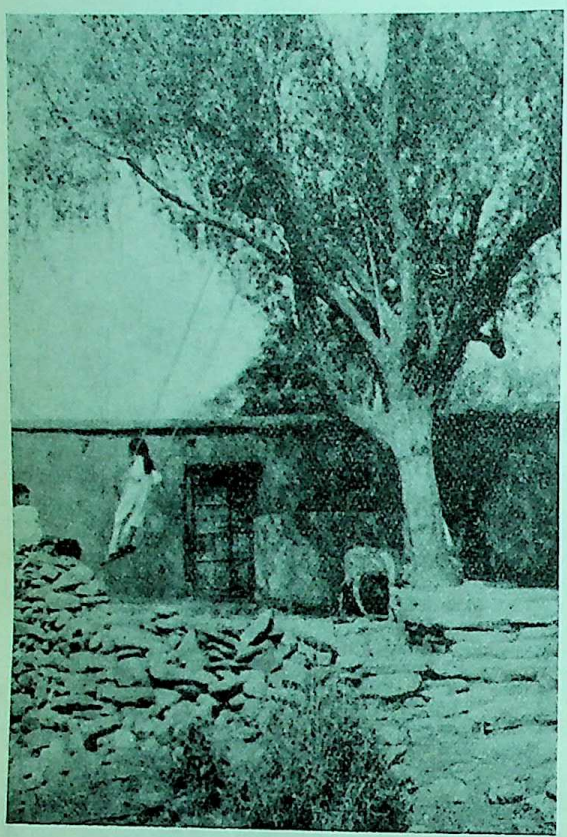
others are sung extempore. Almost all the dirges, old and new, are expressive of the innermost pathetic feelings of countrywomen. Such are the dirges—spontaneous and perennial. The women seem to suppose that the more they burst forth into pathetic songs, the more the departed soul goes towards heavenly bliss. The



Let me swing first

kinswomen of the deceased repeat the process, beating parts of their body so severely that the blood readily simmers; and when the swollen and ached parts are to be mercilessly beaten day after day, the ladies of poor constitution cannot stand the strain. The women of the locality, who join the *Siapa*, cannot be expected to feel so much as the relations of the deceased are apt to do, but they, too, liking it or not, pretend to apppear in the same role. Of course, some people call it a barbarous survival of social life. They earnestly believe that it is all conventional and ridiculous, and is in no way a sincere expression of grief.

But how can the original significance of the dirge be ignored? If the tradition of *Siapa* is to be veritably abolished for the good of the country, let us hope that the great minds who come forward for the reform, will do so with every care to save the tradition of the dirge, which comes as easy to the countrywo tears appear in their eyes.

Here is a set of dirges :—

A mother laments for her deceased da

Alas for thee, my *Koel* of gardens, alas fo Ah me, thou hast now gone to sleep in the Death! No one brings thy news! Alas fo my *Koel* of gardens, alas for thee!

A thorough search have I made in various and hills, but, ah me, nowhere can I find Now I remember thy sweet songs which I ca forget!

A daughter laments for her deceased fa

Alas for thee, my papa, alas for thee! M my good luck, in fact, is due to thee. O th like a *Subedar* to me. Alas for thee, my alas for thee!

Thy name served me as a pass-port; wit could move in all the directions, and none check me from doing so. Alas for thee, my alas for thee!

Thou wert like a rain-cloud to me. How ful! How far hast thou gone! Alas for the papa, alas for thee!

A sister laments for the deceased bro

Alas for thee, dear mamma's son, alas for O wilt thou ever appear on the scene as my b in another life? O when shall we again meet ther? Alas for thee, dear mamma's son, al thee!

Once separated, we'll never meet again? O t such a tragedy! Alas for thee, dear mamma's alas for thee!

O my prince brother, thou looked like a fr of *Shisham* wood. Thou wert like a pie sandal, highly polished. Alas for thee, dear mam son, alas for thee!

O my prince brother, when wilt thou turn my door as a guest? O when should I sta expectation of thee? Alas for thee, dear mam son, alas for thee!

O my prince brother, thy unfortunate sweet is now a widow! She was no less than a que thee. Into a river flow her tears now! Alas thee, dear mamma's son, alas for thee!

A wife laments for the deceased husba

Alas for thee, my father-in-law's son, alas for I was afraid of none when thou wert by my Ah me *Kal Yug*, the dark age, hath come in thy death! Alas for thee, my father-in-law's alas for thee! Even the ground, a widow upon takes fire! Everyone abuses a widow! thing touched by her hand is polluted! Alas thee, my father-in-law's son, alas for thee!

I well realized the charm of thy fair face, bridegroom, I well understood the language dreamy eyes. Alas for thee, my father-in-law's alas for thee!

O it was predestined—who could check it? Death makes no difference. It has been snatch away many a *Pir*, *Pegamber*, and *Aulia*. Alas thee my father-in-law's son, alas for thee!

A daughter-in-law laments for her husba deceased father :

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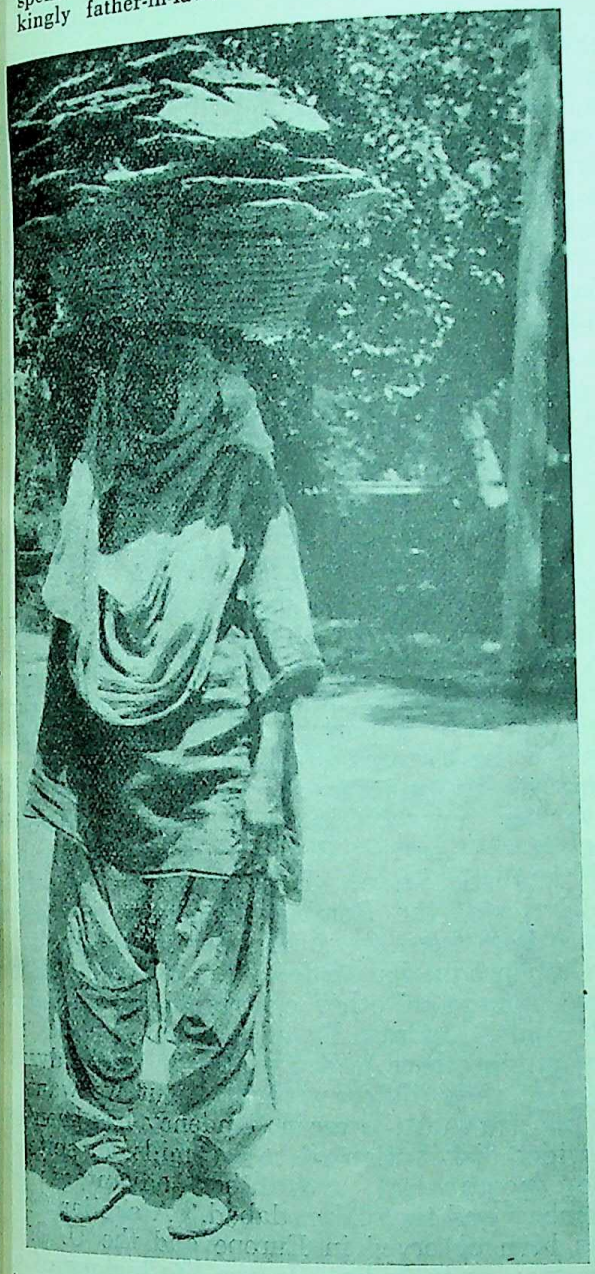
Alas for thee, my kingly father-in-law, alas for thee! It was due to thee that I was wedded to thy son. Thou wert like a lock to our family. Alas for thee, my kingly father-in-law, alas for thee!

How majestic was thy speech! I was under its spell. Who could surpass thee? Alas for thee, my kingly father-in-law!



A countrywoman bringing fuel: she may just burst into song as she walks

A minstrel's wife laments for a well-to-do man, who dies in ripe old age :

Alas for thee, O king, alas for thee! Numerous minstrels and Brahmins are seen at thy door. All are singing thy praises. Alas for thee, O king, alas for thee!

Gold and silver didst thou give in charity. Now thy sons carry thee to the burial ground and thy family is seen following the procession. Alas for thee, O king, alas for thee!

There are so many steeds, chariots, and bullock-carts in thy house. Before thy door are seen thy elephants, moving so majestically. Alas for thee, O king, alas for thee!

The peasant women in the author's village Bhadour, Patiala State
They have their own songs

Everyone carried out thy orders. Thy yard is adorned with pearls. How (large-heartedly) didst thou give away many a milch-cow and steed in charity! How (munificently) didst thou give away immense gold and silver in charity! Alas for thee, O king, alas for thee!

Thus sing the countrywomen in the Punjab. As in expression, so in substance, their songs are simple and direct and bring before us a vast gallery of pictures covering a wide range.*

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* The first explorer of Punjabi folk-lore was probably the late Sir R. C. Temple, who published his monumental work, *The Legends of the Punjab,* in 1885. It was perhaps published in more than two parts. But Sir R. C. Temple devoted his attention to those songs only which were somehow or other connected with the legends and romances, current throughout the length and breadth of the the Punjab; again these songs are here and there intermingled with semi-classical songs which are not folk-songs in the strict sense of the word. Next to Sir R. C. Temple comes the name of Mr. C. F. Usborn, who published his *Punjabi Lyrics and Proverbs,* in 1905. But it is only a booklet and covers a few patterns of Punjabi folk-songs only. A little collection of Punjabi folk-songs may be seen in Mr. J. Wilson's *Grammer and Dictionary of Western Punjabi with Proverbs, Sayings and Verses.* I do not know if there are other publications of the Punjabi folk-songs in English. I shall be grateful if some generous persons can procure the aforesaid books for me. Anybody kind enough to do so should address me C/o *The Modern Review.*

This article was written during August, September, October and November, 1935, while I stayed at my village Bhadour, Patiala State. My cordial thanks are due to my dear friends, St. Atma Singh, Pandit Yog Raj Sharma, and Mr. Karm Chand Jaidka and also to S. Harnarayan Singh and S. Gurdev Sing, the chiefs of our villages, who have been very kindly co-operating with me in my mission.

AUTHOR.

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PROSPECTS OF COTTON MILLS IN BENGAL

By A. B. GUHA

Though the first Cotton Mill in India, *viz.*, the Bowreah Cotton Mill, was erected near Calcutta in 1830,[1] Bengal, today, stands almost last amongst the provinces in the production of cotton goods. At the beginning of the industry, Bengal did not lag far behind Bombay, for, the first mill there, *viz.*, the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Mill, commenced work in 1856,[2] and in 1873 there were 28 mills in Bombay as against 15 in Bengal. Later on, except during the Swadeshi Movement, Bengal slipped back; so that in 1931, there were 73 mills working in Bombay island as against 13 in Bengal. Since 1932, however, eight new cotton mills have been established, some of which are equipped with the most up-to-date machinery and are now approaching or actually have begun the production stage.[3]

TABLE 1[4]

Indian Production of Piecegoods (percentage of total yardage)
(*All sorts*)

	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32
Bombay Island ..	50	49	28	37	38	41
Ahmedabad ..	23	22	31	27	27	26
Bombay (other centres) ..	6	7	9	8	7	6
Delhi and Ajmir ..	2	2	3	3	3	3
C. P. and Berar ..	3	3	4	3	3	3
Indian States ..	9	9	14	12	12	11
United Province ..	3	4	5	5	5	6
Bengal ..	1	1	2	3	3	3
Madras ..	3	3	3	3	2	2

The table given above clearly demonstrates the relative position of Bengal in the production of piecegoods of all sorts. The approximate annual consumption of cotton piecegoods in Bengal will be worth about 14 crores, of which foreign imports account for about Rs. 2½ crores and the rest of India 10 crores; so that Bengal's domestic production is not worth more than 1½ crores or 10% of her demand[5] *i.e.*, about 36 days' consumption only.

It must be abundantly clear from the above that a vast internal market exists for mills, in Bengal. Though this considerati an important bearing, by itself it is ce not a sufficient justification for the pro of cotton mills in Bengal. For, wh immediate self-interest might dictate, we in inter-provincial trade based upon ine of natural resources and other conditions less there are compelling reasons, ec forces should be allowed to have free pla no attempt should be made to distur natural distribution of industries by pro It may be urged, and not without great that since the cotton mill industry is concentrated in Bombay and Ahmedab attempt should be made to develop it elsew for, that would entail a loss of the interna external economics of localization. As Bombay island, this contention has no much force. At one time Bombay was be to be the natural seat of the cotton mill ind on account of its climate, proximity to ma and the most important cotton producing and other reasons. Though cotton is g more or less, in many provinces, nearly sev five per cent of the total crop is raise Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar Hyderabad State. But, in spite of advantages, the Bombay industry has re since 1908 from about fifty per cent of the Indian production to forty per cent, due to development of other centres like Ahmeda Sholapur, Madras, Delhi, Cawnpur. It is our purpose here to discuss the relative adv ages of these different centres, but we wa emphasize that the recent tendency has bee a wider distribution of cotton mills, in spi the geographical and other advantages Bombay and then Ahmedabad. A similar has been observed in Europe and the U. S America as in India. In the life history o Industry centralisation has undoubted adv ages, but as time goes on, it becomes a hand Wherever an industry is massed together, re taxes and cost of living go up; trade un form; the machinery become old and obso and inevitably new centres of production sp up, excessive concentration of population limited areas also give rise to difficult prob of sanitation and housing, and produces a

1. *The Investors' Indian Year Book* 1931-32, p. 135 by Messrs. Place Siddons & Gough.
2. M. P. Gandhi *The Indian Cotton Textile Industry*, p. 52.
3. *Report of the Industries Department of the Government of Bengal for* 1933-34.
4. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board*, 1932, p. 22.
5. *Commercial Gazette*, June 24, 1935, p. 605.

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equilibrium between agriculture and industry the country as a whole. The spreading out industry would not only avoid these dangers but also provide employment for the surplus agricultural population and the wandering mass of *Bhadralok* youths. This last is a weighty consideration in Bengal. A cotton mill of medium size engages about three thousand persons. If decent quarters are provided in a healthy locality and proper surroundings, and if labourers are humanely treated, our young men of the middle class will certainly flock in large numbers as labourers. To give one example, at the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, there are about four hundred men of the *Bhadralok* class working as common operatives, most of whom are matriculates or have read up to the higher classes of English Schools.

That certain condition in Bengal are encouraging for the establishment of cotton mills is amply demonstrated by the success of mills already working and the number of mills in process of erection. Even in the present acute depression, the working results of Bengal mills are generally found to be better than in Bombay. Of course, success has not been uniform, but in most of these cases the poor results will be found to be due to faulty organization in the widest sense of the term.

To ensure success mills in Bengal should be planned to supply the domestic requirements. Further, the wasteful methods of marketing generally adopted by Bombay and Ahmedabad should be avoided. We have already seen the immense possibilities of such a market, and a mill situated at its door can be reasonably expected to pay more attention to local needs and make direct sales. The marketing side of the business is as much important as the technical side and a mill can ill afford to neglect it. In Cawnpur, several mills besides placing a part of their production through selling brokers, run shops and have mail order business. Much of the penetration of German and Japanese goods in the Eastern markets has been due to their establishing direct contact with the consumer.

In addition to the presence of a huge market at the door Bengal mills would enjoy other advantages as well.

Being a deltaic country intersected by big rivers, the temperature is lower than centres like Ahmedabad, Cawnpur, Delhi, and the atmosphere is more humid. Of course, to a great extent, modern inventions can manufacture suitable atmospheric conditions within the factory, but the advantage of a gift of nature cannot be gainsaid.

In the supply of motive power, Bengal has natural superiority over all other centres excepting those where cheap Hydro-electricity is available. The freight charges from Jharia and Raniganj to the other centres are very much higher than the corresponding charges to Calcutta and Dacca.

As for labour, the average Bengalee does not like to work as a factory labourer and in consequence the mills round about Calcutta work with Madrasi or Behari, Uriya or C. P. labourers. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, however, is working exclusively with Bengalee labourers recruited from the neighbouring villages. This demonstrates, not that the Bengalee dislike factory work so much, but that he refuses to submit to the housing, sanitary and social conditions of labour in the Calcutta area. Moreover, he cannot stand aloof from factory employment much longer. In respect of population Bengal is the largest province in India, in area she occupies the ninth place among them. The average density of population in Bengal is greater than that of the other provinces and foreign countries as well. The average holding for an agricultural worker is a little above 2½ acres of land. The pressure of population on the soil is so great in some of the Eastern Bengal districts that it is being relieved somewhat by emigration to Assam and Burma. If industries are established in suitable places there is no reason why the surplus population should not move to them. A factor very much in favour of Bengalee labour is that he is more intelligent, though physically a bit poorer, than outside labourers. Workers, in cotton mills, however, do not require very strong physique, because, the operations are such as to require a sensitiveness of touch and flexibility of fingers more than physical exertion. Moreover, Bengal mills in suitable rural areas will have a definite advantage in that they will not have to pay wages at the higher scales prevailing in the city. Though city labourers usually get higher money wages, their real income is not necessarily higher.

In point of labour efficiency, a new centre of cotton mills will be at a disadvantage during initial period of apprenticeship. But in these days of specialised machinery it does not take a long time to acquire the necessary skill. In the experience of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, in course of eight years spinning efficiency has reached almost India's maximum and it is confidently expected that within a year or two

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the maximum will be reached in the weaving section as well. So that, the disadvantage on this account is not of a permanent or inherent nature, but such that can be removed by training and experience.

While discussing the suitability of Bengal for cotton mills, we are not oblivious of at least one of her disadvantages, *viz.*, the supply of raw cotton. In the purchase of Broach, Surat, Punjab, or American, the additional cost on account of freight charges is so great that very little of these staples are used in Bengal. In the purchase of cotton from the Madras side the disadvantage is not greater than that of the other centres. As for East African cotton, every centre other than Bombay is at a considerable disadvantage. Ahmedabad mills, which largely engage in producing *dhutis* of finer counts, the principal market for which is Bengal, have to receive Uganda and American cotton through the port of Bombay. The disadvantage of Bengal in this respect can be reduced if proper fumigating arrangements are made at the port of Calcutta, so that, Bengal mills could make direct import of their requirements of foreign cotton. Further, attempts should be made to grow long-staple cotton in Bengal. Proper investigations and experiments should be undertaken by the Government in co-operation with the Indian Central Cotton Committee, to determine the area and suitability of long-staple cotton in Bengal. We cannot take for granted the sweeping condemnation of Bengal in this respect unless a proper trial has been given. The famous *Photee* cotton from which Muslins used to be made was successfully grown round about Dacca. In the days of the bullock cart, certainly Bengal was self-sufficient in the supply of her requirements of raw cotton. The decline of cotton cultivation in Bengal had probably been due to the expansion of quick and cheap means of communication and the rise of jute, oil seeds etc. In the competition for land, the less valuable crop is constantly being replaced by the more valuable, and ordinarily jute and sugar-cane are more paying than cotton. If Bengal does not grow any cotton today, that is more because she finds it more profitable to specilize in those crops in which her efficiency is still greater and import the less valuable cotton crop from outside. So long as jute sells at a moderately high price, there is little chance of growing cotton in Bengal on any extensive scale; but, now that the Government has adopted the policy of Jute restriction, which can never succeed as sound and economic unless substitute or alternative crops have been evolved, the Governme with profit investigate the possibility expansion of cotton.

Even if the cultivation of cotton uneconomic in Bengal, the difficulty need considered as insupperable, for does not import raw cotton from India and also finished goods back to India, pay cost of transportation and yet undersell mills? In China, there were thirty-three mills in 1916, and today the number one hundred and twenty. This rapid pr competent observers say, has been due proximity of the market and up-to machinery. We admit that cotton mil Bengal will be at a disadvantage of conside magnitude in the supply of raw cotton along with this it is to be considered that of freight paid on cotton is largely compen by saving in freight of finished goods. over we want to emphasize that one factor does not decide the fate of an industry balance of advantages are overwhelming favour of establishing cotton mills in Beng

In promoting mills in Bengal, to possible disappointment and reproaches, tion should be paid to the following guards:

(1) A mill should be of the proper econ size. In our view, the minimum size of a ought to be 500 looms and 17500 spin Too small units are at a disadvantage in purchase of raw materials, stores and sa finished goods. Small mills are bound t inefficient, as they cannot maintain a pro trained highly paid technical staff. A big can pay any price for brains, for it gets many times more than it pays. It is we remember that competition, both internal external, is very keen in the cotton industr

(2) A merely spinning or weaving will not be a paying proposition. At one mills in Bombay specialized in spinning but now almost all of them have added wea departments. The cotton mills in Bengal the Managing Agency of Messrs. Kettle Bullen & Co. have been forced to do the thing. Yarns constitute a raw material for hand-loom weavers and hence it cannot subjected to anything more than a rev duty. So competition in the yarn market very severe and it is difficult to make any p

On the other hand, a purely weaving is under the handicap of buying its yarns thus pay a profit to others which increases of production of the finished goods.

We want to specially emphasize this fac

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promoters in Bengal often commit the mis-
ke in the expectation of adding the other
partment later on out of prospective profits.

In planning a mill, special attention should given to the character of the market. A mill ill be at an advantage if it produces goods hich are in wide demand. Market for goods hich have a restricted or special demand will t be so steady.

(3) Great care should be taken in select- g and appointing the right kind of men in arge of the departments. There is a dearth f suitable technical men in India. What is anted is that these men should have both eoretical and practical knowledge and long anding experience, both Indian and foreign of high order. Men of this type are always stly; but a mill that is enlightened enough make such a selection is sure to reap the vantage in the form of lower cost of produc- n per unit. Most of the present depart- ental heads have risen from the bottom.

They may be very good in the particular , but they cannot see very much beyond eir own orbit. Such men are apt to become tremely conservative, suspicious of all changes d lacking in all form of initiative. The dian youths who go abroad do not lack in e preliminary education, but they commit the stake of going in for degrees, while they ght really to pick up practical experience in e factory. On returning home they expect me fat salary and the chance of bossing over.

(4) In organizing a mill, or in drawing ans and specifications and in daily manage- ent, of course, technical experts must be given eir due importance, but the complete scheme ould get the final approval of persons who ve fair technical knowledge coupled with a orough study of the commercial side.

In the determination of the location of a factory, the initial cost of land is no guiding factor. The general considerations that are to guide us in this matter are as follows:

If any kind of electricity is used, then the factory is to be near the generating plant. In Bengal, in the absence of Hydro-Electric works, there is no scope for the use of electricity as a motive power, except in the Calcutta area served by the Calcutta Electric Supply Co. Ltd. In the case of steam turbines nearness to plentiful supply of good soft water is necessary. In the matter of coal Bengal has a natural advantage over other centres. Even then the factory should be so located as to have some advantage over the nearest competing mills elsewhere. Easy and cheap inland and outward transport facilities, low cost of living, satisfactory climate and sanitary conditions are some of the other conditions to be fulfilled. Nearness to skilled labour is another important condition. Local labourers lead a more responsible life, they have their responsibilities to the family as well as responsibilities to the community to which they belong; this consciousness exercises a beneficial influence on their life and therefore upon their daily work. In factories where the operatives are recruited from outside an entirely artificial condition of life and work is created. An extensive and ready market for the finished goods ought to be nearby. Perhaps, in this respect, we ought to be guided by the location of already existing or now extinct important centres of production and distribution.

If the above safeguards and considerations are adequately attended to, there is no reason why a cotton mill in Bengal should not achieve a reasonable measure of success.

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THE CONCEPT OF FEDERATION

By Sirdar D. K. SEN, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), LL.B. (Dublin),
Barrister-at-Law.

The distinction between unitary States and composite States constitutes the basis of a well-recognized classification in the domain of jurisprudence and politics. In a unitary State the totality of sovereign power over the entire territory and population is vested in a central authority. A composite State, on the other hand, necessarily implies the association, more or less complete and more or less durable, of several States under a common government or a common Ruler.[1] Laband classifies the associations of States into two different and distinct categories:

1. Association of States founded exclusively on agreement or treaty (*d'indole contrattuale*).
2. Association of States of a corporate character.[2] Confederation falls under the first category, while Federation furnishes an interesting example of the second.

The existing Federations are:

1. The United States of America
2. The United States of Mexico
3. The United States of Venezuela
4. The United States of Brazil
5. The Republic of Argentine
6. The German Reich
7. The "Swiss Confederation"
8. The Republic of Austria
9. The Union of Soviet Republics

It has been argued that the Soviet Union is not a Federation. Durand, for instance, says:

> "Their constitutional rules are founded upon a political situation of a revolutionary character, not only in their origin but also in their permanent nature. Such a situation is incompatible with the notion of juristic powers subject to positive rules in regard to their scope and mode of exercise."[3]

It is no doubt true that the Russian jurists of today have discarded the orthodox theories of State, and hold that the State is not a rule of law but the expression of a dictatorship of a non-juristic character. Says Gourvitch,

> "The economic interests of the dominant class are the active force and the fundamental law State."[4]

This new conception finds expression Constitution of the Republic of the U Article I of this Constitution declares:

> "The Socialist Republic of the Soviets Ukraine is an organization of the dictatorship exploited, labouring masses of the proletari of the poor peasantry against their ancient op and exploiters, the capitalists and large land-

This novel doctrine of State has neces produced a striking feature in the consti of the Soviet Union. It is the authority has been conferred on a particular cl section of society to the exclusion of the body of other classes. The Soviet organi ensures the predominance of the proletari deprives the bourgeois of franchise and e lity. The consequence of this principle is the electorates exercise unrestricted control their representatives. In the first place deputy elected by the proletariat is und obligation to render account to his elect his activities in the Soviet within three after the close of each session. He is bound to discuss with his electors all que on the agenda of the Soviet before the op of each session. Further, the electorate h right to revoke the election of a deputy be proved that he has not carried ou directions.[5]

The other outstanding feature which d entiates the Soviet organization from ort parliamentary institutions is the fact tha Soviet Constitution has totally abandone theory of separation of powers, and has secrated a new conception which has described as the theory of "dimension of po According to this theory, each institution i hierarchy of the Soviet organization exe within the compass allotted to it all the p of governance, whether legislative, executiv judicial. Apart from these two distin features, the Constitution of the Soviet U is not opposed to the structural organizati a Federation. It is, therefore, clear that contention advanced by Durand cannot re

1. Bonfils et Fauchille, *Droit International Public.*
2. Laband, *Il Diritto Publico dell' Impero Germanico.* P. 1.
3. Durand, *Les Etats Federaux.* P. 53.
4. Gourvitch, *Osnovy Konstitoutsii.* Moscow.
5. Brodovitch, *Sovetskoe izbiratelnoe pravo.* L grad.

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accepted. If a Constitution possesses the essential elements of a Federation, it cannot justly be excluded from the federal category merely because it is founded on political doctrines of a revolutionary character.

There is another class of existing Federations which may be designated as subordinate Federations. These must be distinguished from the first group inasmuch as they do not enjoy full and complete sovereignty but are subordinate to another superior authority. This class comprises:

1. The Commonwealth of Australia
2. The Dominion of Canada
3. The Federation of India, as proposed in the Government of India Act, 1935.

Durand contends that the Dominion of Canada is not a Federation since the power to amend the constitution is vested in the Imperial Parliament. He says:

> *"Au Canada, au contraire, la constitution du Dominion ne peut etre modifiee que par une loi du Parlement Anglais; l'assentiment du Parlement canadien est en fait necessaire et c'est meme de lui que vient l'initative, mais sa decision ne suffit pas. La situation ne se presente donc pas pour le Canada comme pour les Etats federaux."*[6]

This contention cannot, however, be accepted. One might just as well argue that the Commonwealth of Australia is not a federal union because certain powers of legislative sovereignty are vested in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

It has been asserted by a recent writer that there does not exist any distinctive mark of Federation. It has been urged that "once a general name is given to a number of particular things in order to distinguish them from others, these things acquire a reputation for a distinction they do not in fact possess."[7] Prailaune puts forward the view that "between the Confederation of States, the Federal State, and the unitary State which corresponds to a precise but arbitary, academic classification, there exists a whole series of intermediate combinations.[8] It would, however, appear that these criticisms cannot fully be substantiated. It is no doubt true that there are certain features which are to be found both in Federations and Confederations of States; nevertheless a close and critical study of Federal Constitutions and an analysis of the theory of Federation conclusively prove that a federal union of States possesses certain characteristic marks which differentiate it from other forms of State organizations. As Borel has rightly pointed out,

> *"L'historien et le juriste ont deux domaines distincts et poursuivent deux buts absolument differents. Le premier cherche avant tout a etablir cette continuite irresistible des faits que revele un development de plusieurs siecles; le second par contre, doit dans cette evolution quelquefois imperceptible, distinguer le moment precis ou les deux notions, essentiellement distinctes, de la confederation d'etats et de l'etat federatif, se touchant et ou elles se separent."*[9]

Further, the theory of "floating frontiers" (*flissende Grenzen*) cannot be sustained in law. Every legal classification must be clear and precise. We shall therefore proceed to analyse the constituent elements of a Federation which distinguish it from other forms of association of States.

A Confederation of States is an association of sovereign States in which there exists a central power possessing organizations of a permanent character. It is founded essentially on a treaty concluded amongst States which are and continue to be sovereign. It is in reality *"una somma di attribuzione e di poteri fondati sul libero accordo degli stati particolari e reuniti per essere esercitati in commune."*[10] A Confederation does not, therefore, possess either sovereignty or the character of State, the confederating States preserving their sovereign and independent existence subject to agreed restrictions. It, therefore, follows that a Confederation is not a State, but merely a *vinculum juris, ein Rechtsverhaltniss*, founded exclusively on

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6. Durand, op. cit. p. 55.

In Canada, on the contrary, the Dominion constitution could not be modified but by a law of the British Parliament, the assent of the Canadian Parliament is no doubt necessary and more so, the initiative rests therein, but its decision is not sufficient. Therefore the position of federal states and of Canada is not the same.

7. Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. I, at p. 244. See also Orloff, *Le Vice Fondamental de la Classification Dominante des Etats*, p. 6. He says: "En realite, aucune question dans la theorie generale de l'Etat, ne se trouve dans une situation aussi deplorable que celle de la classification des Etats . . . . Toute le monde accepte la theorie traditionelle."

In reality, no question in the general theory of the State, is so lamentable, as that of the classification of the States . . . . Everyone accepts the traditional theory.

8. Prailaune, *L'unitarisme et le federalisme dans la Constitution Allemande du ll aout 1919.*

9. Borel, *Etude sur la Souverainete dans l'Etat Federatif*. P. 150.

The historian and the jurist have two distinct domains and pursue two absolutely different objects. The first seeks above all, to establish that irresistible continuity of facts which reveal a development of several centuries; the second, on the contrary; must distinguish, in that evolution sometimes imperceptible, the precise moment when the two notions, essentially different, of the Confederation of States and of the Federal State touch and separate from one another.

10. Brunialti, *Unioni e Combinazioni fra gli Stati*: "A sum of attributes and powers founded on the free consent of the individual States united for their exercise in common."

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agreement or treaty. For instance, in the Swiss Confederation of 1815 the Federal Act was invariably construed as a *vertrag* or treaty and not as a Statute or Constitution. The German Confederation (*Deutsche Bund*) created by the *Wiener Schlusseaete* of 1820 was also a union of sovereign States founded upon a series of treaties. Similarly, the American Confederation of 1781 was only a "firm league of friendship" between States which retained their sovereignty, freedom and independence. (Articles 2 and 3 of the Articles of Confederation, 1781-88).

A Federation, on the other hand, is not only an association of States but also a State. As Brie rightly points out,

> "*Der Bundesstaat ist zugleich Bund und Staat; er ist also, ... einerseits ein aus Staaten zusammengesetztes, foderativ organisiertes, Gemeinwesen, und andererseits ein aus Menschen zusammengesetztes Gemeininwesen mit einer principiell alle Zwecke des menschlichen Lebens umfassenden Aufgabe und Zustandigkeit.*"[11]

It follows, therefore, that a Federation is, on the one hand, a unity, and possesses all the features of an organic union *par excellence*, whereas a Confederation is always to be distinguished by "*la mancanza di coesione psicologica interne.*"[12] This is then the *fundamentum divisionis* between a Federation and a Confederation. On the other hand, a Federation is also an association of States, and differs from unitary States which cannot at the same time be a union of constituent States.

This is then the *fundamentum divisionis* between a Federation and a Confederation. On the other hand, a Federation is also an association of States, and differs from unitary States which cannot at the same time be a union of constituent States.

There are several results of the constitutional unity of the federal association of States. In the first place, it is inevitable that the central government in a Federation should enjoy and exercise all rights and powers of external sovereignty. It is the Federation alone which possesses international personality and is consequently the sole representative of the federating units in International Law.[13] For instance, under the constitution of the United States of America it is the Federal Government which exercises all powers of sovereignty in regard to international matters, and the federating units have no personality or authority from the point of view of International Law. Article 1 of the Soviet Constitution similarly states that the representation of the Union in all international affairs, the conduct of diplomatic relations, the conclusion of treaties with foreign powers belong exclusively to the competence of the Union. This view, however, has been severely criticised by Le Fur who holds that it is incorrect to say that under a Federation it is the Federal Government alone which possesses international personality.[14] He cites the instance of the German Federation of 1815 which the States constituting the Federation did enjoy certain powers in regard to International affairs, as, for instance, the right of diplomatic intercourse with foreign States. This, however, does not mean that the constituent States of the German Federation were considered as persons in International Law. Le Fur is, therefore, clearly wrong when he says that the constituent elements of a Federation also possess international character. It is undoubt true that in a Federal Constitution the units may be entitled to exercise certain rights as rights of legation but this does not confer on them any international character, nor does it transform them into sovereigns from the point of view of International Law. Further, it cannot for a moment be disputed that in cases of conflict with foreign powers it is the Federation, and the Federation alone, which is responsible in the eyes of International Law even where the units enjoy and exercise certain powers of external sovereignty.[15]

The second consequence of the organic unity of a Federation is that in all Federal Constitutions Federal laws over-ride the laws of the constituent units in cases of conflict. As Jellinek remarks, *Bundesrecht bricht Landesrecht.* Provisions to this effect are sometimes expressly incorporated in the Constitutions. For instance, Article 13 of the German Constitution of 1919 provides: "The law of the Reich prevails over the law of the Landes."[16] Article 2 of the transitory provisions of the Swiss Constitution is to the same effect. Similar provisions

11. Brie, *Theorie der Staatenverbindungen*: "A Federal State is at the same time an association and a State; . . . . it is also, on the one hand, a federally organized community composed of States, and, on the other, a community of people whose chief duty and competence embrace the needs of human beings."

12. Posada, *Il Diritto Pubblico Spagnuolo.* at p. 148 See also Rauschenberger, *Das Bundesstaatsproblem.*

13. Fiore, *Il Diritto Pubblico Internazionale.* Vol. 1. Sec. 309: Lewis, *On the Use and Abuse of some Political Terms.* P. 97.

14. Le Fur, *Etat Federal et Confederation d'Etats.*

15. See *Cutting's Case* (Wharton, *Digest of the International Law of the United States*, 1887. Vol. 1, Pp. 48-49). This is only partially true of subordinate Federations.

16. See Doehl, *Reichsrecht bricht Landesrecht.* Cf. de Malberg, *La Theorie generale de L'Etat* at p.

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ve also been incorporated in Article 31 of the gentine Constitution, and Article 126 of the onstitution of Mexico. The corresponding use of the Constitution of the Common- alth of Australia runs thus:

"When the law of a State is in conflict with the Law of the Commonwealth the latter shall prevail, and the former shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be invalid."

Section 107 of the Government of India ct is as follows:

"If any provision of a Provincial law is repugnant to any provision of a Federal Law which the Federal Legislature is competent to enact or to any provision of an existing Indian Law with respect to one of the matters enumerated in the Concurrent Legislative List, then, subject to the provisions of this section, the Federal Law, whether passed before or after the Provincial law, or, as the case may be, the existing Indian Law, shall prevail and the Provincial law shall, to the extent of the repugnancy, be void."

It would, however, appear that this ay not necessarily be a distinctive feature a Federal Constitution. It is possible conceive a Confederation of States in hich it might be expressly provided that the gulations or decrees of the common government of the Confederation shall, within the mited scope of the legislative authority allotted the central organ, abrogate the laws and gulations of the constituent States. Whether a particular case the laws of a Confederation ossess such exclusive and authoritative aracter will depend entirely on the terms and rovisions of the convention creating the Confederation. The mere fact that the Constitution a Confederation expressly provides that all entral decrees or resolutions shall over-ride the aws and regulations of the States in regard to ertain specified matters, does not necessarily ransform the Confederation into a Federal State.

Another consequence of the constitutional nity of a Federation is that in cases of conflict between the constituent units or between a onstituent unit and the Federation, the Federal Constitution invariably provides for the settlement of disputes by a Federal authority. For nstance, Article 110 of the Swiss Constitution tates:

"*Le Tribunal federal connait des differents de droit civil: 1. Entre la confederation et les cantons; 2. Entre la confederation, d'une part, et les corporations . . . . , 3. Entre cantons.*" *

* The federal Tribunal knows the different sorts of Civil Law: (1) Between the Confederation and the Cantons, (2) Between the Confederation and the Corporations, (3) Between the Cantons.

Similar provisions are to be found in Article 76 of the German Constitution of 1871, Article 105 of the Mexican Constitution, Article 100 of the Argentine Constitution, Article 59 of the Constitution of Brazil, Article 120 of the Constitution of Venezuela of 1931, and Article 43 of the Treaty of Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics. On the other hand, we find that in all Confederations the pact of association has always provided for arbitration in cases of dispute. This again cannot be regarded as a fundamental characteristic of a Federation since express provision for the settlement of disputes by a central authority and not by arbitration does not necessarily abrogate the essential feature of a Confederation that it is an association and not a State.

Several other points of difference between a Confederation and a Federation have been urged by eminent jurists of different countries. It is therefore necessary for us to examine how far their arguments can be sustained. In the first place, it has been urged that a distinctive characteristic of a Confederation is that the powers of the central organ are specifically and definitely enumerated, whereas in a Federal Constitution the rights of the component States are expressly declared, leaving the remainder of sovereign authority in the hands of the Federal Government. A cursory study of Federal Constitutions will, however, show that this argument is not sound either in theory or in practice. From the theoretical point of view it may be urged that the mere enumeration of the rights of the Federal Government does not necessarily conflict with the fundamental character of a Federation. The view is also clearly opposed to facts. For instance, under the American Constitution the residuary powers of sovereignty are vested in the constituent States. Indeed, this is true of all Federal Constitutions except that of Canada. Further, as Le Fur points out, the difference is purely quantitative and not of the least significance in practice.[17]

According to Bluntshli, "the real difference between a Confederation of States and a Federal State lies in the different organisations of the two forms of union."[18] He argues that in a Confederation there is only one organ, a Diet, a sort of Congress of diplomats (*Gesandtencongress*); whereas in a Federal Constitution the organisation of government is complete from the triple point of view of the legislature, the judiciary and the executive. This view, however, will not bear scrutiny. In the first place,

17. See Le Fur, op. cit.
18. Bluntshli, *Geschichte des Schweizerischen Bundesrechts* Vol. I at p. 562.

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it does not take actual facts into consideration. For instance, the legislative and the executive organisations were highly developed in the Confederation of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. There was, however, no organisation of the judiciary under this Constitution. On the other hand, even under the German Federation of 1871 there was no central organisation of judiciary until the *Gerichtsverfassungsgesetz* (Judicature Act) of January, 1877. It is clear from these instances that differences in organization do not necessarily differentiate a Federation from a Confederation of States.

It has been argued that the real and fundamental difference between a Federation and a Confederation lies in the fact that under a Confederation the constituent units stand on an absolutely equal footing, whereas under a Federation equality of the States is neither absolute nor indispensable.[19] This theory was propounded by Von Holst on the basis of the Confederal Constitution of the United States of America and is not in accord with other Federal and Confederal Constitutions. For instance, under the German Confederation prior to the Act of 1871 all the constituent units were not equal in point of law. Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Saxony had special rights and powers which were not enjoyed by other States.

Laband, on the contrary, holds that equality of the constituent units is an essential characteristic of Federal Constitutions. He says:

> "A Federal State is a Republic of which the States themselves are citizens and in which the sovereign power is exercised by the collectivity of the States considered as a unity. Thus the German Empire, for example, is neither an Empire of forty million subjects nor a democracy of forty million citizens; it is a Republic of twenty-five members which collectively exercise the supreme power."[20]

There is no doubt a certain element of truth in this contention. The Venezuelan Constitution, for instance, expressly provides that "the States which comprise the United States of Venezuela are autonomous and equal amongst themselves as political entities." In other Federal Constitutions equality of the constituent units is to be found in the matter of representation in the Federal Legislature. For instance, equality of representation in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature is a cardinal feature of the Federal Constitutions of Switzerland, the United States of America, Mexico, Venezuela, Argentine and Brazil. In all these cases each federating State is entitled to two seats in the Upper [illegible] except in Brazil and Venezuela where [illegible] seats have been allotted to each constitu[illegible] It is clear that in all these cases neither [illegible] population has been considered to be a [illegible] factor in determining the *quantum* of rep[illegible]tion. The presence of this feature [illegible] majority of the existing Federal Cons[illegible] does not however mean that equality [illegible] federating States is an essential chara[illegible] of Federation. On the contrary, in [illegible] Constitutions representation in the [illegible] Legislatures may be determined according [illegible] size, population, and political importance [illegible] constituent units, as in the case of Germ[illegible] Canada. Under the Indian Federati[illegible] presentation in the Upper House has bee[illegible] on several factors such as population, size [illegible] of guns, etc. For instance, the State of H[illegible]bad has five seats in the Upper House, [illegible] the States of Udaipur, Jaipur, and J[illegible] have each been allotted two seats.

Bryce has argued that the superim[illegible] of a central government over the author[illegible] the individual States is a fundamental [illegible]teristic of a Federation, which distingui[illegible] from a Confederation of States.

He says:

> "The acceptance of the Constitution [illegible] made the American people a nation. It [illegible] what had been a league of States into a Feder[illegible] by giving it a National Government with [illegible] authority over all citizens."[21]

There is an element of truth in this [illegible]tion, but the point of difference is not [illegible] significant character as it is merely a diff[illegible] of degree and not of quality. It is no [illegible] true that the central government in a Con[illegible]tion is not always of a highly org[illegible] character. It is equally true that the [illegible] government in a Federal Constitution em[illegible] every sphere of governmental activity. I[illegible] not, however, follow that if the central g[illegible]ment of a Confederation is fully organised [illegible] every point of view, it necessarily comes [illegible] the category of Federations. Take, for ins[illegible] the case of the Confederation of the So[illegible] States of America which possessed a co[illegible] organization of legislature, executive [illegible] judiciary. This, however, did not bring [illegible] Confederation under the category of F[illegible] States. Further, as Westerkamp remi[illegible] this argument merely points out the grav[illegible]

19. Von Holst, *Staatsrecht der Vereinigtenstaaten von Amerika*, at p. 12.

20. Borel, op. cit. at p. 139.

21. Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*. ch. IV.

22. Westerkamp, *Staatenbund und Bundes*[illegible] p. 452.

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equent defect of a Confederation that its entral power is incompletely organised, but oes not affect its juristic character.

Closely associated with this view is the rgument that a distinctive feature of a Federa- on lies in the fact that its central government invested with the authority to enforce its ecrees and orders directly against individuals ithout the intervention of the authorities of he federating units. On the other hand, the rinciple of mediatisation obtains in all Con- ederations; in other words, under a Confedera- ion there is no direct connection between the ndividual and the central power[23] Calvo, for nstance, argues that "that the essential haracteristic which distinguishes a Confedera- ion from a Federation of States resides in this hat in the former there does not exist a common xecutive authority which has the right to impose ts decrees in direct relationship with the sub- ects of the States."[24] It is true that a rovision of this character is to be found in ertain Federal Constitutions. In the American ederation, as Bryce points out, "the authority f the National Government over the citizens of very State is direct and immediate, not exerted hrough State organisation, and not requiring he co-operation of the State Government." rticle 7, sub-clause 3, of the Constitution of razil provides:

> "*Les lois de L'Union, les actes et sentences de ses authorites seront executes dans tout le pays par les fonctionnaires federaux.*" *

It is, however, submitted that this eature does not constitute a distinctive haracteristic of a Federation. Under a Federal onstitution the administration of Federal laws ay be left, within a restricted sphere, in the ands of the federating States; in such cases the ederal authorities will not come into direct re- lationship with the individual subjects of the tates. Thus, Article 11 of the Austrian Con- itution of 1929 expressly provides that whereas egislation in regard to certain specified subjects hall be federal, the administration of such ubjects shall vest exclusively in the Government f the units. Further, the central government n a Confederation may be invested with limited powers to act directly upon the subjects of the States, without the intervention of the State authorities. Such provisions will not, however, in any way affect the essential nature of a Confederation.

This leads us to the examination of a theory of Federation which has been enunciated in the judgment of the Privy Council in *The Attorney General for the Commonwealth of Australia* v. *Colonial Sugar Refining Co., Ltd.* (1914 A.C. 237) where Lord Haldane dealing with the question of Canada said:

> "With deference to a great many people who talk on platforms just now of the 'federal system,' in Canada there is no federal system. What happened was this: an Act was passed in 1867 which made a new start and divided certain powers of government, some being given to the Parliament of Canada, and some to the Parliament of the provinces. The provinces were created *de novo*. The provinces did not come together and make a federal arrangement under which they retained their existing powers and parted with certain of them and an Imperial Statute had got to ratify the bargain; on the contrary the whole vitality and ambit of the Canadian Constitution was a surrender, if you like, first, and then devolution. . . . . The meaning of a federal government is that a number of States come together and put certain of their powers into common custody, and that is the federal constitution in Australia, but in Canada not at all. . . . . The British North America Act of 1867 commences with a preamble that the then provinces have expressed their desire to be federally united into one dominion with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom. In a looce sense the word 'federal' may be used, as it is there used, to describe any arrangement under which self-contained States agree to delegate their powers to a common government with a view to entirely new constitutions even of the States themselves. But the natural and literal interpretation of the word confines its application to cases in which these States, while agreeing on a measure of delegation, yet in the main continue to preserve their original constitutions."

This pronouncement involves several fallacies. In the first place, it ignores the very important fact that a Federation may come into existence in two different ways. Sovereign and independent States may come together and make a federal arrangement in which they retain certain powers of sovereignty and surrender the rest of them to the newly constituted Federal Government, or, as in the case of the United States of America, they part with specified powers and retain the remainder. There is however another method whereby a unitary State may by virtue of a statute be transformed into a Federal State, as was the case in regard to the federal constitution of Mexico. Lord Haldane is therefore entirely inaccurate when he states that "the meaning of a Federal Government is that a number of States come together

23. Sidgwick, *Elements of Politics*, pp. 530, *et seq.* Jellinek, *Die Lehre vonden Staatenverbindungen;* Bruni- alti, *Unione e Combinazioni fra gli Stati;* Duguit, *Traite de Droit Constitutionnel*, at p. 124.

24. Valvo, *Le Droit Internazionale*, at p. 179. Harrison Moore, *The Commonwealth of Australia* p. 407. Scott, *The Canadian Constitution Historically Explained* p. 3.

* The laws of the Union, the acts and sentences of their authority shall be executed in all the countries by the federal officers.

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and put certain of their powers into common custody." He is clearly wrong when he propounds the view that the character of Federation depends on the manner and method of distribution of power. His argument is that since under the Canadian Constitution the powers of the constituent units are expressly enumerated, it does not therefore fall under the category of Federation. But as we have already seen, this argument is totally unsound both in theory and practice. Such a method of distribution does not vitiate the essential character of a Federation that it is an association of States which, by the surrender of certain portion of their sovereignty, constitute a new State. It has been already pointed out that Federation is a State as well as an association of States. As long as these characteristics remain unaffected, the method of distribution of power between the Federation and the federating units is of the least significance.

Federations must also be distinguished from decentralised unitary States. The component parts of a unitary State in which a system of decentralization has been adopted, enjoy and exercise certain specific and definite powers of governance but always subject to the control and supervision of the central government. Under a Federal Constitution, on the other hand, the constituent units exercise the powers of sovereignty allotted to them, unrestricted and uncontrolled by the central government, so long as they do not transgress the limitations placed on their competence by the Constitution. As Brunialti rightly remarks, "*nello Stato Federale molti uffici sono lasciati al gli Stati o Cantoni senza controllo, sino a che non escono dai limiti posti d'all constituzione.*" This distinction between decentralised unitary States and Federal States is clearly brought out in the judgment of the Privy Council in *Liquidators of the Maritime Bank of Canada* v. *The Receiver G of New Brunswick* (1892 A.C. at pp. 5 In dealing with the question of the Prov Canada their Lordships say:

> "The object of the British North-America A neither to weld the Provinces into one, nor ordinate Provincial Governments to a centr rity, but to create a Federal Government in they should all be represented, entrusted w exclusive administration of affairs in which th a common interest, each Province retain independence and autonomy. . . . . In so regards those matters which, by Section 9 specially reserved for provincial legislation, th lation of each province continues to be free the control of the Dominion, and as supreme was before the passing of the Act."

It is on this ground that the Union Africa must be classed as a unitary State not as a federation; for, under the Uni South Africa Act, the central legislat supreme, and can always over-ride pr cial ordinances. (*Middleberg Municipal Gertzen*, 1914 A.D. at p. 559).25

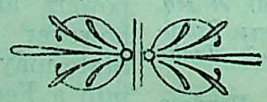
The foregoing examination of the prin of Federation leads us to the following co sions : Federation is a State as well as an as tion of States, its distinctive features being

(*a*) that the Federation itself is a stitutional and international and

(*b*) that its component parts retain character of State, and ex powers of sovereignty conferr them by the Constitution, indepe of the control of the Fe Government.

These features distinguish Federations Confederations of States on the one hand from unitary States on the other.

25. The contrary view held by certain Con jurists is not correct. See Durand, *op. cit.* p. 5.



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LABOUR IN JAMSHEDPUR—THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

By SUBHAS C. BOSE

President, Labour Association, Jamshedpur

The article from the pen of Mr. J. L. Keenan, the General Manager of the Tata Iron and Steel Works of Jamshedpur, in *The Modern Review* for December, 1935, is interesting for more reasons than one. It is interesting for the digressions from steel-making into the domain of historical and sociological research—interesting for the placid self-complacency which inspires the writer—interesting also for the many contradictions in which the article abounds.

A word about historical and sociological matters. When Mr. Keenan talks about steel-production, he is on solid ground and his self-confidence is an asset. When he digresses into the thorny domain of Ancient History or Sociology, his self-confidence becomes a handicap. Says Mr. Keenan:—"He (J. N. Tata) realized that India from the time of Manu was condemned to be a country of capitalists and slaves" (P. 705). It is a truism in economics that capitalism is a recent growth in consequence of the advent of large-scale production. How there could have been a capitalist order at the time of Manu and after, passes my comprehension. Even landlordism as we see it today in India is a recent growth. Further, even the state in ancient times did not amass wealth—the prevalent idea being that the state (whether monarchy or a republic) should give every thing to the people. A typical example of this was King Harshavardhana, who emptied his Royal treasury once in five years. Then Mr. Keenan goes on to say:—"He (Tata) knew that in India before his time the mere name of a labourer must be expressive of contempt" (P. 705). If Mr. Keenan has used the word "labourer" in the sense of artisan, he is mistaken. The artisans in the Indian village economy—whether carpenters or blacksmiths or potters—were never looked upon with contempt. They were indispensable elements of the village economy and their relations with the rest of the village population were perfectly friendly and cordial. Labourers in the sense of industrial proletariat are an excrescence of capitalism and not an Indian phenomenon as such. If labourers (industrial proletariat) are looked down upon in India, similar is the case in other countries. I have heard from Indian apprentices in European factories that the gulf which separates worksmen from officers in European factories is very wide. Mr. Keenan is also wrong when he goes on to say "that a labourer was actually forbidden to accumulate wealth and, though he was a slave, even if his master gave him freedom, he was still a slave" (P. 705). I wonder from where Mr. Keenan culled this valuable piece of information. We know, on the contrary, that in India low-born people often rose to the highest positions by dint of their personal qualities. If we investigate the past history of some of the present Maharajas and landed aristocrats, useful information can be collected in this connection. I may also point to examples like that of the alleged Kaivarta Kings of Bengal, who came from a so-called low stratum of society.

The distinction, between "Labour of Necessity" and "Labour of Progress" which Mr. Keenan has drawn is artificial and if I may say so, fantastic. Even in ancient times, all labour was not labour of necessity. People did not work only for hunger nor did they always get starvation wages. Most people worked partly because of hunger and partly because of the pleasure in working, and it is too much to say that labour in the good old days was always sweated. The huge monuments of art that still live—Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Taj Mahal, Madura, Kanarak—do they not represent labour of progress as well? It is true that industries in the old days did not pay huge dividends as they sometimes do now. But we have to remember that huge dividends are exclusively the product of the industrial revolution—that is of large-scale production. Moreover, this phenomenon of huge dividends can hardly be called an advantage or an achievement. Thinking men everywhere are now coming to admit that the evils resulting from industrial capitalism are due largely to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few and to abnormally large dividends which are gathered either at the cost of sweated labour or at the cost of the exploited consumer in colonial or semi-colonial countries.

Mr. Keenan transgresses the limits of decency when he refers to President Roosevelt "assisted by a group of asinine Professors" trying to find a way out of the present depression. I do not hold any brief for President Roosevelt nor does the noble President stand in need of it. But is there anyone who can deny that the biggest experiment to end unemployment and depression that is going on in the world today outside Russia is in the U. S. A.? I would refer the writer to the excellent treaties written by Mr. H. G. Wells, *The New America, in New World,* in which he discusses the American experiment and compares it with the Russian. Incidentally Mr. Wells refers therein to the question as to why President Roosevelt sought the help of some Professors, whom Mr. Keenan in his self-complacency calls "asinine." Possibly what has annoyed Mr. Keenan is that President Roosevelt is laying his hands on the large dividends with a view to dividing them, in part at least, among the exploited proletariat and that he (President Roosevelt) maintains that the employers should recognise organized trade-unions and treat them as equals.

Mr. Keenan is not only self-complacent, he is more. He says that "as far as making steel in India is concerned that Company (Tatas) has ended the depression in that trade and I think that Company should be proud of this fact" (P. 707). But let me ask Mr. Keenan what after all ending depression under a capitalist system means. It means finding more markets and also sufficient capital to keep a concern going until more markets are found. The huge bounties given by the Indian people through the Government of India in the lean years helped the Company to keep going until more markets or orders could be found. That the Company today is able to make more profits is due to two factors; firstly, the duties imposed on foreign—specially continental—steel which make it possible for the people to patronise Tatas and secondly the orders directly placed by the Government

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of India with the Tata Iron and Steel Company. It is therefore the people and the Government of India who are really responsible for ending the depression in the steel trade—if really it has ended. Mr. Keenan has not a word of thanks for either of them, though he congratulates the Company, and therefore himself, for the recent improvement.

I happen to know something about Tatas since September, 1928, and I should like to enquire if the Tata Iron and Steel Company would have been alive today but for the heavy state-bounties which kept the Company going during the lean years and provided the fat salaries for the covenanted officers at a time when thousands of workmen were thrown into the streets, without unemployment dole or insurance benefit. I should also like to enquire if the Company would have been able to end the depression, as the General Manager claims it has done, without the aid of the heavy duties levied on imported steel and without the sympathy and support of the public and the Government of India.

The confusion of thought which the writer shows in some places is pathetic and makes one wish that he would devote more attention to the study of economics than to history and sociology Here is a specimen of his reasoning :—"In 1929 and in 1930, our monthly staff with the exception of a few whom you could count on the fingers of two hands, were 'labourers of progress.' The Steel Company earned dividends last year and this Steel Company, rightly, paid their 'labourers of progress' a reward for their extra effort which they had put forth" (P. 707). A perusal of the above would lead one to think that the financial improvement of the Company was due to improvement in the work put forth by the employees in 1931 and after. The fact is that the financial improvement was due solely to the larger orders secured by Tatas as explained in the previous paragraph. If one were to go round and examine one employee after another, one would not find any difference between his work in 1929-30 and his work in 1931-33. I clearly remember that in 1929 and 1930 the General Manager used to complain of lack of orders which forced him to reduce wages—to order sweeping retrenchment and to shut down certain departments of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in Jamshedpur.

The writer remarks in one place as follows :—"At the present time, in my opinion, due to economic factors, the entire labour of the steel world, with the exception of the labour in the Tata Iron and Steel Company Ltd. have forgotten that they are 'Labour of Progress' and they are 'Labour of Necessity.' . . . . There is nobody in the United States of America today, in my opinion, at least in the ranks of labour, who are attempting to get out of the category of 'Labour of Necessity.' . . . . There is no doubt that each and everyone of us realise that we have had a depression from 1928 until 1933 in India. The same depression exists in other countries. The Tata Iron and Steel Company, in my estimation, is the only company in the steel trade which has advanced. . . . ." (Pp. 706-7).

The above statements would lead one to expect that Jamshedpur has become a paradise for steel-workers—an object lesson for steel companies in other parts of the world. But what are the facts? Earlier in the article the writer states that American steel workers are the best paid in the world. Quoting a report of the American Iron and Steel Institute dated the 30th January, 1935, the writer says :—"American workers . . . . earned an average of 64.7 cents an hour in November 1934. . . . . The Japanese wage rate was 9.7 cents per hour and in India 8.6 cents per hour in 1933." (The figures for European countries are in the neighbourhood of [illegible] per hour). If the average for India is one-eighth [illegible] of the United States for America and if the Tata [illegible] and Steel Company is by far the biggest steel [illegible] in India, I think the General Manager of Tatas [illegible] hang his head down in shame instead of indulging [illegible] meaningless bragging. That the writer was conscious [illegible] his Company's shortcomings when he first sat [illegible] write is clear from the following remarks on [illegible] "We think we are doing good work; we brag a[illegible] hospitals; we boast about our wages paid, but [illegible] stop to think and make a comparison between [illegible] Europe or America? I certainly can state that [illegible] not. . . . . We must compare the emoluments [illegible] our workmen with the wages that are paid in [illegible]

I shall now come to the more serious charges [illegible] can be levelled against the Tata Iron and Steel Co[illegible] These charges are under the following heads:

(1) Their attitude towards Indianisation [illegible]
(2) Their inefficiency in the matter of [illegible] wastage
(3) Their attitude towards Labour.

I should preface my remarks under the above [illegible] heads with the statement that the Directors of [illegible] always claim that theirs is a "national" industry [illegible] this ground they have taken the fullest advantage [illegible] sympathy of the unsophisticated public. But [illegible] presently show that Tatas' concern in Jamshed[illegible] much less "national" than even the texitile mill[illegible] Indian industrial magnates for whom "nationalis[illegible] "patriotism" is often a convenient excuse for [illegible] the public.

When the Steel Company was first started a[illegible] years ago, a large number of foreigners, mostly Am[illegible] and Britons, were appointed to the higher posts [illegible] covenant. They were given princely salaries [illegible] equally princely bonus—and I know of cases in [illegible] the bonus was even higher than the salary a[illegible] independent of production or profit. If I mista[illegible] the General Manager himself draws Rs. 10,000/- a[illegible] —equal to what the Governors of the major provi[illegible] India get. The public were given to understand [illegible] soon as a sufficient number of Indians would be [illegible] they would take the place of the covenanted [illegible] This promise has not been redeemed. Between [illegible] and 1931, we made repeated requests for Indian[illegible] but without much success. The position today is [illegible] many departments Indians are doing the same w[illegible] covenanted foreigners but at half or one-third th[illegible] emoluments enjoyed by the latter. Moreover, durin[illegible] period, when I was in close contact with the G[illegible] Manager, I complained that the contracts of [illegible] covenanted officers were being renewed for a [illegible] period, though there were competent Indians to tak[illegible] place—but to no purpose. If an impartial inves[illegible] were made today into the number of foreigners e[illegible] at Jamshedpur and the emoluments they draw—th[illegible] Iron and Steel Company would stand condemned.

Tata Iron and Steel Company is undoubtedly [illegible] big concern and therefore there should be very [illegible] supervision in order to prevent wastage. But [illegible] point, too, the situation is far from satisfactory [illegible] Directors are all absentees and have very little kn[illegible] of the inner working of the concern. They are a[illegible] men with several irons in their fire and have no [illegible] the desire or leisure to know more of the working [illegible] Jamshedpur machinery. The result is that the [illegible] working of the vast machinery is left in the ha[illegible] foreigners who have no responsibility to anyone [illegible] the absentee Board which is entirely under their [illegible]

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first realized the helplessness of the Board when I had discuss the terms of settlement on behalf of the strikers September, 1928. If on any point the General Manager id "yes," the Board would nod consent. If, on the ntrary, the General Manager said "no"—it was also no" for the Board. That a settlement did take place ter all was due to the fact that the then General anager, Mr. Alexander, felt disposed to welcome it. Not ng after this settlement, I once suggested to the Chairman f the Board of Directors that he and the Board should ave more contact with the workmen and for that purpose, would be good for him to go round the works without eing chaperoned by the Company's officials. The Chairman seemed agreeable to my proposal but my suggestion ould not be given effect to, because the General Manager was opposed to it. Nevertheless, the Board began to ealise their position, I think, because not long after hat, they sent one of the Directors to Jamshedpur—nd later on to Calcutta—to act as a liaison-officer etween the Board and the Management. Since his ppointment, there has been some administrative tightening-up in Jamshedpur. And in Calcutta and elsewhere most of the papers have been won over with the help of advertisements, with the result that today one finds very little criticism of Tata Iron and Steel Company in he nationalist press. But the real trouble—*viz.*, Wastage nd inefficiency—continues. The above-mentioned Director s an ex-I.C.S. and an able administrator—but he lacks echnical knowledge without which it is impossible to orce the hands of the Management. One of the results f this is that in the matter of Indianisation the progress o far made has been unsatisfactory. There are any umber of covenanted officers whose places could easily e filled up by competent Indians, at a much lower rate f pay. I have quoted above the average Indian wage-ate as being 8.6 cents per hour for the year 1933. But f we exclude the highly paid foreigners, there can be no oubt that the average would fall much lower.

The top-heavy administration represents, however, a mall item in the wastage that has been going on in amshedpur. If one would go over the stores department nd see the amount of capital lying uselessly idle there nd would also examine the annual orders that are sent ut for machinery, spare parts, etc., one would have some dea of the wastage that goes on in Jamshedpur. About 7 or 8 years ago, the services of the Indian Chief Electrical Engineer—one of the most popular officers of the Company—were suddenly dispensed with and a foreigner was imported in his place. Then followed a period during which wastage took place in the Electrical Department owing to faulty and unscientific methods of handling. Fuel-consumption is another important source of wastage. For a huge concern like Tata Iron and Steel Company, it is absolutely necessary to make use of the latest scientific devices for reducing fuel-consumption and also to carry on continuous research in this matter. But Tata Iron and Steel Company are backward in this respect. It is because of wastage combined with top-heavy administration that the Tata Iron and Steel Company cannot stand on its own legs and must always depend on the state for either bounties or protective duties. In a country where labour is so cheap, any well-organized steel concern should be able to maintain itself without being spoon-fed by the state. There are independent concerns in Jamshedpur which buy raw materials like scrap-iron (or electrical power) from Tatas and make a profit out of their products, only because they avoid wastage and top-heavy administration.

The last—and to our purpose the most important point to which I shall refer is the attitude of the Tata Iron and Steel Company towards labour. The first trade union was organized in Jamshedpur in 1920 and by that time so many grievances had accumulated that the years 1921-22 witnessed serious labour-trouble there. About this time, the late Deshbandhu C. R. Das's sympathy was drawn towards the Jamshedpur workers and as long as he was alive, he gave them the fullest support. But this support was of no avail until the Swaraj Party emerged as the most powerful element in the Indian Legislative Assembly in the 1923 elections. Deshbandhu Das was joined by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru and Tatas then found it necessary to come to terms with these nationalist leaders because the Assembly would soon consider the question of a state-bounty for Tata Iron and Steel Company. Tatas then agreed to recognize the trade union (called the Labour Association), to collect the union subscription on pay-day and generally to ameliorate the condition of the workers. For some time, the position of the workers saw a decided improvement but after the death of the Deshbandhu, things began to grow worse again. Deshbandhu's place was taken by Mr. C. F. Andrews who kept the flag flying with the moral support of the Congress Party in the Assembly—but the unsympathetic and callous behaviour of the Company's officials led to a serious strike in 1928. Since then the Company's attitude towards labour has been one which would be worthy not of a "national" industry but of the worst bureaucratic Government. My connection with Jamshedpur labour began in August 1928, when the strikers and their leader, Mr. Homi, put irressistible pressure on me to espouse their cause. When the Company found themselves in a very difficult situation as a result of my joining the strikers, they agreed to accept the demand of the workers but only on condition that the Company did not have to negotiate with Mr. Homi, against whom personally they said they had many grievances. Mr. Homi at first agreed to stand out if a settlement helpful to the workers could be arrived at thereby. But when the settlement was actually drawn up and ratified by the workers at a mass-meeting, he changed his mind and set up a new organization to oppose the settlement. Soon after the settlement the Company refused to give effect to some of the important terms, as a result of which a large number of the workers went over to Mr. Homi's party. For a few months the Company refused to recognize Mr. Homi's organization but one fine morning their tactics were changed. Their erstwhile enemy Mr. Homi was invited by the General Manager and his organization was recognized. The old organization, Labour Association, was ignored and those who had drawn up the settlement and had stood loyally by it were left alone. After some time the scene changed once again. Prosecution was launched against Mr. Homi under various charges, and he found himself in prison. With the disappearance of Mr. Homi, his organization became a shut-up shop. The withdrawal of the Congress Party from the Assembly in January, 1930, led to a definite stiffening of the Company's attitude towards the workers. After Mr. Homi's imprisonment, whenever a worker's meeting was held, a band of goondas armed with sticks and other weapons would appear on the scene and break up the meeting by force. In 1931, I was presiding at such a meeting which was broken up in this way and I can therefore speak from personal experience. This situation continued for some years and even in 1934, things were so bad in Jamshedpur that during a visit to that town, Mahatma Gandhi was constrained to remark in a public meeting that he was "grieved to learn that the issues between the employers and the employed were being settled at the point of the lathi." It can be alleged on behalf of the workers that

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since 1930, the Company has been following a ruthless policy towards them. Recognition was withdrawn from both the workers' organizations—the collection of subscriptions on pay-day was discontinued and employees connected with the trade-union movement were either victimised or transferred to places far away from Jamshedpur. In January, 1934, when the local Government officials in Jamshedpur prosecuted a gang of about 40 goondas, high officials of Tatas were found to take interest in the affair for settling the matter out of court. The climax was reached in 1935, when the Company served a notice on the Labour Association demanding arrears of rent for 4 years for the premises used by the Secretary and by the office—though 4 years ago, a clear understanding had been arrived at between me and the Managing Director, Mr. Dalal, that the Company would waive their claim for rent. The Company thought that the Association would not be able to pay and could thereupon be ejected and since all the houses in Jamshedpur are virtually owned by the Company, the Association would cease to exist for want of a habitation. The Secretary of the Association went so far as to offer to pay rent in future and also to pay the arrears by instalments—but the Company refused to accept any compromise, proving thereby that what they really wanted was not rent, but the liquidation of the trade-union organization in Jamshedpur.

The Company were going on merrily with their game when suddenly the Congress Party decided once again to enter the Indian Legislative Assembly. The Company knew from experience that two or three M. L. A.s were in the habit of raising inconvenient questions about their treatment of labour and they felt it advisable to change their tactics once again. A new group called the Metal Workers' Union, thereupon came into existence under the Company's patronage and the workmen in the factories were advised by the officials to join this group. This group is still in the good books of the Company, and one of its principal activities is to give tea-parties to Government and Company officials and to wait on deputation on the General Manager. The object of this new policy on the part of the Company is to show to critics in the Assembly and elsewhere that Tata Iron and Steel Company do not suppress all trade-union activity.

I have dealt at length on the attitude of the Company towards organized labour and shall now say a few words about their treatment of the individual workers. I have before me a printed copy of the memorandum submitted by the Metal Workers' Union (which in Jamshedpur is called a "'Company's Union") to the General Manager which contains the following remarks:

"The service conditions of the majority of the workers employed in the Tata Iron and Steel Company are not sound as many of them are given notices of discharge, compulsory leave etc., without sufficient consideration. For example, the workers of the old Rolling Mills who have long service with the Company and who have contributed towards bringing the Company to the present position it occupies among its sister industries . . . . are laid off on compulsory leave. . . . .

The Company recently started a policy of employing men "temporary" and it is interesting to note that this "temporary" has no limited period. Cases of such men who have put in more than two years of service are not uncommon. By this, the Company is able to save a good deal by non-payment of bonuses and non-extension of privileges according to Works Service Rules, Provident Fund, etc., which can be enjoyed only by permanent employees. . . . .

Suspension of a worker from his duty extending to weeks is common. In spite of several rul[illegible] Management to afford a chance to the worker [illegible] a charge brought against him, the rules are [illegible] followed in several cases or prompt attenti[illegible] paid to the explanation submited by the pa[illegible] Similar remarks would apply to such other [illegible] punishments such as reduction of salaries. . . .

There is no regular system by which emp[illegible] get promotions and increments in their wages. [illegible] time past it has become a policy of the Co[illegible] abolish as far as practicable higher rated p[illegible] vacant and lower rated men are made to und[illegible] extra work without adequate compensation. . . .

While we appreciate the spirit of enc[illegible] underlying the Bonus schemes, we feel it [illegible] restricted only to some workers. Then again a [illegible] has been made between Operating and Ma[illegible] Department in respect of Departmental bonuses. [illegible]

The system of weekly paid labour was i[illegible] when the Company was in need of men to [illegible] seasonal work. But for some time past we fin[illegible] labour is employed in permanent force in certai[illegible] ments whose total number at Jamshedpur comes [illegible] 5000 (including both male and female labour) th[illegible] ing about 20 per cent of the total number of e[illegible] Most of such employees have already put in [illegible] over 5 years. *Most of such weekly paid labo[illegible] rates varying from 5 annas to 8 annas per day.* [illegible] ing to the following statistics showing the mini[illegible] expenditure for a family of 5 members as show[illegible] Report of the Royal Commission on Labour, it [illegible] clear that the cost of living at Jamshedpur is [illegible] higher than that of the two places quoted—Shol[illegible] Ahmedabad. . . . ." (Then follows the statistics [illegible] that the monthly expenses in Sholapur come [illegible] Rs. 37-13-11 and in Ahmedabad to Rs. 39-5-8. B[illegible] Jamshedpur workers get a daily wage varyi[illegible] 5 annas to 8 annas).

In view of the above statements made—not [illegible] headed agitators—but by a loyal "Company's [illegible] may I ask Mr. Keenan how many "labourers of p[illegible] there are in Jamshedpur? I am afraid that e[illegible] the General Manager and the covenanted offic[illegible] few Indian employees could be classified as "la[illegible] of progress."

The only portion of the article for which I fee[illegible] ful is where the writer refers to the appalling c[illegible] of the workers in the Tata Mines. I do hope th[illegible] the sympathy of Mrs. Keenan behind him, the [illegible] Manager will be able to bring about an increase [illegible] wages of the poor mine-workers.

The writer has evidently referred to the [illegible] mines only. But what about the coal mines? [illegible] years ago when I was working as the President [illegible] Tata Collieries Labour Association I happened [illegible] into the conditions in the Tata coal mines. [illegible] time some mines were being closed down and th[illegible] of workers were being thrown out of employme[illegible] naturally wanted the mines to continue working. [illegible] arguments were urged by the Company in oppo[illegible] our demand—firstly, that the Company had [illegible] contracts with some collieries and after taking this [illegible] the Company did not require an additional supp[illegible] their own mines and secondly, that the cost of [illegible] tion in the Company's mines was rather higher [illegible] pared with the prevailing market-rate. It is diffi[illegible] an outsider to understand why the Company w[illegible] for long-term unprofitable contracts and at the sa[illegible] invested capital in buying collieries. Firstly, it was [illegible] to go in for long-term unprofitable contracts. Se[illegible]

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they did go in for them, they should not have bought y collieries. Thirdly, once they started working these llieries, they should not have shut down—because it sts a lot of money to keep mines in proper order when ey are not working. Fourthly, there is no reason why ey should have had a top-heavy administration in the ollieries Department also—and thereby put up the cost production. The result of all this inefficiency is that e people and the state have to pay for the sins of the ompany and the Indian workers have to be content ith low wages.

If Tata's employees at Jamshedpur are to become "Labourers of Progress" then the top-heavy administration has to be rectified, the covenanted officers have to be got rid of and wastage and inefficiency have to be eliminated. The paltry bonus thrown at a section of the ill-paid Indian employees for their last year's work does not appreciably alter the position of the workers in Jamshedpur nor does it entitle the Company to claim that they are better employers of labour than any other company in India.

Vienna, 31st Dec., 1935.

SUFISM IN SIND

By T. L. MANGHERMALANI

HE greatest poet of Sind, Shah Abdul Latif, as a Sufi. The famous Hindu poet of the untry, Bhai Dalpatrai, was a Sufi. The reatest King of mediaeval India, Akbar, was Sufi and was born in Sind. His chief advisers, aizi and Abul Fazl, were Sindis and Sufis. ufism has appealed powerfully to both the indu and the Muslim of the province, and hy?

Sufism is mysticism, and germs of mysticism ere latent in Islam. They rapidly developed the two centuries following the Prophet's eath, and by the middle of the tenth century D. Sufism was fast becoming an organized ystem. During the next two hundred years arious manuals of Sufi theory and practice ere compiled. It only remained to provide ufism with a metaphysical basis and to recon- ile it with orthodox Islam, and this was done y Ghazali.

What is its scripture? It condemns harisaism and lip-worship in religion, sanctimonious mummery and hypocritical observances. t rejects forms, fossilised piety and stereotyped irtue, and is "against that mental and moral isease which kills the *spirit* of the *letter* and eeds on the dry husks of doctrine." It inculcates purity of heart and purity of action, aughs at propitiatory bribes, ridicules the retensions of the priesthood, and exposes their ices. So far the Sufi is simply a moralist, but e goes further. He attempts to enunciate a ysticism which should satisfy 'blank misgivings' and gropings in the dark after the bsolute, and his method to secure it is *Shareeat, areekat, Hakeekat* and *Mairfat, i.e.,* abiding y the law, walking in the ways of God, living n God, and knowing God. But how is God to be known? By faith and ecstacy. And how is ecstasy to be obtained? By Music, by adoration of Beauty, by Dialectic, by Prayer, and by Love. True human love leads to the realization of the Divine Bliss, and there is a beautiful story to illustrate it.

> The Shah (Shah Abdul Lalif), while wandering one day in a jungle, came across a comely but pale and emaciated *Fakir*, who kept on uttering, "*Jhal Fakir, Hal Fakir*" (Take it, Oh *Fakir*, and go, Oh *Fakir*). The Shah inquired what these mysterious words meant. But the *Fakir* refused to answer unless the Shah promised to assist him in the fruition of his object. "If you help me," said he, "to accomplish my end, I shall get you a *Burat*" (a letter of salvation). The Shah gave the requisite promise and then the *Fakir* told him that several months ago some people had encamped in that jungle for a few days, that whenever he went to beg from them a beautiful girl, all innocence, purity and modesty, used to come out with a handful of flour and utter the words which had excited the Shah's curiosity, that after some days these people moved their camp, and that ever afterwards he was perfectly disconsolate and thought of nothing but his sweet almoner and the dear words with which she used to greet him. The Shah, touched by this story, took the *Fakir* with him and having an extraordinary knowledge of nomad tribes, succeeded in tracing the little party to which the girl belonged. Fortunately these people were very warm admirers of his poetry and vied with one another in offering him their hospitality and their services. The Shah simply asked for a little hut and desired her father to send her alone to wait on him. The Shah was a *Sayed* and a saint and . . . . the request was unhesitatingly complied with. The girl was accordingly sent to the Shah, but as soon as she entered the hut her eyes met those of the *Fakir*, a magnetic glance seemed to pass between them, the long choked passion asserted its mastery, and in its flow exhausted the vitality of both.

Death restored them to the Great Unity. Did the Shah get the promised *Burat?* He says he did.

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This is Sufism.

That the creed should flourish in Sind, and probably more in it than in any other part of India, is due to a variety of causes. It is not opposed to Islam and seventy-five per cent of the population belong to that faith. It also owes in no little way its support from that community to the presence in it of a strong Arab element. The Arab conquered Sind, the rest of India was conquered by the Turk. For nearly three hundred years Sind remained subject to the Arab Caliphs before it came under the control of Delhi. And it was not the Arab, who believed in the Sufic virtue of toleration, but the Turk, a cruel fanatic, who became responsible for the Sindi Hindu's subsequent degrading thraldom. There is yet another reason why the Muslim kept alive his Sufic sympathy and that was his active connection with the Persian literature. That portion of it which is associated with the names of Shams Tabreez, Jalal-ud-din Rumi, Nasir-ud-din Toosi, Attar, Hafiz and Hatif represented Sufism in its highest and grandest quality, and it could not fail to leave permanent effect on the minds of its readers.

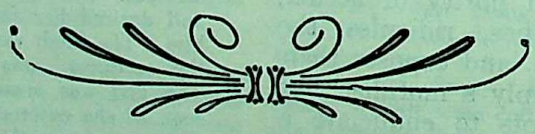
How did the Hindu come to admire it? It has often been remarked that Sufism is based on the *Vedanta* philosophy, but there is no evidence for it. There is however enough evidence to establish that the ideas and similes of Sufism agree in no small degree with the ideas and similes of *Yogic* doctrine and discipline. Is it on account of the influence of Buddhism on Sufism? Influences outside Islam made themselves felt in the evolution of Sufism and its use of rosaries, its doctrine of *fana*, and its system of 'stations' (*maqamat*) on the road thereto, are Buddhistic in origin. Buddhism in Sufism must also have been brought to active life when it came into contact with Buddhism in Sind, for the country had accepted that religion Asoka, 272-232 B.C. And Buddhi Hinduism have much in common betwee

Other considerations to explain the are:—

1. The Hindu mind is essentially tive and idealistic and the Sufi's "movin in worlds not realized" has great attrac him.

2. Hindu Sind during the Muslim was not a citadel of orthodoxy. They a homogeneous collection of people, the not indigenous to the soil—practically natives had been won over to the religion ruler—they were a racial mixture compo immigrants from the adjoining province left their homes in search of employment escape the persecution of the later M Nor were the differences only ethnological were also separated by social, linguisti religious divisions. Consequently their could have none of the tenacity of o Hinduism and a characteristic of its dec the valley of the Indus was complete ign of the Sind Hindus of Sanskrit, the k accessibility to their sacred lore. Moreov precarious position they held in a s where they could be tolerated only in p tion to their acceding to the custom of masters also necessitated trimming of ecclesiastical rigidity.

3. Lastly, to count the effect upon the H of *Nanakism*, *Darya-Panth* and other creeds that, in the absence of a conser spiritual exercise, captured his mind and his higher life, these movements like S saw no distinction between a Muslim a Hindu and sought to establish a close re between them.



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ADVENTURES OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY IN AMERICA

By B. K. BAGCHI, Ph.D.

Nations like individuals play in the hands of forces which we are often unsuccessful in tracing to their dim beginning or following to their final sweep. We note incidents but not the underlying causes. Psychological and biological needs and urges are buried out of sight, and history becomes just a concatenation of events and personal biases in regard to them. India and America which have no direct political tie between them have nevertheless been for the last forty years or more unofficially exchanging conceptual salutes or verbal brick-bats. Is it possible to make a fact-finding, unprejudiced study of the contact of these two nations, their thoughts, and their personalities? To untangle the complexities of contacts of these two diametrically opposite national units with a view to recommending social or political reform is beyond the purview of this article. We will only inquire about the strong impact of the Eastern thought upon America and its result.

Background

When Anquetil Duperron first introduced the *Upanishads* into Europe in 1775 he did not know that he was blazing a trail which many were to follow. A long line of philosophers and scholars from Schopenhauer to Maxmuller were engaged for about a century in puzzling out the religious philosophies of India, and in some instances adopting their concepts. But this did not mean anything to the common man in Europe or in America. America was too busy setting her own house in order and pioneering over the prairies and arid lands of the middle west and the west. People were satisfied with denominationalism and puritanical traditions, and to them India was just a country in the world atlas.

Intellectual placidity first of Europe and then of America was disturbed by Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 and *Descent of Man* in 1871. His doctrine of evolution, which revealed the cogency of the idea of gradual growth and traced human ancestry to lower species, was a veritable lightning. Lightning shocks and gives light. The theory of evolution shocked the ecclesiastics and gave light to the liberal intellectuals, who welcomed the genetic study as an open sesame to numerous scientific problems. There were thunderous protests from every side, and gradually there was a regular downpour from geology, archæology, comparative anatomy and physiology, piling up evidences in favour of some phases of Darwin's theory. Thus a doubt was cast on the Biblical idea of creation of man occurring one fine morning. The common folks were confused but not yet upset. They had other compensations and consolations from Christianity.

About this time another leaven from another direction was contributing its strength to the intellectual ferment in the few. Emerson, the head of the New England School of Transcendentalism, who absorbed more than any other man in America the spirit of Indian philosophy, sought common grounds for Greek and Indian thought. His mysticism and liberalism were too much for the church, so he gracefully withdrew from it. He translated verses and incorporated thoughts from the *Gita*, and his emphasis was on the values of life and his Over-soul was no other than the Indian Brahma. Hawthorne, Thoreau and an insignificant minority followed him, but not the masses. For the masses the school made no pragmatic gesture; it was too deep.

As decades flew by science and industrialism were slowly doing their work and Transcendentalism was adding its quota. There was an unrest with the old and a reaching out for the new. This is an embryo out of which liberalism is often hatched. People were gradually waking up to the fact that science and the church were not getting along very well. The conflicts between them in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were creating intellectual, emotional and practical confusion. Out of this confusion arose many cults.

Christian Science and Spiritualism

One of such cults was Christian Science. A child of Mrs. Eddy who borrowed heavily from Vedantic thought and forgot later on to acknowledge her debt, it was in its swaddling clothes at that time, being organized in 1879. Christian Science emphasized the spiritual healing of the sick which the church neglected and denied matter which the doctors strongly affirmed. Today Christian Science is one of

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the most prosperous churches. The secret of its power lies in the strength of its organization and the practice of spiritual healing. Then there was Spiritualism. It was gaining followers by the hundreds in the last half of the nineteenth century. It was born in America of the Fox sisters but its umbilical cord stretched away out in the Near and Far East. Spiritualism gave consolatory evidence of life after death which the church only assumed and enlisted several great scientists' allegiance which the scientific world could not understand. There was a fog in the air. Some sort of light was welcome. America was ready to receive India. Was the orthodox church or the semi-orthodox cults right?

Swami Vivekananda

At this time was held the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, organized by persons of denominational thinking with a dash of democracy and liberalism. Protap Chandra Mazoomdar of the *Brahma Samaj* came and gave his brilliant papers. Swami Vivekananda also came there and astounded the Parliament with his tolerance and breadth of knowledge. He spoke before enthusiastic audiences in various parts of America. The average American admired the man but did not understand much of what he was talking about. His philosophy was brilliant but totally new to them. His personality was over-powering but other-worldly. American intellectuals bowed to his logic and to Indian philosophies and the Indian mind. Chairs in Sanskrit and oriental philosophy sprang up in several American universities. Josiah Royce of Harvard delivered his well-known lectures at Edinburgh (1900-1901) on *The World and the Individual* and gave quite a space to the *Upanishads*. William James also delivered his famous Gifford lectures (1901-1902), later published under the title of *Varieties of Religious Experience*, the first systematic work of the psychology of religion, in which he treated of Vivekananda's philosophy and Indian mysticism. His *Pragmatism* also contains references to Vivekananda.

Vivekananda threw out hints that revealed directly or indirectly to the confused thinking minds of America the stand of true India on certain philosophic and religious questions. Emersonian transcendentalism is right; practical realization of the divinity of man is possible; reincarnation is logical; without renunciation peace is impossible; orthodoxy is dangerous; hell-fire religion is insulting to man and God; religion does not bar science but reason is subordinate to intuition; evolution occurs w lowering man's dignity or God's greatne evolution is a spiritual process, it is the r of involution and a gradual manifestati the formless Spirit first through simple through higher forms and species; salvati proxy is unthinkable; it is self-illumin Yoga and meditation are necessary; ma *maya*, an appearance, though not empi non-existent; search for consolation th spiritualistic phenomena is a make- Vivekananda came as a meteor and went meteor. He gave no inflexible method no sparkling panacea. American intellig rejoiced to see the pure form of mys from India. It was a wave that brought sort of release to a few tradition-b American minds. The rest of the populace left untouched. Christian Science, Spiritu and every kind of 'ism' flourished a millions to their membership and ho meetings and seances for "demonstration" spirit return. Of course there was also orthodox Christianity.

As years rolled on people turned to I for what they wanted out of Indian philos Swami Abhedananda and others followed S Vivekananda and had appreciative audie Today there are a few Ramkrishna mi Swamis here and there in America prea renunciation to several dozen followers practicing aloofness and monasticism. T universal religion with their prophet-wor ping emphasis does nobody serious harm rather brings consolation and intelle liberation to those who understand it. Bu religious and social problems of America teachings do not touch. They cannot m nor are they supposed to be in any kin business, according to their teachings. Mar and economics, two pressing questions America, they cannot advise on, except indi ly and philosophically. The service ele of the Indian Ramkrishna mission is practi non-existent in America. Certain "es mechanism" that is present in some phas Indian religion is unintentionally impo The Vedanta does not receive its modern I pretation or modern emphasis. It is not naturalized in the American soil. (Isn't n alization possible without the sacrifice essence?) The latest discoveries of science Indian contribution to it, past or present no astute critic or interpreter among the Swa The religion of the monastery has subordin the religion of active life of men among Nevertheless people claim they derive spir and philosophical benefit from the organiz

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and its many publications, and they admire its non-commercial character.

As far as the average American is concerned the *Adwaita Vedanta* is at a disadvantage. It talks of no cure or consolation, but of self-realization and communion. Its appeal is intellectual, its discipline soldierly. It exacts a price that the masses are not yet temperamentally or traditionally ready to pay. So when they grow somewhat weary of personalistic emphasis and salvation blueprints of existing religions they lean towards cure schemes of cults in case of their ill-health or otherwise dabble in the abstract if it looks radiant, soothing, and non-demanding. As for "mystic communion" it is only recently that it is coming back on all fours to the Protestant church through the concept of "religious experience" partly as a consequence of cultus pressure. And in the offing there are many writers who have not aligned themselves with either of the above disciplines but who are using a great deal of eastern themes and literature material, not exactly Vedantic.

New Thought

Now that India is open to America, we find that another class of Americans is working Indian thought to a sweat. New Thoughters and Unity followers who evidently number millions and count amongst them many a brilliant man, have found their spiritual legacies from Emerson, Christian Science, R. V. Trine, liberal Christianity, India and individual leaders. They read an *adhyatmic* meaning into every corner of the Christian Bible. They meditate on the soul and the Over-soul to attract money, health, and happiness. They have what they call prosperity meetings by the thousand all over the country where they sit and visualize prosperity in the "cosmic," and millions of absent treatments per week for healing are sent out through the air. They like to harness and goad the Soul to run errands for them. The Indian idea of the divinity of man fits in pretty well with the demands of American individualism. Thus the self-culture phase of Indian thought is almost cast in the shade. Yet New Thoughters and Unity men are happy-go-lucky, hard-working beings whom William James would call "tender minded." They are optimistic, devout, and liberal in their way.

Theosophy

Many of those who do not regard Krishnamurti as a Messiah nevertheless admire his courage for breaking away from Theosophic institutionalism and for teaching a type of philosophy that has the simplicity of early Buddhistic religion, transcendentalism of Vedanta without its terminology and quiet iconoclasm of religious forms and formulas. It is an emphasis on individual growth, typical of Indian philosophy, and inspite of its evasiveness and negativism it is bringing a point home to many of the occultism-ridden Theosophists. It is the point of self-purification without institutional mechanics or methodology. The followers of Theosophy, a mixture of eastern and western thought, are many, and notwithstanding the difference of opinion over Krishnamurti's inauguration as the World Teacher, the memory of the strength and sincerity of that grand old woman, Mrs. Besant, is treasured alike in the hearts of Theosophists and non-Theosophists.

Yogi Liberators

Turning now to another phase of the inquiry we notice that certain post-war adventures of Indian thought in America have a distinct stamp of post-war hysterics and are creating quite a problem. It is not entirely the fault of the Hindus. Americans and Hindus have disturbing problems arising out of their contact. We will confine ourselves only to the one that is connected with the religious situation. This situation, resented by the Americans themselves, especially the better type of Americans, ought to make the thoughtful Hindus hang their heads in shame. Indians in India become elated over the world-evangelizing power of Hinduism, but they often do not know who the Hindu evangels are in this country and how they are evangelizing.

A great many Americans have gone wild over three things, (1) techniques that are supposed to control or predict one's destiny, (2) short-cut mental therapeutics, (3) physical and beauty culture. All these are pragmatically important. These are the by-products of a civilization that produces too much tenseness, too much haste, and too much leisure, that resents human and natural handicaps and wants to accomplish and conquer. Here are tied up in a knot psychological and biological urges and momenta. And it is here that the Hindus have recently brought their so-called religious aid.

In every city of America with over fifty to one hundred thousand people (probably excluding some sections of the South) there are dozens, even hundreds, of weird-looking, soft-tongued palmists, fortune-tellers, psychics, occultists who claim their philosophical and occult heritage from the Far East and the Near East, especially India, through the medium of

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translated books or mystics or so-called Swamis or Yogis parading in this country. These psychics, Hindus or non-Hindus, ply a brisk trade in shady booths, comfortable salons or show places capitalizing particularly on the name of India. The report of the missionaries who preach hell-fire and call India a land of heathenism, snake-charming and mystery-mongering seems to be corroborated in the missionaries' own land by the vulgarity of the whole affair, if not by the particular acts and pretensions of these psychics. Americans with sense do not, of course, fall for them; they do wonder what can be done about it. Is this India? They already have enough paganism to battle with in this country.

The greatest tragedy, however, does not come from these psychics but from those whom they consider as older brethren in the trade. They are the Swamis, Yogis, Rishis or free-lance lecturers and liberators at large. They are "intellectuals;" sometimes they have a degree or two from some universities. They have a facile tongue, pretentious idealism, cunning manners, orange robes and sometimes long hair. From the platform they either shriek, swaer and scold, or orate, chant and mystify. If different, they posit just a saintly 'halo.' Probably they represent some tiny religious organization of India; sometimes they are self-styled presidents of their own organization. They have adopted the high-powered salesmanship of American business to boost their course of philosophic and religious teaching to spiritually hungry and nervously sick American men and women, mostly women, using such bait phrases as "marvellous illumination," "instantaneous healing," "God-consciousness," and charging each from 25 to 100 dollars for their courses of lessons. They hire halls at different cities, give free lectures for a week or so lauding their courses to the skies and yet cleverly phrasing their promises so as not to get into legal complications with the government. Then people pay cold cash for one course after another on calisthenic exercises to super-advanced metaphysics, *pranic* physical culture to highest vibratory healing. At the end of a month or a year a few of them revolt for being cheated, a few think they have received benefit because they have paid for it, a few keep quiet for their foolishness, and a few "loyal" souls carry on the banner because they feel they have got what they have been looking for for years. The master Swami (we wonder whence the adjective master sprang) or the liberator after a stay of a month or so moves on to conquer new territory leaving somebody in charge of the old. Their students run from 30 to 1500 in n netting the *guru* from six hundred to tw five thousand dollars in each place. An shrewd American sighs, "Another racket!"

These *gurus* claim they represent the illumined masters of India and have superc powers to bestow miraculous blessings. neurotics or the dissatisfied swallow these whole and worship the Swami as the lord above. The anachronism of guruship is more riduculous by the first subtle and imperious way some of the Swamis exert superiority over their students in a land has a democratic tradition. The students impressed with the necessity for submission obedience if they are to attain God-consc ness and alas! sometimes it is many m before they realize the real significance of injunction.

The Swami has an eager eye for news publicity but he would rather not take co such mundane matters himself. He lets advance agent do that for him when a territory is invaded. Of course, lesser Sw cannot afford the luxury of a five to thousand-dollar-a-year advance agent. T agents procure a list of wealthy men and wo especially widows, and the Swami worms way into their confidences to relieve the their earthly treasure in exchange for spi blessings. Sometimes his students in famous personages, such as symphony orch conductors, opera singers, society matrons doctors from whom he manages to get monials when the lessons are fresh and li their minds because of the magic presence the divine savant. A few of these he se for closer association, and let none be so spiritual as to think that this association anything to do with soaking up their pres The testimonials are printed in the free li ture and the magazine of the Swamis, and unenquiring Indian and American public claims, "What a man!" The truth of matter is that Americans are, as a rule, sportsmen, they are noble, they admire In philosophies, especially if they are pres by charming, magnetic personalities in forceful manner, but they are too busy enquire into the subtleties of these per alities. And the Indian people, ruled and pressed by a foreign nation, and not kno the truth about these preachers of philos from a distance, gets a compensatory satis tion when members of another foreign n lend even half an ear to their philosophy impart it as much as a faint shadow recognition.

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Some one may inquire, aren't these people ng some good? Yes, but that depends upon questioner's viewpoint, and upon whether not he likes to see cultural values deliber- ly mangled by them in the process. In the me of Indian teachings, in the name of found- big organizations for the glory of the Hindu e and adapting Indian philosophy to erican life (which some of these teachers unt as their chief motives in life) Indian ilosophy is certainly vulgarized and dragged the mud. Privately some of the lesser Yogis d teachers—especially those who have passed e stage of fooling themselves—are perfectly nk about it. But they say, "What can we ? Americans have shut off all sources of come from us beyond the level of unskilled bour—and even that is often inaccessible— cause we are foreigners. We have to live!" hus economics enter into religion.

From Tagore to a certain Swami was an cruciating contrast and disappointment to ose Americans who have heard and known th. Their souls sank, so they remained ent. Tagore through his writing and his per- nality, through his philosphic æstheticism and rical expression, through his quiet independ- ce, broad vision and deep humanity has been shrined in the hearts of lovers of letters and ekers of freedom. His books have been an spiration to thousands and thousands of those o are looking for a non-sectarian philosophy life. There may be assumptions in it with hich the Westerners may not be familiar, but s sublimity and delicate beauty have lifted em high from the commonplace. Tagore ould not make any concession to the jangling the American pragmatic instinct of the street. o a powerful Swami had to do it and give a gh finish to the job of bringing the East and he West together—

> "'"And every body praised the duke
> Who this great fight did win."
> "But what good came of it at last?"
> Quoth little Peterkin.
> "Why, that I cannot tell," said he
> "But 'twas a famous victory."'"

Outcome

What is the ultimate outcome of Indian contact with America? It is too early to answer this question adequately. Only about half a century has elapsed since America discovered India. Nevertheless it is certain that America cannot or will not take anything from India that will not fit in with her genius or answer her needs. Her needs are many. Which of them are going to be satisfied? American vitality and independence, and the pride and selectiveness that grow out of both will forbid wholesale importation of Indian thought. The Indian picture has to fit the American frame, and in time both the frame and the picture will undergo changes. The day of assimilation has not arrived; materials good, bad, indifferent are just now being dumped on the American soil. Further, it is often asked, why the greatness of Indian thought does not square with her present national and social status. America has not discarded everything that Miss Mayo said. Is it the fault of the thought, or the people, or both? To cast all the blame on a foreign nation does not convince any shrewd questioner. Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent independence programme raised for a while the average American's respect for Indian thought. America will wait to see the future of India, violent or non-violent, before she fully makes up her mind. In the meantime something is happening. Notwithstanding all the vagaries and sparkles of the religious situation and American individualism, there is very slowly emerging here and there in America, a type of rational, social religion which is neither western nor eastern, Christian nor Hindu, though sometimes maintaining denominational tags, a religion of life and fullness, with an unconscious emphasis on the best principles of all religions that are thought to favour her growth and her adjustment to the values of life that she considers paramount. Any Hindu coming to this country to make converts to Hinduism should take serious thought of this emerging type of religion. Can India's mystic universality help in the right way? Or is it going to take the shape of another narrow sect?

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DR. SIR BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL: AN APPRECIATION

By Prof. K. B. MADHAVA
Mysore University

By appointment I was to meet Prof. Mahalanobis on Thursday, December 19, at 2.30 p.m., but his peon led me to the Senate House where a large gathering had assembled and was celebrating Brajendra-Jayanti. True, chance had led me there, but it was a life's opportunity to me when Mr. Mahalanobis suggested and arranged that I should speak on the occasion. Persons senior to me in age and in understanding, had honoured and worshipped Sir Brajendra, and I can only lay at the feet of my Master my humble but earnest, formal but devout, tribute of gratitude and appreciation. Some previous speaker had said that Dr. Seal had inflicted a loss on Calcutta in leaving the King George V chair of philosophy, but I can assert that it was certainly a gain to the Mysore University and indirectly to others, including Calcutta also. University reorganization, with which he was so closely associated in Calcutta, was of course the subject nearest to his heart. "If Mysore has been *primus in Indis*, first in India, in respect of a full-fledged unitary Teaching University, we must be *primus in Indis* in taking other big steps," was his constant thought. In Mysore he made the study of philosophy more living by placing it *en rapport* with the most recent advances of contemporary thought and science on the one hand and the priceless inherited culture of India on the other. He made History more concrete and realistic by linking it with culture, archaeology and documentary study. To Economics he devised statistical and mathematical appendages, and he was instrumental in adding mathematics and experimental psychology as Key Sciences to the humanistic studies on the Arts side and removing the "light-proof" compartments between physico-mathematical and biological sciences. He had naturally innumerable difficulties to encounter and his own introductory speech on the Report of University Reorganization must for ever remain an inspiration.

It is but natural that this meeting should recall Dr. Seal's rich philosophical heritage. I have already referred to the Syllabus he drafted for philosophical studies in Mysore University, at whose length, italic printing and Sanskrit headlines I even now gaze with awe and bewilderment. He could discuss Riemann's Function, Mathematical theory of evol referendum, hydro-electric problems and sition from prescientific medicine to scie medicine with the grace and ability of a l of All Faculties. But it is apt to be forg that in Mysore his early work was the pr tion of a Report on "Constitutional Refor Mysore" which in some respects would the India Act, 1935. He was also memb the Mysore Economic Conference which with problems as varied as sericulture, s oil, soap-making and *shanbogs'* (village offic sense. He was for over a year Educati Advisor and extra Member, and sat in Executive Council of the State's Administra He outlined and carried through an educati survey of the state, and was presiden Committees dealing with Trade Union Leg tion and Financing of Cottage and s industries, in all of which it was my priv to be associated. His plans for compulsory free education (July 1926) and his outline the 6 types of levels of vocational trai (September 1927) and numerous others that are reports completed long before ot whose assistance he sought had produced t suggestions. The great loyalty and esteem had for his Ruler he tendered in public on occasion of the Silver Jubilee of His High the Maharaja of Mysore (August 1927). appreciation and confidence that he in turn always enjoyed were manifested in the *Kh* along with the distinction *Rajtantra-Pra* which His Highness awarded him.

It is possible for me to speak at len about his manifold services but his great asset was his simplicity and his human and affection to younger men which was overflowing as his own pure and spotless sil beard. If Architecture has its nine lam youth has its *panchapradipas*, which Dr. S adumbrated in his Convocation to the Bomb University (August 1926). To youth's fres ness of outlook he introduced stories of the r mind of India, her genius and traditions, a to youth's love of adventure he recount accomplished discoveries of Atreya, Kum Shiras, Marichi, Susruta and Charaka, and

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t of names like that, all of which he strung ether one evening when he put forth a rous plea for revival of National Vitality the occasion of the Visit of Delegates r. Madsen and Dr. Shiga) of the Far Eastern sociation of Tropical Medicines. His child- e love and simplicity was manifested when received people individually, and it was my vilege to have that of him from his hands a larger measure than perhaps most of my leagues in the University. I was selected for g drives in his motor car, for long discourses his working cot (for on his cot he worked files more often than he did before his bles) and for the most intimate conversation d confidences in his sick room. I have met m at practically all hours of the day, long short, and on station platforms whether at sore or Bangalore or Madras or Waltair or ragpur to read printer's proofs, or to use myself with his theories on "grace, rity and compensation" in approving of derated results of examinations, or may be in e mere frivolities of "True Story Magazine" d of Aldous Huxley. I met him continuously ile he was ill, and somebody had added derneath the poster on the doorway to his kbed "No visitors allowed," the words "except M(adhava) and N(urse)." On the sick bed too, Dr. Seal revealed remarkable powers of forbearance and submission, and it was sad to contemplate such a mighty mind lying so seemingly prostrate. It was only seemingly prostrate, for when he spoke, he spoke treasured wisdom more truthful than flowery knowledge. He had to be removed to the Hospital at Bangalore for the greater facilities that that hospital could provide. His own personal purity and sturdy constitution put him up better and when he was well enough to undertake the journey he moved to Calcutta. My leave-taking was simple, as both of us were too sad to indulge in formalities. I have met him more than once since that day but his memory, which is supposed to fail in proper names, never played him false in my case. Today is a most sacred day to me, as I can tender offerings to him who has been as much the architect of my own personal advancement as he is doubtless the architect of the prestige of Mysore University.

(From a speech delivered by Prof. K. B. Madhava, Mysore University, on the occasion of the celebration of the 70th Jayanti by the Calcutta Philosophical Association on 19th December, 1935)

GURU GOBIND SINGH

By BALWANT SINGH, M.A.

THINK of the Guru and you involuntarily all to your mind the incidents of Anandpur, amkaur, Sarhand and Nander or 'Abchal-nagar,' as the Sikhs prefer to call it.

Anandpur! Guru Tegh Bahadur's 'Town Bliss'! The Sutlej flows on one side, the lls rise high all around. The natural scenery superb. It was founded by the Ninth Guru. It was here that the Pandits of Kashmir pproached Guru Tegh Bahadur for succour gainst Aurangzeb's campaign of religious in- olerance and it was from Anandpur that the uru started for Delhi to sacrifice himself for e cause. It was here that the head of the inth Guru, after his martyrdom at Delhi, was ought and cremated in the presence of Guru obind Singh and his mother. It was here that uru Gobind Singh's four heroic sons were orn. It was here that the Guru baptised the ve 'Pyaras' ("Beloved ones"), including "untouchables," and then received his baptism at *their* hands. It was here in the historic building of Kesgarh that the Guru exhorted the Sikhs to keep their locks unshorn. It was here again, that the Guru was besieged by the allied forces of the Moghuls and the Hill Rajas. At first sight this alliance strikes one as something unnatural. The fact of the matter was that the Guru's non-observance of the caste system and the age-old practice of idol-worship and his taking into his fold "untouchables" incensed the caste-proud Hill Rajas. They concocted cock-and-bull stories regarding the designs of the Guru. Aurangzeb was down in the Deccan waging his long, fruitless campaign against the Mahrattas. Had he been at Delhi, he would not have been so easily duped. Somehow, the Rajas convinced the Moghul King that the Guru was busy creating a state within the state. Thus the alliance became an accom-

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plished fact. The allies besieged Anandpur. It was a long, weary, exhausting siege. On receiving an assurance from the allied chiefs that the Guru would be left unmolested, if he only vacated Anandpur, the Guru left the town one dark night. A deluge of rain was pouring down. The Guru rode on a spirited horse. The fiery animal dashed into the tempestuous Sutlej and swam across the river. The Guru reached Chamkaur. The hostile army broke their solemn pledge and pursued the Guru. Chamkaur was besieged. One by one the Sikhs went out and were cut to pieces. The Guru's two elder sons went out and met a similar fate. The Guru watched and smiled. 'Thy will be done,' he smilingly said. The Guru left Chamkaur and started for Malwa. Tarlok Singh, one of the ancestors of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, after a long, vigorous search which entailed great personal risk in view of the watchful hostile army of the allies, found out the dead bodies of the two boys of the Guru and cremated them. Thereafter when Tarlok Singh visited the Guru, the latter affectionately embraced him, saying, "Tarlok Singh, hero of heroes, my house is thine, thine mine." ("Tarlok Singh, jang ke lare, mera ghar so tera ghar, tera ghar so mera ghar"). The Guru went up and down Malwa which was then a howling wilderness and received the hospitality and protection of some of the good souls among the Muslims, such as Ghani Khan and Nabi Khan of Machhiwara, who supplied blue garments to him and, to disarm all suspicion, gave it out that he was their 'Pir.' Footsore and weary as he was, they carried him on a *charpoy*.

At Raikot, the Guru received the terrible news of the brutal persecution and entombment of his two innocent children at Sarhand, by the Nawab of Sarhand, in the teeth of vehement protests of two of the forbears of the present ruler of Malerkotla. The Muslim courier recited the story with streaming eyes. The Guru listened to the painful story. He sat on the ground and as the recital ended, he weeded out a bunch of coarse grass near him and said, "Thus are tyrants weeded out. They and their rule must end. They will go, root and branch." Rai Kalla of Raikot, his kindly Muslim host—whose descendants still preserve two of the gifts given by the Guru as their dearly cherished heirlooms—who stood by, gently enquired, "Saintly soul, shall all of us share the same fate?" "No," said the Guru, "Those only who sow the wind will reap the whirlwind."

At Dina, the Guru wrote his great historic epistle (couched in Persian verse) which he called 'Zafar Nama' or 'Epistle of V to Aurangzeb and sent it on to him Deccan, through trusty Sikh messeng the epistle, the Guru reproved the Emperor for his unkingly ways, inasmuch should have comforted his subjects like royal shepherd, while he had caused them Among other things, the Guru compli Aurangzeb as a 'person of angelic attri Indeed, Aurangzeb's personal character austere life had justly earned this ficent tribute. Aurangzeb read it, a halt to hostile measures against the Gur expressed a wish to see the Guru pers The Guru received the message and southward. On his way, he was hosp received by the Ranas of Udaipur, J Bharatpur and others. Before the Guru meet the Moghul Emperor face to face Emperor had already been gathered to his fathers. Bahadur Shah ascended the and offered to the Guru the olive bran peace, which the latter accepted with als On receiving an assurance from the M ruler that condign punishment would be in on the brutal persecutors and butchers innocent children, the Guru bade good-b the Punjab and chose Nander, far away Deccan, as his future abode. And when end came, the Guru according to the time oured practice of the Gurus, made an off of five coppers and a cocoanut before the Granth, made his obeisance, and enjoined the Khalsa to accept the Sacred Book as future guide and Guru.

The Guru as a Poet and a Patron of Learning

At Anandpur, he had with him no less 52 poets and scholars. He sent five Sikhs 'Nirmalas' to Benares to master San classics. On their return, they helped in lating Upnishads, Mahabharat, etc., Punjabi. The Guru's own poetry, and translations were incorporated into what styled as the 'Dasam Granth' or the T Guru's Granth. With this precedent before we Sikhs would do well to encourage the of Sanskrit and Hindi among our co-religion

Among the untold gems of the Guru's stirring, thrilling poetry, there occurs the lowing:

> 'The clean-shaven Sanyasis, the Yogi, the Bra charis, the avowed celebates,
> The Hindus, the Muslims, the Sufis, the Im
> All originate from one common stock,
> As the sparks of fire, assume diverse shapes hues, and ultimately merge into fire,

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As dust particles emanating from dust are ultimately dust unto dust,
As the waves rising over the surface of water ultimately merge into water,
So do millions of shapes and forms appear out of the Infinite,
And will ultimately be one with Him."

THE GURU AS A SAINT

The Ninth Guru passed about 40 years of life in a state of intense 'Tapas' (austerities) in underground chambers at Baba Bakala and Anandpur. At Bhabour, along the bank of the Sutlej, there still exists the solitary cave wherein the Tenth Guru performed 'Tapas' for thirteen months. Not unoften would he sit down in deep 'Samadhi' (trance) and in Divine ecstasy continue chanting 'Tui, Tui, Tui' (Thou, Thou, Thou) for hours together.

The Guru found the Hindus lying prostrate. He raised them and out of them created the Khalsa whose thunder subsequently shook thrones and struck terror into the hearts of the invaders who had time and again swept over the Punjab and carried fire and sword wherever they went, since the days of Raja Jaipal.

Thus toiled and moiled the Guru, at once a spiritual leader, a gifted poet, a saint, a nation-builder and a soldier. He raised the sword, as we raise our hands, to protect our eyes from the glare of the sun, not to strike but to protect oneself.

STALIN: ARCHITECT OF A NEW WORLD

BY NANU

HOWEVER divided opinion might be about the Soviet Union, there is considerable agreement and increasing recognition of it being a factor of immense significance and influence for the movement of world affairs as a whole. The course, wide and rapid, of developments in the area covered by the Soviet Union, encompassing a sixth of the world's land surface (nearly 8,000,000 square miles) and bordering alike Asia and Europe and stretching out to the Pacific with America on the other side, is largely seen, as suited under various extending conditions, to increase this significance and influence. Not long back, the British scholar and writer, Bertrand Russel, himself while retaining much reserve about Soviet Union, stated that the present century is likely to be remembered as that of Lenin. Already the first Five-Year Plan has thrown out many new directions and fields for view and in the wake of it, the possibilities of the future looked upon with greater realism, hold out still wider perspectives. A leading part in the establishment and consolidation of this unit casting such enormous significance—a part the full extent of which is generally not known—has been played by Stalin, who to-day remains in the most responsible position in it, exerting the closest influence on its direction. His life is greatly the story of a weighty movement and as such of much general interest and importance. A connected account of this is supplied in the new book* on him by the well-known French savant, Henri Barbusse. Barbusse makes the limitation of information about Stalin, whom he considers as "the most important of all our contemporaries," the reason for his historic and last study.

Stalin has in recent period figured so much in newspaper headlines, that the average reader at first is likely to be surprised at the description "limitation of information." But it will be conceded, that good amount of what has appeared is of the popular or sensational nature, built on some aspects of controversial issues or some particular characteristics isolated from basic factors, and hence from full background. Barbusse in his book takes a position greatly out and above these of little value for understanding of an historic process and forming estimates of trends and narrates the life and role of Stalin in close relation to an important and dynamic movement of which he furnishes a fairly comprehensive survey. Broadly, his volume may be stated as dealing with—the early life of Stalin who joins the socio-political movement in Russia while very young; association with Lenin and work in the pre-Soviet era; participation in the October Revolution and struggle to safeguard the Soviet State; consolidation of the new State and meeting of some opposition movements with special reference to that associated with the name of Trotsky; and initiation of the new Economic Plans. It ends with a comparative review of bents and tendencies in Soviet Union and outside.

Stalin was born at Gori, a small town in Georgia, in 1897, "in a hovel whose corners and foundations were made of bricks, with timber

* *Stalin.* By Henri Barbusse. (John Lane The Bodley Head: London. 12*sh.* 6*d.*).

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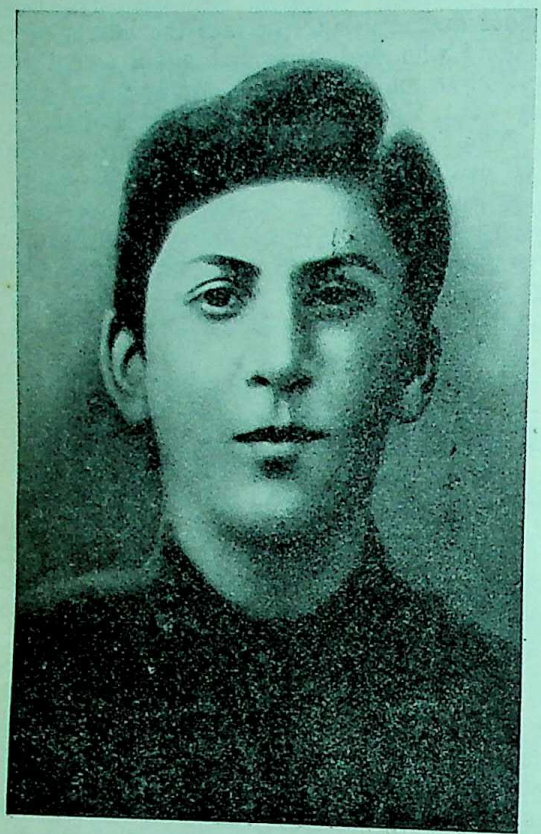
walls and a plank roof and with the front door on one side and the cellar door on the other." He did not come of rich parentage. His father worked as a shoemaker in a factory at Tiflis, the



Stalin as a boy

capital of Georgia, where Joseph Vissarionovitch Djugashvili—Stalin was a name adopted later—was first sent to school. The boy joined the revolutionary movement at the age of fifteen. He came soon closely under the influence of Marxian literature. Already by 1897, one is told, that Joseph Vissarionovitch Djugashvili was leading a Marxian circle at the Tiflis Seminary. His activities came to receive the attention of the authorities and before long he was expelled on the ground that he displayed a lack of "political balance". The next year, that is, in 1898, he joined the Tiflis branch of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party. He came to be the prime spirit of the Party in Transcaucasia. Conditions soon initiated him in underground work and led him to move about under various names as, David, Koba, Nijeradze, Tschijikoff, Ivanovitch and Stalin, of which the last remained the one by which he is known today. Under hard and severe circumstances he kept up his work.

Stalin was in prison when in 1903 he [illegible] of the split in the Russian Social Demo[illegible] Party on Lenin's initiative, between the B[illegible] vists who stood for a radical programme an[illegible] Mensheviks who advocated a course of [illegible] formism. Stalin who had extended his s[illegible] of Marxism and gained much contact with s[illegible] conditions in the country, decided quickly [illegible] the Bolsheviks.

> "A moment always arrives at which a m[illegible] action must make a decision of this sort wh[illegible] destined to affect the whole course of his life."

In 1905 Stalin met Lenin for the first t[illegible] though he had come to know of him and [illegible] writings some years earlier. Of that me[illegible] Stalin writes :

> "I met him for the first time in December [illegible] at the Bolshevik Conference of Tammerfors [illegible] Finland). I was expecting to see, in the ea[illegible] our Party, a great man, not great only in the p[illegible] sense, but physically great also, for in my im[illegible] tion I pictured Lenin as a giant, fascinating [illegible] symbolical. What was my surprise then to see b[illegible] me a man of less than middle height, in no [illegible] distinguishable from ordinary human beings!"
>
> "A great man is supposed to arrive late at mee[illegible] so that the assembly may anxiously await his ar[illegible] The appearance of a great man is always heralde[illegible] remarks such as : Sh ! . . . . Silence ! . . [illegible] Here he comes! . But I found that Lenin had ar[illegible] long before the others, and I saw him in a c[illegible] engaged in the most ordinary conversation. He [illegible] quite clearly not behaving according to the acce[illegible] rules."
>
> "This simplicity and modesty of Lenin's, w[illegible] struck me the moment I met him, his desire to [illegible] unnoticed, or at any rate not to emphasize [illegible] superiority, was one of his strongest points as [illegible] new chief of the new masses, the great simple [illegible] profound masses of humanity."

Then followed a period of intimate [illegible] operation between the two that continued [illegible] 1924, when death removed from the field [illegible] great leader of the Bolsheviks, who led [illegible] victorious October Revolution. Between 19[illegible] and 1913 Stalin is active in various centres a[illegible] in various capacities, organizing, attending c[illegible] ferences inside and outside the coun[illegible] developing contacts, editing papers, bringing [illegible] bulletins and seeing to their distribution. [illegible] was in this period arrested several times a[illegible] many times also escaped from confineme[illegible] 1909-1911 was period of exceptional hardship.

> "He had in this period no private life. With[illegible] passport and in disguise he had to change his lodg[illegible] every day. But nothing could stop the work he [illegible] doing to consolidate the Bolshevik Party."

Behind this, it is underlined, remained t[illegible] faith in a mass movement, confidence in respo[illegible] from workers, and strength from trust [illegible] Marxian theory.

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In 1913 Stalin was arrested again. This ne he was to remain in Siberia till 1917. In pril 1917 he arrived in Petrograd following the ebruary Revolution. About the same time enin arrived there from Switzerland. In the scussions that followed and lines evolved Stalin ok a very prominent part. In the great ebates preparatory to the decision to strike in ctober, when Trotsky, Kameneff and some ther leaders wavered and were inclined against he line of a sharp strike, fearing conditions as ot well opportune, with doubts about response nd apprehensive of repercussions, along with verdlov,* Stalin took a firm side with Lenin or a course of action. This finds pointed eference also in a short and interesting iography † of Lenin that came out a while ack. Finally, Lenin got his view adopted and ucceeded also in carrying the leaders who had onsiderable hesitation in the Party Committee ith him. The stand of Stalin with his great ontacts and close knowledge of party machinery as of immense importance in the adoption of is decision.

The October Revolution successful in that he old regime was overthrown, by an action that ell brought to light the effect of a sustained ork carried by the Bolsheviks and the value ey placed on discipline, called for new tasks. n nature and extent they were no less hard han those involved in throwing overboard the ormer system. The legacy got was a hard one. he imperialist war of 1914 had cost Russia 0,000,000,000 gold roubles. ‡ The destruction rought by the foreign armies that attacked rom all sides the new State and whose acts ept up greatly hostile movements inside is stimated at 44,000,000,000 roubles. The civil ar represented a loss of 50,000,000,000 roubles. All factories were in ruins and a good part of he public works as well. Administration, ducation and all State services were dislocated. he rank and file under Bolshevik leadership eld out with amazing energy and astounding rust in a state of unparalleled severity. Indicative of the conditions of severity about the eriod is a declaration of Stalin in which he ays :

> "The workers in Petrograd did not receive even a single piece of bread for several weeks at a time. The days on which they received a pound of black bread with half oil-cake, were happy days."

The struggle was long and protracted. In 1920 the Soviet State felt more free to devote itself to internal issues, with warding off, "the invasion of fourteen nations," using the expression of Winston Churchill.

Stalin in his room at the Kremlin in Moscow

A very significant internal problem and one of particular interest to a country like India was the question of minorities. This was a special sphere of Stalin and to this he devoted direct attention, working out a solution, which Barbusse presents as standing, towering against the much repeated assertions of existence of groups with differences of race and language by themselves proving a hindrance to enjoyment by them of independence in a territorial unity.

The death of Lenin in 1924 in some ways intensified certain opposition tendencies. The issues as generally thought did not greatly touch persons, but involved important principles and deductions. The debates turned chiefly round the question whether the Soviet State could hold out and carry out a task of significance in the absence of world revolution or the latter was an essential and pre-condition for the former. Stalin defended the first and carried it through, for the interpretation of Lenin's view, taking

* Sverdlov was a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and after the October Revolution Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets. He died in Moscow in March, 1919.

† *Lenin*. By Mirsky. *Makers of the Modern Age* series. Edited by Osbert Burdett.

‡ Six gold roubles amounts approximately to a Pound at the present price of gold in Britain.

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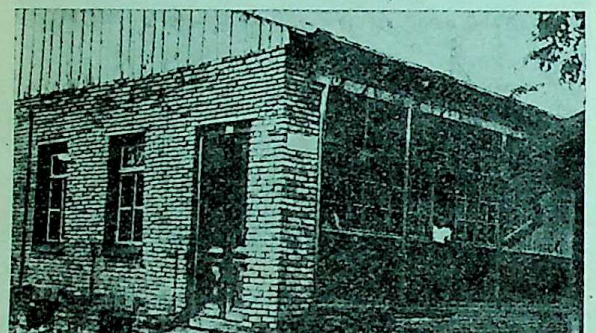
into consideration the general situation, the capacity to carry out a far-reaching economic programme in Soviet Union and the effect—the economic programme and advance of Soviet Union will have, in a background outside along with hostility to Soviet Union divided with rivalries among Imperialist Powers.

With great courage and determination in 1927, in which year Soviet Union reached the pre-war economy, Stalin took the lead in initiating the Five-Year Plan. The preparatory work of the Plan, says an authoritative and notable publication* on it, took nearly three years. The scheme abroad was greatly ridiculed. Its failure was asserted. Barbusse gives many quotations, out of which some may be stated here. "It is not a plan, it is a speculation," wrote the *New York Times*. It will mark "complete insolvency" announced the *Daily Telegraph*. "The catastrophe is obvious" commented the Italian *Politica*. *Financial Times* predicted "breakdown of the entire system." Soviet Union, however, resolutely stood to the Plan. In this, Stalin who maintained a very firm attitude, exerted the greatest



The house where Stalin was born at Gori in Georgia

influence. The attitude itself Barbusse indicates as the result of the confidence that follows from knowledge and trust in a theory and its careful interpretation and estimation. In a way it is similar to the attitude that enables a Piccard to decide to mount to the stratosphere and an Erkner to cross in air the Atlantic. Fundamentally the action is based on knowledge which gives courage and confidence.

The first Five-Year Plan ended in four years by an achievement of 93 per cent of its objects. Barbusse gives various interesting facts and many useful figures. Some may be mentioned here :

"National production trebled between 192[illegible] 1934. . . . . From 1928 to 1932 the number of [illegible] men employed increased from 9,500,000 to 13,[illegible] . . . . The national revenue increased during the [illegible] years by 85 per cent. At the end of the Fi[illegible] was more than 45,000,000,000: A year [illegible] 49,000,000,000 roubles. The amount of the w[illegible] and employees' wages rose from 8,000,000,[illegible] 30,000,000,000 roubles. The number of persons [illegible] to read and to write has risen for the whole [illegible] U. S. S. R., from 67 per cent at the end of [illegible] to 90 per cent at the end of 1933. . . . . En[illegible] new centres have risen all over the country. [illegible] In agricultural machinery and locomotive co[illegible] tion the U. S. S. R. today holds the world [illegible] . . . . The U. S. S. R. occupies the second pl[illegible] the world for the production of general mach[illegible] and also for the production of petrol, iron and [illegible] . . . . The Press—In 1929 the daily circulat[illegible] Soveet newspapers was 12,500,000; in 1933 it [illegible] 36,500,000. . . . . The work accomplished in [illegible] country districts was even more important. . . .

In agriculture, collectivization was ca[illegible] in the face of enormous preliminary diffic[illegible] with great energy. Regarding this develop[illegible] the *London Times* correspondent in a le[illegible] article wrote, that it was in many ways a [illegible] important revolution than even the Oc[illegible] Revolution. As an instance of the impo[illegible] position, Barbusse mentions the annulme[illegible] the debts of *kolkhoz* (collective firms) conn[illegible] with advances made to them to the valu[illegible] 435,000,000 roubles and as examples of inc[illegible] in production he states :

"The production of Soviet cotton has leap[illegible] three years from being one-thirtieth of world p[illegible] tion to one-fifteenth, and the cultivation of s[illegible] beet, which in 1929 was one-third of the culti[illegible] in all other countries together, in 1932 was [illegible] than half as much again as the rest of the [illegible] production. . . . ."

And the foreign critics! Barbusse [illegible] gives some quotations. Reference may be [illegible] to some of these. *Le Temps* is mentione[illegible] commenting:

"The Soviet Union has won the first roun[illegible] industrializing itself without the aid of f[illegible] capital."

The Round Table :

"The achievements of the Five-Year Plan c[illegible] tute a surprising phenomenon."

Mr. J. Gibson Jarvie, president of [illegible] United Dominion Trust:

"Russia is advancing at the moment at which [illegible] are retreating. The youth and the workers of R[illegible] have something which we lack, namely, hope."

Forward (Scotland) :

"What England did during the war was a [illegible] bagatelle beside it. The Americans recognize [illegible] even the feverish period of the most intense c[illegible] truction in the Western States could offer no[illegible] comparable to it . . . . a degree of energy [illegible]

* *The Five Year Plan Of The Soviet Union.* By Grinko.

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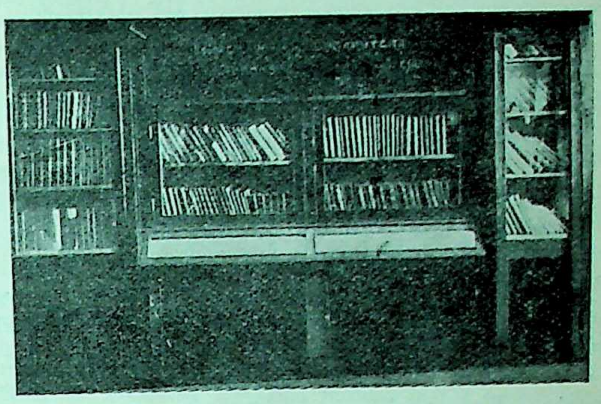
cedented in the history of the world. A brilliant challenge to a hostile capitalist world."

Now Soviet Union has entered on the new, t is, second Five-Year Plan. Under it :

"The key industries will become twice as vast. . . . The manufacture of machine tools and the production of coal and petrol, will be doubled; tractor, locomotive construction, foundries, steel, copper and chemical works will be trebled. The timber industry itself will be nearly doubled. Five times as many trucks and eight times as many motor cars will be manufactured. Electrical energy will attain 38,000,000,000 kilowatts (or 283 per cent more). . . . An increase of more than double in the manufactured goods industries. . . . The increase foreseen—and decided upon—in agricultural production is to be 105 per cent. . . . The number of tractor depots shall be increased from 2,446 (in 1932) to 6,000. . . . For the railways, 3,000 miles electrified, 6,000 miles changed from single to double line, 12,000 miles of lines relaid; 7,000 miles of entirely new lines. . . . The canal between the White Sea and the Volga to be completed, and also those between Moscow and the Volga and the Volga and the Don. . . . 130,000 miles of new roads are to be made. Lines of civil aviation 53,000 miles (instead of 20,000 miles today). . . . . Investment in industry : 69,500,000,000 roubles; in rural economy : 15,200,000,000; in transport services: 26,300,000,000. . . . Illiteracy is to be completely abolished. The total number of pupils in schools and institutes will be 197 per 1,000 of the population, instead of 147 per 1,000 as at present. . . . ."

There is of course an "if." Barbusse touches the issue of war danger. This he admits s a factor to be reckoned. But the capacity of the Soviet Union to defend itself is argued as being now infinitely greater. Other dangers also well enter into the calculations of Powers who may be thinking in terms of an attack on Soviet Union. Time adds to the Uinon's strength. This is well behind Soviet Union's keen interest in peace.

Barbusse ends his book, as already stated, at the beginning, with a comparison or rather a contrast. In connection he refers to the reaction that advances in the cultural and economic spheres in Soviet Union causes on wide sections all over. The developments are also indicated as exerting profound influence on various thinkers and progressive intellectuals, a point elaborated at some length by Mirsky in his new



Stalin's Secret Library. Now in Tiflis Museum

and interesting book,* as expressing in an orienation to Soviet State and its basis. Mirsky himself, one who had fought in Denkin's White Army and son of General Prince Mirsky, a former Minister of Interior in Czarist Russia, is an instance of this reaction, which in degrees can be traced to many other outstanding personalities, including lately, Romain Rolland.

Henri Barbusse's book is not an impersonal study. He writes as one convinced of the value of the Russian Revolution. The volume is that of a believer and not a critic as generally understood. Barbusse writes often with much vehemence and at times with bitter irony. At places he rushes too quickly to his assertions. As a biography he depicts his hero as a leading figure in a big movement thus enhancing the value of the volume and making it a notable contribution to contemporary political literature.

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* *The Intelligentsia of Great Britain.* By Dimitri Mirsky.

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A GREAT INDIAN RULER— AN APPRECIATION

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

I know of no modern ruler who seems to me worthy of more honor than His Highness, the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, the Diamond Jubilee or sixtieth anniversary of whose reign occurs in January, 1936. Not only has his reign been long, but, considering the conditions under which it has existed, its achievements have been remarkable. From his earliest manhood he has been a reformer in his very blood. He has been large-minded. He has been forward-looking. He has shown himself a born leader. He has lived not for himself alone or primarily, but for his State and his People.

He has had the handicap of being under the control of a foreign power. Nevertheless, he has persistently dared to lead his state forward to greater freedom, progress, enlightenment and independence. While in British India, owing to the educational policy of the Government, an appalling illiteracy is still to be seen, the courageous ruler of Baroda has created in his state universal compulsory education for both sexes, with the result that illiteracy there has been greatly reduced.

Nor has he stopped with this great achievement. He has made much provision for all the more important kinds of higher and advanced education. He has waged constant war against the scourge of "untouchability;" and has done much to mitigate the evils of Caste. Besides providing liberal education for women, he has legislated and in various other ways planned to give them a freer and larger life. He has been steadily active in promoting agricultural and industrial improvements, public sanitation and hygiene, creating hospitals and providing enlightened medical service for all classes of the people. With all the rest, he has given his influence steadily against religious superstitions and in favor of religious intelligence, breadth and progress, in support of social reforms, and, so far as permitted, in promotion of political reforms.

Several other rulers of Indian States have advanced far in the directions in which he has moved, following in his footsteps; but he has been the leader, and deserves the honor as such.

The contrast in all these respects which we see between his rule and that of British is a great honor to him and India, and an discredit to British rule.

Writing as I do in America, I take es pleasure in calling attention to certain imp activities of His Highness, in which he associated himself with us. We have in country (or in this country and Englan organization called The World Federatio Faiths, created by two distinguished w for the promotion of international, inter and interreligious, good-will and brotherho one an Indian, Mr. Kedar Nath Das G and the other an American, Mr. Charles Fr Weller. In connection with the recent W Fair in Chicago, this organization, under vigorous leadership of these two men, he great Parliament of Religions, lasting weeks, with 83 notable meetings addresse 199 speakers from nearly all the impo countries of the world and representing all world's important religions. At this G Parliament of Religions, His Highness was Honorary President and gave the Ope Address. In July, 1936, a second similar g Parliament is to be held for two weeks London and Oxford, in which he is to have active and influential part. He is also President of the International Council of World's Fellowship of Faiths which has gen supervision over these Parliaments and c activities.

His Highness has made several visits America in past years, and is well-known highly esteemed here. Plans are made celebrate his Diamond Jubilee in New Y by a public gathering in the Grand Ball R of the Hotel New Yorke on January 2, 19 and by a Banquet at the Hotel Biltmore January 28,—with distinguished speakers both occasions.

Lovers of humanity and believers in hum freedom not only in India and America but all lands, may well unite in celebrating Diamond Jubilee of such a ruler and such man. He belongs to the world. Civilizat is more secure and all nations are richer becau of him.

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AGAKHANISM

[We have received three contributions on this subject, hich are published below. The second and third are mewhat abridged. Two of the contributions are from e Bombay Presidency and one from Uganda.—Editor, he *Modern Review*.]

I

By KARIM GOOLAMALI

Secretary, Khoja Reformers' Society

I have read in your November issue Pandit Jawaharl's article on H. H. the Aga Khan. Let me at the utset confess that it is a sad though a correct commentary n what is being passed in some quarters as Islam. Really, it is on account of the pseudo-leaders like the ga Khan that Islam has to suffer and its pristine glory rought to dust. I doubt very much whether any Muslim ader will muster up courage and come forward to 'let e cat out of the bag'. However, I feel I must do my t. I am sure that after giving due consideration to hat I am going to say, there should remain no ground or comment.

The Aga Khan and the tenets and beliefs of his eligious cult, which passes as one of its (Islam) sects, ot at the very root of Islam, as will be seen from the ollowing. Islam, in short, requires: 1. Belief in the ne True God. 2. Belief in the Holy Koran. 3. Prayer o Almighty God. 4. Giving of Zakat (poor-rate). 5. asting and 6. Going on Hadj (pilgrimage). On the ther hand, Aga Khan claims to be god in his person he has employed preachers for that purpose). Again, is followers are told that the Koran is not meant for hem, the prayers being addressed to him as god-incarate. Further it is an open secret that Aga-khanis do ot fast nor go to hadj. A most astounding fact which eems to have escaped the notice of the Muslim public is hat the Aga-khanis have not a single mosque, the one ymbol of Islam. They do have their Jamait-khanas, no doubt.

Sir, from this it will be seen that the Aga Khan and his followers can never be Muslims; and if they had been considered outside the pale of Islam, Pandit Jawarharlal would have been spared the trouble of commenting on the solidarity of Islam. I trust you will please do me the favour of finding space for this in your esteemed magazine, for which I shall be highly obliged.

II

By ISMAIL KASSAM DHANANI

It is not possible to improve upon the learned and scholarly article of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on H. H. Aga Khan but I will like to add some details to it as I am Aga Khan's follower by birth.

'Agakhanism' is really a 'last home of mystery,' being an unintelligible jumble of perverted Islam and inverted Hinduism. . . . . The founder of this sect realising that spiritual power was but a stepping stone to political power gathered together and welded in a sect the most ignorant and fanatical inhabitants of Northern Iran and Iraq professing to be a prophet of God. . . . . The bonds of religion, *i.e.*, belief in the Quoran and observance of Muslim ceremonies and prayers were not binding on this sect of heretics or Mulehits as Muslims called them. H. H. Aga Khan claims direct descent from the founder of that sect and his followers also do not believe in the Quoran, offer Namaz, pay Zakat, fast or go on pilgrimage.

The followers of Aga Khan were converted from Hinduism about 700 years ago. As they were originally Vaishnavs or believers in Ten Avtars of Vishnu and believed at the time that eight Avtars of Vishnu had already occurred—the last being of Krishna their converters beguilded them that 9th Avtar was of Buddha and the tenth was of Hazrat Ali the fourth Caliph and prophet Mohamed's son-in-law in Mecca. It should be explained here that Gautama Buddra is not to be taken as the 9th Avtar but this Avtar of Agakhani creation is that of God disguised as Chandal who came to Pandava's Yagna and on whose order according to Puranic stories they had to sacrifice a cow, etc., and from which time Kaliyug is alleged to have begun. These ten Avtars with many more names added after each Avtar is made into a chronology as if they were descended serially and these names are recited in Khoja prayers called 'Duwa' three times a day. Aga Khan is alleged to be 48th descendant of Ali and hence he is also to be believed an Avtar of Vishnu, and Imam or the supreme pontiff of Shia Muslims. All prayers are addressed to and graces are demanded from Aga Khan as God even now. Mark Twain's servant therefore only exhibited his belief by introducing Aga Khan as God to his Master!

There has never been any religion anywhere in the world wherein so numerous and so heavy religious taxes are payable in the name of religion as in Agakhanism. Whereas Muslim Zakat is only 2½ per cent yearly on 'savings,' the Agakhanis have to pay 12½ per cent on their earnings. There are also heavy taxes for marriage, deaths and other ceremonials besides the daily offerings of a portion of the cooked food which is auctioned at exhorbitant rates considering it to possess 'virtue.' There is also a wierd initiation of 'Great Work' for which a fee of Rs. 75, 500, 1200, 2500, and 5000 is payable, the last two grades being lately introduced. On payment of that fee one unintelligible word is assigned by Aga Khan to be daily memorized for a certain time in early morning and warned that anyone disclosing it will go mad. Unfortunately the enormous drain of Rs. 6,000,000 annually goes to Europe for Aga Khan's pleasure and costly stables. The rich, educated and upper strata of the community silently look on to this drain from their ignorant brethren who thus denude themselves by the sweet expectation of 1,25,000 times the return of their wealth in the next world besides the heavenly palaces of 'gold bricks inlaid with musk and supported by silver pillars.'

It is a paradox that followers of so advanced and enlightened a person like H. H. Aga Khan should be enveloped in such crass superstition. . . . . More than half of Aga Khan's followers have seceded from their old faith by becoming orthodox muslims or reconverting to Hinduism particularly in last 35 years. Yet about 60,000 followers yet remain though very few are staunch in their allegiance. Let us hope for their early liberation and deliverance.

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III

By "ABDULLAH"

Criticisms expressing or seeking truth are welcome even though they may be touching the most tender subjects. Jawaharlal's critical observations of the Aga Khan as a religious head of the Khoja Ismaily sect and this sect being considered as a heretic sect are in the main based on true facts. These can be supported with written evidences taken from its Dhooa, prayer, and religious firmans of the Aga Khan, collection of which forms its Scripture.

The Khoja Ismaily sect is an alien element in the body of Islam. It can only be regarded as one of the sects in Islam or correctly speaking as inclined towards Islam, simply because it chooses to call itself Muslim.

* * * * *

The Kalima of the Khoja Ismaily sect is in absolute contradiction to the fundamental principles embodied in the Kalima of Islam. It runs "La ilaha ill-Allah Muhammadar-rasul ullah Ali sahi Allah," *i.e.* There is no god but Allah and Muhammed is the Apostle of Allah and Ali is Allah" (see Dhooa book, page II).

The other basic difference is that as a result of the teachings of the Aga Khan his followers do not follow the Holy Quoran. In fact it is decried. . . . . To keep his followers away from the rational influence of Islam, he has made a representation of the Holy-Quoran before his followers, as :—(Gujarati transliteration) "Khalifa Osman-e Qu-ran Sharif manthi ketlok bhag kadhi nakhyo chhe anne ketlok bhag oomeri nakhyo chhe. Asal Qu-ran Sharif hoon ootaroon to chhe varas lagi jay. To pan hoon tamne moklish, to tamne khabar padshe ke shoon kadhi nakhvaman avayoon chhe anne shoon ferfar kari nakhvaman avel chhe, *i.e.*, Khalifa Osman has removed certain portion from the Quoran Sharif and has added certain portion to it. If I were to write down the Original Quoron Sharif then it might take six years. That too I shall send you so that you will come to know what has been removed from it and what changes have been made" (See Bahre Rahmat, page 24 printed in Sindhi script).

Will this statement of the Aga Khan on the Holy Quoran awaken the conscience of the Mussalmans and make them throw overboard the *Muslim* leadership of the Aga Khan?

The above two authoritative citations are enough to put the Aga Khan and his followers the Ismaily Khoja sect outside the pale of Islam. Further in Islam, Zakat or poor rate of 2½ per cent is levied on those who can afford, for the benefit of the poor, the needy, upkeep of mosques and to propagate the ideals of the fraternity. The Zakat funds become the common property of the community and no individual is allowed to spend Zakat funds for his personal gains or ends.

To the followers of the Aga Khan paying of Zakat, what they call Dasond, is making payment to earn the right of entry in Heaven. In their Ghinans, which may be compared to Islamic Hadith, it is said "Dasond deso to svarge jaso," *i.e.*, "If you pay Dasond then only you will go to Heaven." The payable Dasond is 12½ per cent (twelve and a half), but payment of 25 per cent is encouraged, and there are among his followers who pay as much. The Aga Khan is the sole owner of the vast sum accruing from Dasond and other sources such as Wado kam, Dhooa, Memani, Nandi, etc., and he is at absolute liberty to spend this vast cash money.

A follower of the Aga Khan, irrespective of personal conduct and actions, whether good or bad, can enter high and higher spiritual stages by meeting graded payments. The scale of payment to buy higher spiritual stages is Rs. 75, 500, 1,200, 2,000, and of course still higher till the capacity to pay or desire to pay as much money is reached. In what contrast this to the rational preaching of Islam! It says "Surely most honourable of you with Allah is the one of you most careful of his duty" (49:13) and, "And have made everyman's actions cling to his neck and will bring forth to him on the resurrection day a which he will find wide open" (17:13).

The purchasing of higher spiritual stages is Wado Kam, Great Act, and the performers are "Baitul Khyal ja punjebhai" *i.e.*, "Members of House of Contemplation. These punjebhais are "the word" contemplation on which brings enlightenment, provided, of course, the punjebhai upright and regular in the payment of Dasond. Aga Khan issues Khangi, private, firmans to these in-cash' spiritual aspirants. In one of his firmans them he has said "Do not think at all of the life and do not think whether you will get Heaven or the life to come, because Hell and Heaven, all are hands" (See Bahre Rahmat, page 59 printed in script). This introduces the Aga Khan as "Malik yaum-il din," *i.e.*, "Master of the day of requital" the whole world seek refuge in "Him" or beware "His" judgment!

Except in the case of two 'Id prayers the Ismaily Khojas do not follow Islamic prayers. Instead of prayers a day they offer only three prayers, one in the morning, called Ghat pat ji dhooa, and the two in the evening, called Sanji ji dhooa. The language of dhooas is a mixture of Arabic and Sindhi and pat ji dhooa is choke-full of narratives from the of Hindu saints, such as Pahelaj, Harish Chandra. Observance of fast and perfoming of Haj are not not obligatory but are not encouraged. It is a statement that 95 per cent of Ismaily Khojas cannot or recite the Holy Quoran.

From the foregoing version this question can be asked that if such is the case then why like Qadiani sect Khoja Ismaily sect is not expurged from the of Islam, and why the Aga Khan is accepted as a Muslim leader?

* * * * *

The Aga Khan holds that Allah from Heaven weak to control and guide humanity on to true path that is why He must take birth as a man in this and it is so in the person of the Aga Khan. Be it that Godhead descends from father to the son. . . . the way he is the Tenth Naklank Avtar (see Dhooa page 2) so let the Hindus rush to "His" fold for salvation. . . . .

In ordinary schools and Sindhi schools (Ismaily Khoja Maktabs) students are not given religious instruction in Islam. They are not taught to read or recite Holy Quoran. As Khoja Muslims they take advantage of Muslim institutions, but deny the same advantage Muslims of their institutions on the ground that are strictly Khoja Ismaily institutions. The Khoja are not encouraged to join purely Muslim schools they be influenced by Islamic ideals. Socially Khojas mix more with non-Muslims than Muslims. This is the Aga Khan keeps away his followers from the influence of Islam and Muslims but before the outer world poses as the doughty champion of Islam and Muslim rights. . . . .

A general belief is prevalent that the Aga Khan does not claim Divinity, but that it is attributed to by his over zealous followers. This is far from true can be seen from the Kalima of the Khoja Ismaily and the Aga Khan's religious firmans. Inspite of true facts the spread of such a belief is due to the

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the Aga Khan, who shoves this on to the shoulders of followers lest the Muslims might take him to task such a claim which is all but Islamic. In fact he able to hold absolute sway over his followers on the is of being an "Incarnation of God," "Naklank Avatar," otherwise his position in the eyes of his followers could be reduced only to the position of a Muslim leader like Sir M. Iqbal, and the vast cash that flows into his coffers might altogether stop.

* * * * *

OPIUM EVIL IN ASSAM

By KULADHAR CHALIHA

FRIENDS who are interested in the opium question of Assam will be able to see the effects of the temperance movement which was started in 1921, when young Assam took the matter up in right earnest, and it received added impetus by the timely visit of Mahatma Ghandi in August, 1921, to our province. There has always been a demand from the Assamese intelligentsia that the opium evil should be extirpated. So far back as 1842, we hear the voice of Moniram Dewan (an Assamese statesman of outstanding merit who was subsequently hanged for political offence) who presented a petition to the Government suggesting that opium evil should be extirpated within a period of twenty years. His petition was printed in the Mills Report in 1853.

The history of the introduction of opium into Assam is somewhat obscure. We find no reference to the opium habit in the Vaishnavic (Hindu Protestant Church) literature of Assam, though its poetry and drama cover a wide field and deal with the customs and habits of the people. When the Assamese kings came into contact with the Mughal Emperors of Delhi, they used to send presents including *afing* (opium) to the Assamese Court. The chronicles of Assam, called *buranjis*, which were written from day to day, contained references to these presents from the Padsha (meaning Emperor of Delhi), which included opium amongst other presents. But nothing is known of how far the opium habit was prevalent then amongst the people. During the eighteenth century the habit was confined to the nobility, who used it as a luxury. Later we find references that a tax of Rs. 12 per poorah ($1\frac{1}{3}$ acre) was levied on lands growing poppy in the eighteenth century, which, considering the purchasing power of money at that time, would be equivalent to about £6 to £8 of our present money. So it was hardly possible for ordinary people to cultivate poppy, much less to indulge in the drug. However that may be, we find that the practice was fairly prevalent in the royal court in 1792. From the report of Captain Welsh's Expedition, we find that King Gourinath Singha was addicted to opium and was unable to attend to public business. During his reign and subsequently, there was internecine war in Assam, and the inevitable results followed. A faction sought help from Burma. The Burmese came and plundered and pillaged the country. Another went over to the East India Company, and ultimately by the treaty of Yandabu, Assam was ceded by the Burmese, who are themselves intruders, to the British in 1826.

From 1826 to 1860 no steps were taken by the British Government to restrict the consumption of opium, as they were busy consolidating their own position during those thrity-four years. Still, in 1835, reports were submitted by the District officers that opium was in excessive use everywhere. In 1850, the District of Nowgong alone contained 2500 acres under poppy cultivation, and on the basis of this calculation, it was estimated that in the six districts of Assam about 12,500 acres were under poppy cultivation.

In 1860, the home cultivation of poppy was stopped, and the system of issuing opium from the treasury was introduced and licenses were granted to all "respectable" persons to sell opium. We find as many as 5070 shops with a consumption of 1856 mds. 32 seers in 1873-74, in which year the system of granting licenses was first introduced on a yearly fee of Rs. 12 per shop.

In 1877, the mahal system was introduced, and in 1883-84 we find 1318 shops with a consumption of 1404 mds. 9 srs. 7 ch.

In 1892-93, there were 866 shops with a consumption of 1333 mds. 29 seers 2 ch. The price was steadily raised from Rs. 16 per seer in 1860 to Rs. 20 in 1862, Rs. 23 in 1873 and Rs. 37 in 1890. (1914 : Rs. 45; 1924 : Rs. 60).

Thereafter on the recommendations of the Royal Commission in 1894 certain steps were

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taken by the Government and the principle of minimum consumption and maximum of revenue was practically adopted and followed till 1925. That this principle absolutely failed to achieve its purpose will be apparent from the following facts.

The consumption of opium in 1873-74 was 1856 mds. 32 seers and the price was Rs. 26 per seer, yielding a revenue of Rs. 11,71,816. The consumption fluctuated according to the prosperity or adversity of the people. But after 46 years of working of the policy in 1918-19, we find that the consumption stood at 1748 mds. with a revenue of Rs. 38 lakhs and odd though the retail price was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 50 per seer. This clearly shews that the policy was a mistaken one, and the enhancement of price had little effect on the consumption. During these years there was agitation in Assam for the suppression of the evil, but without effect. In 1921 came the non-cooperation movement with its temperance activities. Young Assam put its heart and soul into the movement and within twenty-four months the consumption fell to 884 mds. (in 1923-24) from 1784 mds. in 1918-19. For achieving this 1100 workers had to go to the prison, but their sacrifice has not gone in vain. In 1923 the Swarajists, including the writer, entered the Assam Council and the party began steadily to press for the adoption of the policy of total abolition within a period of ten years. They had in their effort the support of other parties in the Council. In spite of the unwillingness of the Government to adopt the policy and renounce its large revenue from this source, in 1927 the Council carried by a big majority a resolution adopting the wholesome policy of reducing the consumption by 10 p.c. each year. The Government adopted the policy and declared that they were prepared to sacrifice the revenue from this source. The policy continued till 1929, but in 1930, when the Swarajists left the Council, indications were made in the Excise Reports of the Assam Government that the limit of reduction had been reached and a Committee was appointed to enquire into the working of the 10 p.c. reduction and to open anew the register of consumers. The Committee agreed with the views of the Government and recommanded accordingly, but the Council rejected its recommendation and the policy of 10 p.c. reduction was reaffirmed.

The Government in adopting this policy of ten per cent reduction per annum only followed the downward course which consumption naturally took from 1921. In 1931-32 the consumption fell to 422 mds. 25 seers from 512 mds. 14 seers in the previous year, and in 1932-33 it fell to 355 mds. 24 seers. percentage of decrease in 1932-33 in the districts is shown below. It will be seen the actual decrease in consumption far the reduction of supply.

1.	Khasia Jaintia Hills	
2.	Nowgong	36.7 p.c.
3.	Goalpara	25.5 "
4.	Kamrup	19.4 "
5.	Darrang	19.3 "
6.	Lakhimpur	16.8 "
7.	Sadiya Frontier Tract	14.0 "
8.	Sibsagar	13.6 "
9.	Sylhet	11.8 "
10.	Cachar	7.4 "
11.	Balipara	5.7 "
		5.0 "

It may be pointed out that Cachar and are the least opium-consuming districts Balipara is a tiny district of the Assam val

But a new danger arises out of the of the Government in admitting new appli for registration who are granted passes consumption. In the report of the Administration for the year 1932-33, we that 1342 new passes were issued and a close of the year there were as many as passes with a monthly ration of 33 mds. 17 11 ch. and the quantity works out at 8 g per diem per consumer, which is equa 240 grains per month and 2880 grains in a per consumer. On the 31st March, 1933 total consumption stands at 355 mds. 24 s and in 1935 it might stand at 291 mds.

The danger is in allowing new addicts come in. A vigilant watch should be kept all temperance workers so that new passes not be issued, otherwise the Government likely to revert to its old policy and unconsciously to drift into old ways to up the loss of revenue.

In Assam it may be safely asserted all parties and shades of opinion are unanim in the matter of eradicating the opium evil the traffic itself should be abolished altoge

However, a shortage of supply from le mate sources is likely to bring in contrab opium deserves careful consideration. sources of supply of illicit opium in Assam not unknown. The Indian States of Rajpu are the danger spots from where the Ma opium is smuggled into Assam, but fortuna it is far away from the country, and in o to prevent this, people are willing to vote the necessary increase of the Excise staff.

There were altogether 27 cases in 1932 for illegal possession of opium and for possess of contraband opium and a certain quantity said to have come from the China sources. this source has always been easily detected

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smugglers are either Mongolian labourers the Margherita coal mines of Dibrugarh or nese workers or carpenters whose presence easily detected. The real danger is from lwa opium and the matter can only be dled by the Government of India and the stion is a complicated one.

(*a*) The Government of India should be uested to bring such pressure on the Rajput tes as to liquidate the stock of Malwa opium hich was valued by Mr. Alexander at 00,000) so that they may gradually fall in e with the obligations of the British Govern- ent to the League of Nations and absorb the d stock for medicinal purposes as suggested Mr. Alexander in his note on Narcotics in dia and South Asia.

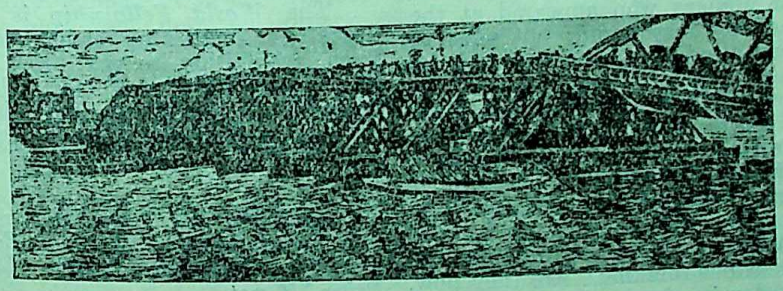
(*b*) That the policy of 10 p.c. reduction nually should be continued as it has the pport of the entire Assamese community. e temperance workers and all those societies o have taken an active interest in the move- nt for the abolition of opium traffic in Assam d eradication of the opium habit, should ntinue to take interest as before and publish e relevant facts and present them before the blic and the League of Nations from time time.

(*c*) That the public should continue to pport the policy of reduction and allow the Government to increase the preventive Excise staff.

(*d*) That new passes should not be granted to any consumer and the medical examination which is at present held should not be a matter of form but should comply in detail with such information as may be prescribed by the League of Nations or such medical body as commands the confidence of the Assamese people and public in general.

Year	Opium shops	Opium consumption Mds.	Seers	Opium revenue	Population.
1873—74	5070	1856	32	11,71,816	4,940,922
1883—84	1318	1404	9	16,48,207	4,881,426
1892—93	866	1333	29	18,73,063	5,433,195
1902—03	767	1274	1	17,79,917	5,759,444
1912—13	402	1557	8	27,38,307	6,221,431
1919—20	315	1748	4	38,37,125	6,221,431
(Non-co-operation movement)—					
1920—21	298	1013	0	38,13,710	7,606,230
1923—24	298	884	20	37,13,860	9,200,000 (Approximately)
1932—33	297	355	24	21,20,944	do.

Assam has done fairly well in the past in restricting the consumption of opium and it (the consumption) is on a downward course as is apparent from the Government reports, and we appeal to all our friends, to help us to extirpate this evil from our unfortunate country, and we trust we shall receive liberal and generous support from our friends all over the world.



A Bridge (Wood-engraving)—Purnendu Bose

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

WORLD FELLOWSHIP: *Addresses and Messages by Leading Spokesmen of All Faiths, Races and Countries. Edited by Charles Frederick Weller. Liveright Publishing Corporation, New York. 1935.*

Here is a fat book with sixteen sections which contain 242 addresses and messages printed in 986 pages in fairly good type. It is a collection of speeches, talks, impromptu remarks and a few laboriously prepared addresses delivered by 199 spokesmen before 83 meetings of World Fellowship of Faiths held during Chicago's second World's Fair or "Century of Progress," 1933.

Among the Oriental representatives, there were two Chinese, seven Japanese, one Korean, one Persian and at least twenty Indians who took part in the Fellowship of Faiths meetings. There was no Turk on the program. It strikes one that religion is still the major industry of India.

There was at the conference of World Fellowship of Faiths no significant personality like Vivekananda, whose name will always be connected with the philosophic leadership of the Chicago Parliament of Religions in 1893. The Indians who appeared at the 1933 conference did the best they could; but most of their performances were wooden, uninspiring and far from being brilliant.

Was the confab of the Fellowship of Faiths a mark of American religious progress? I doubt it. Admiral Peary, discoverer of the North Pole, asked an Eskimo: "Of what are you thinking?" "I do not have to think," was the answer; "I have plenty of meat."

Abundance of food is often the reason for the absence of thought. Americans, at any rate, have not been famous for deep religious thinking. Are they now, under the black shadow of depression, turning religious?

An old couplet has it:

When the devil was sick, the devil
a saint would be;
But when he got well, a hell of a
saint was he.

A few decades ago it was believed in the West that the Christian sects alone possessed the formula for the salvation of men's souls. Some of the hot-eyed evangelists went even so far as to assert t Orient's only chance to progress would be *via* Christianity. But it is now dawning upon the *sapiens* of Europe and America that in a world there are 2,000 religions and 360 varieties of C sects, no denomination can honestly claim a mo of truth. It is to be hoped, however, that the ga of the Fellowship of Faiths would help in des bigotry and in promoting the spirit of tolerance.

I was pleased to find that the organizers World Fellowship meetings did not confine their p to mere academic discussions of religious pr They also invited consideration of political, ec and social subjects. That was very encou Unfortunately, no paper was presented by any dealing with the modern economic and p problems of India. They would have gone entir default, if it were not for the excellent pa "India in Bondage" by Dr. J. T. Sunderland. P India has to learn once more that religion should concrete in its treatment of day-to-day pro instead of being abstract in its fine-spun theo religion, worth its name, should teach man to two worlds at the same time.

The *World Fellowship* is a massive tom pages offer interesting reading from religions to p from prohibition to sex, from war to peace. in short, a story of human culture and should greatest use to those who wish to promote spiritual understanding among the nations of the

SUDHINDRA B

ARTISTS IN UNIFORM: *a study in lit and bureaucratism. By Max Eastman. Publish George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Price 7/6 net.*

The author, an American student of Po Russia, has already published a remarkable *Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution* was applauded by the London *Times Literary* *ment* as "a vigorous and clearly written contri to Marxian controversy." From that we guessed Mr. Eastman's criticisms were rather congenial conservative capitalistic world, being *anti-Sov* the volume *Artists in Uniform*, he castigates the entire Stalin regime as anti-intelletual, anti-

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nd deliberately opposing all liberty of expression. hanks to Mr. H. G. Wells and his futile negotiations ith Stalin in establishing a branch of the PEN the world association of writers) in Soviet Russia, we now that the Left side of politics is not necessarily a paradise for literary and artistic persons. Wells may be right when he said bitterly that Stalin appears to share the dubious glory, with Hitler and Mussolini, of curbing spontaneous expressions of thought vital to literature and art. It is a matter of strange coincidence that in Italy, Germany and Soviet Russia of today there reigns a severe censorship and occasional persecution of non-conformist writers many of whom in exile retaliate by hitting back through their mighty pen. But such news of individual or group persecution leaks out very rapidly as we find from this informing though somewhat coloured book of Mr. Eastman. He quotes approvingly Lenin and even Trotsky, but Stalin is an anathema! He hoped passionately (and hence the disillusionment is more bitter) that creative art will thrive with the establishment of the Soviet Union. In the early days of the Revolution we found an association of writers called *Kuznitza* or Forge "with the goal of creating a poletarian literature" with a cosmic or planetary tendencies :

"We will find a new dazzling road for our planet!
We will plant the stars in rows
and put the moon in harness!"

This grand aspiration of Soviet leaders and writers was analysed by the veteran critic Polonsky whose article "Lenin's Views of Art and Culture" is now published by Mr. Eastman in extenso as a *supplement* to the book, a really valuable pendant. After the death of Lenin, Leon Trotsky was ruthlessly persecuted and Stalin's final triumph ushered in an age of unhumiliated, violently disciplined or even driven to artists *in uniform*. How several writers were humiliated, violently disciplined or even driven to suicide,—have been narrated by Mr. Eastman in his harrowing section—"A Literary Inquisition." But Andrey Byelie and Alexei Tolstoy, proscribed two years ago, have been welcomed into the rank of the "great united front of Soviet writers." So Ivan Bunin, Solokov and other writers are gaining world recognition through sheer merit and Maxim Gorky is still shining as the golden link between the pre-war and post-war creators of art and literature in Russia. So we should not merely indulge in bitter criticism but try to pursue the slow and may be imperceptible flow of creative genius in a great nation born to great art through their theatre and dance, novel and poetry as unique in virility as in variety. The Kharkov Congress of uniformed artists may be but a caricature and we should have patience to look beyond, to the creative Russia of all days.

HISTORY OF EUROPE FROM RENAISSANCE TO REVOLUTION AND EUROPE SINCE WATERLOO : *By Prof. Upendranath Ball, M.A., Dyal Singh College, Lahore. 2 Vols. Price Rs. 2/8 & Rs. 3/12.*

The history of a continent is difficult to write and probably more difficult to summarize. Some authors exaggerate the political, others the economic or the military factors, producing a somewhat demoralizing picture of perpetual conflicts and defeats. Prof. Ball has wisely worked out a happy combination of the chronological and cultural narratives, bringing home to the readers the lessons, objectively drawn, of European history. His chapters on the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, etc., are human documents, correcting the overemphasis on politics in several books. Europe may take pride in her politics, but it is not the politics of unity and solidarity,—and it will be difficult to share today the opinion of the author that "Europe still stands as the pioneer of civilization"—but of exploitation of weaker humanity rather than of civilization. Hence the general suspicion of European ideas and pretensions in most of the non-European peoples, not excluding those of the New world colonized by Europe. Prof. Ball is nearer to reality when he observes, towards the end of his excellent survey : "It does not seem that they (the Europeans) believe in the principle of equality. It is feared that by their imperialism they may precipitate another catastrophe. But if they do not mend their ways, other nations would march ahead of them and lead the new movement of humanization."

His presentation is clear and convincing and the two volumes would help general readers to form a good idea of Europe, which, for good or for evil, is dominating the world stage for the last few centuries.

KALIDAS NAG

CHRIST FOR US AND IN US : *Campbell N. Moody. Allen and Unwin. Pp. 96. Price 3s. 6d.*

Books on Christianity at the present time, tend to fall into two classes. On the one hand, those emphasising the immanence of God, on the other, those emphasising His transcendence. To the former belong most writers of the Social Christianity school of thought, who often seem to come dangerously near to pantheism. In the other school the influence of Karl Barth is clearly discernible. Dr. Moody has attempted to explain in simple language the importance of Christ's person and His Cross. He realises that there are difficulties for many in the use of the word "substitution" but maintains that by His witness Christ does for men, what they cannot do for themselves. Therefore "Christ for men" is an essential part of the Atonement, and together with "Christ *in* men" make the Atonement comprehensible. It is quite an instructive little book, belonging to the second of the two main modern schools of thought, but in spite of the writer's intentions it is a book for the thoughtful few, and these may well desire to study the problem in more weighty tomes.

A DERELICT AREA : *Thomas Sharp, Day to Day Pamphlets No. 25. Hogarth Press. Pp. 49. Price 1s. 6d.*

The derelict area which the writer has studied is the south-west Durham coalfield. Tye pits remain, but few are working, and the men remain, hoping for nothing, but with nowhere else to go. The derelict areas are monuments to the stupidity of unregulated competition. The pits were worked so as to bring up as much coal as possible in the shortest possible time. The result was that for every ton brought to the surface three tons became permanently lost in the ground. The natural resources of the land were wasted, and together with the natural resources, the inhabitants. With conditions as different as they are between England and India, a great deal of the tragedy of the derelict areas is incomprehensible in India. One is so accustomed to the tragedy of stark poverty in India that one overlooks the difference between poverty which appears natural and unavoidable, and poverty which is the result of plenty being wasted. The more one studies the lesson of the derelict areas in England

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the more one feels the tragedy, namely, that the derelict areas are the result of failings in a system, and that the victims have been, and are helpless, either to remedy their present sufferings, or to prevent their occurring a second time. So far as India is concerned Western civilization should be studied not only to get ideas as to what might be done to remove poverty in India, but still more to learn what dangers to avoid.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

COMMUNALISM AND ITS CURE BY THEOSOPHY: *By Bhagavan Das. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Pp. 56. Price As. 6.*

This is an Adyar pamphlet in which Dr. Bhagavan Das urges that the only real cure for communalism which is rampant in India is Theosophy. "Since Communalism is an ethical-psychological-religious Disease, it can be cured only by an ethical-psychological-spiritual Remedy, and not by any artificial arithmetical mechanical electoral quack devices." (p. 53). And this spiritual remedy, it is needless to add, is Theosophy. But with all deference to Dr. Das, may not one remind him that men of all religious persuasions think like this and consider their respective religions to be the panacea for all worldly ills? One is tempted to suggest, on the contrary, that *communism* could rather be a better cure for Communalism than a religion however new. Communalism is a mediaeval relic and will disappear not by putting on new religious ideas but by replacing them all with ideas of economic and political interests and by the development of socio-economic consciousness. In Bolshevic Russia, men of all religions can work together for the furtherance of the Bolshevic ideals, simply because religion has been sub-merged by economic and social ideals. The question now sometimes pushes itself to the forefront whether religion has not already out-lived its utility. In that case, Dr. Das's suggested remedy may be found to be somewhat antiquated; for, even though Theosophy be a synthesis of all religions, it is after all one more added to the already heavy list of religions.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

ROAD AND RAIL IN FORTY COUNTRIES: *By Dr. Wohl and Prof. Albitreccia. Pp. 455. Oxford University Press. Price 18 shillings.*

This is a brief survey of road and rail conditions in forty leading countries of the world, undertaken at the request of the International Chamber of Commerce, with a view to present in one compendium the problems of road-rail competition in different countries and to provide the necessary data for suggesting possible solutions. In November, 1933 was published the Introductory Report on Road and Rail Transport submitted by the Committee of Independent Experts to the International Chamber of Commerce, and this compendium is a complementary publication to the Introductory Report.

The problem of co-ordination of railway and road Motor Transport is to be examined not only with a view to provide the producer and the consumer to have their goods conveyed in the best possible condition with the least possible expense, but also from the standpoint of the general economic welfare of the community, for the cost of permitting any wasteful or inefficient system must ultimately fall on the community at large. "The International Chamber of Commerce does not, therefore, regard the road and rail question merely as a transport problem, but looks at it from the standpoint of the general economic welfare" of the Society. The present study sequently avoids discussions of too technical and is addressed to the general public who are by and interested in a sound organization of transport system.

The study reveals that although the pr presents special characteristics in every country, to differences in geographical, social, Legislative administrative conditions, yet development has place everywhere almost on similar lines and possible solutions which can be taken into are usually comparable and capable of being internationally.

It is found that railways and Motor Tra each have different technical advantages qual them respectively for certain kinds of traffic, governments are in most cases trying to distr traffic equitably on such a basis.

The studies contained in this book have been according to some uniform plan in order that comparable basis may be found, and the investig have been carried on under two broad heads, viz road and rail situation in various countries, and basis of transport organization, legal, fiscal, social competitive. It has not been possible to bring statistical data on transport development up-to in many cases they only go up to 1931-32, and certain cases reliable data have been difficult to ob Still the authors have undoubtedly presented very ful study, covering no less than forty countries of world, including India, and the book must be reg as a timely and helpful publication for the guid of all students of transport, if not of all Governm that are seriously embarrassed with the question at present time.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION IN INDI *By Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, M.A., D.Sc. (Ec London. Publishers George Allen & Unwin Museum Street, London. Price 15 Shillings net.*

This work is the thesis of Dr. Lokanathan appro by the London University for degree of Doctor Science and embodies the results of investigati pursued by the author for nearly 5 years in In England, Austria and Germany. As the writer him points out, the book examines the structure efficiency of industrial organization in India. It tr in particular, the origin, evolution, and features of Indian Managing Agency system and as such it de with one of the most burning topics of the day. significant role played by the Managing Agents in development and organization of industry is mar in almost every chapter of this book and the aut arrives at the conclusion that Indian industry, w owes much to the Managing Agency system, has m to gain by curing it of its admitted defects than abolishing it altogether. The author further belie that the methods of floating industrial units in In have on the whole been sound and economical that the system of promoting concerns by Manag Agents has yielded fruitful results. These are bo conclusions and every chapter of the book appears attempt at justification of such assumptions, althou glimpses into the other side of the picture are also entirely wanting. In Chapter IX the author examin the cost and efficiency of the Managing Agency syst and suggests certain methods of improvement. H believes that this system will continue to exist for long time, "most certainly in Bengal," and it c justify itself at least in two important ways, nam in providing an opportunity of co-ordinated a centralized control and economic administration

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everal firms under one roof, and in supplying ecessary finance and resources for the establishment f such new industries as involve much pioneering ork. Dr. Lokanathan accordingly advocates the aintenance of Managing Agents but proposes certain mprovements in their internal organization. He also uggests that there should be formed an Association of Managing Agents with certain internal rules of conduct nd control, with a view not only to erradicate the ndesirable elements that have crept into this system ut to develop and strengthen those features that ustify its continuance.

We have studied the book carefully. It is one of the most timely publications, particularly because the revision of the Indian Company Law is under contemplation, it undoubtedly contains much useful information and embodies the results of a great deal of abour and research. We have, however, been constrained to feel that the author's studies have been largely conditioned by pre-conceived notions or hasty assumptions. The serious drawbacks of the Managing Agency system have not been properly examined and the problem of second and third generation inefficiency of the Managing Agency system has been entirely ignored. Dr. Lokanathan forgets that the entire field of Indian industry requires thorough reorganization and rationalization in the light of present-day conditions of acute world competition. The permanent load that Indian industries suffer through the Managing Agency system has been a drag on progress and instances are not wanting of several industrial ventures succumbing to the greed of Managing Agents. The fabulous earnings of some managing agents and the provision of their continuity in perpetuity has attracted many irresponsible adventures into the field of joint-stock enterprise, leading to serious loss of the economic and financial resources of the country. Persons with no technical training and with hardly any financial resources of their own have got together a few public men whose names carry some weight to form the Board of Directors, and have literally seduced the unwary public to part with their hard-earned money for ill-thought-out schemes. Most of such adventurous undertakings have not only come to grief but have caused a serious setback to the progress of industrial enterprise in the country. Dr. Lokanathan would at least be less enthusiastic in his support of the Managing Agency system if he had known these facts. At any rate, a scientific treatise as Dr. Lokanathan's present book claims to be, must necessarily remain incomplete if the study is based on inadequate data or with partial notions. It is not expected that such an investigation should be of the nature of an unqualified apologia for a particular set of management as is found on page 352, paragraph 2 of the book. However, we fully appreciate the study undertaken by Dr. Lokanathan and we have no hesitation in commending it to the students of economics as well as to our business men. The get-up and the printing are very satisfactory and the addition of the index leaves hardly anything more to desire.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

POPULAR HINDUISM, THE RELIGION OF THE MASSES: *By L. S. S. O'Malley. Cambridge University Press, 1935. Pp. VIII+246.*

The present book by Mr. O'Malley is a description of the state of the Hindu religion at the present day. It is divided into eight chapters. *viz.*, Beliefs, Ideals, Moral Influences, Worship and Ceremonies, Godlings and Evil Spirits, Modern Deifications, Brahamans, Priests and Holy Men, Sectarianism and Toleration. In the course of these chapters, the author has tried to give us a picture of Hinduism as it exists principally among the masses; and also, by way of contrast, as it does among the educated section of the Indian people. There are a few minor inaccuracies here and there; while, a bias is also noticeable in favour of Christian standards of morality in certain portions of the book. This prejudices its scientific value to some extent. But apart from this, the descriptions must, on the whole, be pronounced to be fairly accurate, objective and free from any avoidable bias.

One thing which strikes the reader forcibly in the book, is the appalling difference which exists between the two sections of the Indian population today. The educated people are moral and religious, but insular; while the uneducated masses are steeped in fear and ignorance, addicted to strange, and occasionally, immoral practices, and overridden by priests and gurus, who sometimes exert a healthy influence upon their morals and sometimes exploit them for personal profit. Mr. O'Malley thus presents us with a cross-section of the inward life of the Indian people. But like all cross-sections, it has an inevitable defect. Every social phenomenon is in a ceaseless process of transformation. It is therefore difficult for a study mainly confined to a particular period of time, to reveal which way things are moving, whether the healthy aspects of religious life are developing, or whether it is the other way round. In such a case, the reader is apt to be left with a false impression that he is getting a permanent aspect of Hindu society before him. Let us explain more clearly what we mean.

We have already referred to the wide cleavage which exists between the educated and uneducated people of India. When viewed historically, this is found to have been not always so. Formerly educated people used to live in the villages, the priests too were more educated than they are now; and there were various institutions like *katha-katha* or *jatra* which brought culture to the door of the illiterate peasants. But through the spread of Capitalism, the villages have fallen into decay, towns have thrived at their expense; and educated or clever men from all castes have flocked into the towns from their village-homes. The rural population has thus been deprived of the intelligent guidance of their educated brethren, their own social institutions have languished, and they themselves have been degraded into the depths of fear, superstition and helplessness. The cleavage between the masses and the classes is thus a historical growth which is now on the increase. And unless it is described as such, the reader is likely to carry away the impression that it is a permanent feature of Hindu society; and the masses have always been what they are now, while the classes have been always so insular, irresponsible and blind to the degradation of their neighbours.

There are more topics like this which might have been improved by a historical treatment of the case. When a social process is studied in cross-section, it has certain obvious advantages; but it has some serious limitations too. Only the historical point of view can set right the errors which are attendant upon it. If the present book had also been written in that spirit, it would have left the reader's mind, in the end, with more sympathy for India, and certainly given him a more truthful account of the social and religious life of her people.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

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THE TIMES OF INDIA ANNUAL (1936). *Price Rs. 2.*

This year's annual is still more gorgeous in its get-up and appearance than its predecessors. The reading side has been well catered for, Sir William Foster's "The Cape Route," "Behind the Veil in a Mughal Palace" by B. G. Murdeshwar and St. Nihal Singh's "Legends of Lankas' Uplands" being three outstanding examples. The illustrations are this year exceptionally interesting to the Indian reader, both from their themes and their beautiful rendition in colour. Baglatopulo has given us charming studies of Indian subjects, "An Indian Musician" being the finest of the set.

K. N. C.

THE ETHICAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE GATHA: *By Jatindra Mohan Chatterji, M.A., (Deputy Collector, Bengal). 2nd Edition. Revised and Enlarged with an Introduction by Dr. Bhagwandas. Price Rs. 2-4-0 or Four shillings (Postage extra). Jehangir B. Karani's Sons. 220-22, Bora Bazar, Fort, Bombay.*

The Avestan Gathas are the merest fragments of an once rather decent religious literature of the ancient Iranian people. Even to those scholars who have specialized in the study of Avesta, these fragments are very often entirely unintelligible. The author seems to have found not only coherence but a distinct ethical background in them. The value of his interpretation is, to say the least, entirely conjectural, and as such the work under review has little scientific value. But to the general public such a work is to some extent welcome inasmuch as it deals with a comparative study of religious thoughts, free from sectarianism. A second edition of the work indicates that it has been well received in some quarters at least.

SUKUMAR SEN

FROM WRONG ANGLES: *By Gaganvihari Mehta, pp. xii+180. The Book Co., Ltd., Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

The rich and varied contents of the book can be guessed from the one or two short extracts we quote below; but the reader must read it through and through to appreciate the whole book. With regard to the geometry of the First Round Table Conference, the author says: "The angle of a British Delegate of the Round Table Conference is said to be *acute*. The angle of a British Indian Delegate of the Round Table Conference is said to be *obtuse*. When the angle of the Indian Delegate is in the same line as the angle of the British Delegate, the former angle is called a *right angle*." He has also collected the following flowers of speech:

"As frankly rude as Sir Samuel Hoare," "As hypocritical as Ramsay MacDonald," "As uncertain as Gandhiji's next step," "As regular as anniversary celebrations—in Bengal," "As spineless as a title hunter," "As illusory as popular responsibility in the Hoare Constitution."

Our final advice is "Drink deep." The price is cheap and get up good; and the reader is sure to enjoy many hours of innocent laughter.

J. M. DATTA

REDDIE OF ABBOTSHOLME: *By B. M. Ward. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Pp. 336. Price 10s. 6d.*

The New Education Movement or the New School Movement with which the educationists in the West are quite familiar is not so well-known in this Yet it has profoundly influenced the educational of our times and hundreds of schools have been in different countries of the world on the ide which the movement is working. It originated fifty years ago from a little school in Dert England. The founder of the school was Cecil (C.R.), and he was the father of this new mo in education. With but £77 in his pocket and by a boundless ambition to be the pioneer of a and more sympathetic system of boys' educatio Reddie in 1889 founded the New School, Abbot Ten years later he was a world-famous figu Abbotsholme became the centre of a new edu revolution. Towards the close of his career had to give up his connection with Abbotsholm he still remained an inspiring figure and the mo which he had once initiated and inspired had gathered sufficient momentum to carry itself without his help.

In this excellent biography Mr. Ward has the story of his life and ideal, of his strugg conquests, his versatility and genius with foibles and frailties. Reddie's was a rem vigorous personality and the biographer has eminently successful in giving a vivid portrait personality. We love C. R. none the less for frailties for he was greater than his work. I a this biography will be read with interest by a are interested in education.

ANATH NATH B

THE NATURE OF MYSTICISM: *B Jinarajadasa, M.A. Theosophical Publishing Adyar, Madras, India. 1934. Bd. Re. 1/-; Re.*

This is the second edition of a pamphlet pub in 1917 on the highly abstruse subject of Mys which Mr. Jinarajadasa's exposition helped to larize. Obviously the centre of interest lies in sophical Mysticism, still in the process of evo and struggling with Krishnamurti's teaching enthusiasm for his subject has not spoilt the w appetite for other food, and it is refreshing to fi thus concluding: "among these many types of ticism there is none first and none last; all are roads to God, and souls tread equally swiftly them all. Nor are these the only roads to Him; ways there are, not even necessarily through mys And new mystic modes too will appear," etc. A attitude towards religion!

P. R. S

BOMBAY IN THE DAYS OF GOERGE *By F. Dawtrey-Smith, being Memoirs of Sir E West, Chief Justice of Recorder's Court, Bombay; some hitherto unpublished documents; Lo Green & Co., London, May, 1935.*

The story takes us back to a India that few know. The merchants from distant Albion ca quest of commerce, but found themselves as of an empire. It was very embarrassing to the Di of the East India Company, but inspite of disinclination the responsibilities grew, mismanag of which led to a series of conflicts with the Crown the Parliament of England. It is generally held Mutiny led to the Crown taking over the govern of India from the Company, but mutiny was merely immediate cause. The great change was the resu long struggle between the ministers of state thoughtful people in England and the great East Company. Each contest resulted in fresh fetters the indignant Directors and the shareholders, till at

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of the Mutiny, the Company was glad to hand over the mantle to the representatives of the Crown. This was a natural step, because the Company had outlived its useful days. At the end of the eighteenth century the judicial system in India was very defective. The officers who were sent out to discharge these duties, were in the words of Colebrooke 'veriest dolts.' Not only the districts were very large, but in training and equipment they were far inferior to any civil servant of our days. In 1773 after much opposition from interested quarters, an act for introducing 'Regulations for the better management of the affairs of the Company' was passed by the Parliament. A supreme Court of duly qualified judges, appointed by the Crown, was established in Calcutta, and in 1799 at Madras. A 'Recorder's Court' was also established in Bombay. These steps were vehemently opposed by Anglo-India. The old order of society in India, with its rusty standard of public morality, which considered even the highest born Indian to be socially inferior to an English valet, considered these uncalled for, unwarranted and tyrannical invasion of their private rights by the Parliament. The English judges who were sent out from England, arrived in this country without the bias and prejudice that saturated all the activities of their fellow countrymen long resident in India. They had to take an oath, on assumption of office, that they would administer justice without favour and fear, and in doing so they came in violent collision with the local non-officials (the vested interests of our days) and officials. The story of this period had so long been written from one point of view only, the viewpoint of the Company's officials and the domiciled Europeans. But this book presents us with the other side of the medal. For this the future historian of India would remain extremely grateful to Mr. Dawtrey-Smith.

Sir Edward West was appointed Judge of the Recorder's Court at Bombay, and arrived in India in 1822. In this country he proved himself to be a doughty champion of judicial integrity. But like other Crown Judges sent to India under the Regulating Act, he soon died at his post. His death was followed by that of his wife. Very little of Sir Edward's life in India was known; the *Dictionary of the National Biography* knows him only as a political economist. He wrote an essay on 'Application of Capital to Land.' Besides, he has been mentioned in the Biographies of Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, but in these the forces against which he had to work found a preponderant voice. It would be a mistake to regard Mr. D. Smith's work as a biography; he merely places the materials from Lady West's journal and letters written from India to friends, throwing a lurid light in the social and political under-currents of those bygone days. By publishing the second edition of this work, together with some hitherto unpublished materials, the learned author has performed a public duty of highest importance. The work also throws interesting side-lights on the characters of Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm.

A. C. Banerji

CHINA'S RED ARMY MARCHES: *By Agnes Smedley, International Publishers.*

For over half a decade the Kuomintang has been waging a war of extermination on the so-called "Red bandits" occupying the mountainous regions of Central China. Chiang Kai-shek's sincerity in this respect has never been doubted by the great powers. His resources in men, money and munitions have always been held by experts as more than adequate for the purpose and have been liberally supplemented by foreign loans, foreign military advice, foreign guns, foreign gunboats and foreign bombing planes. Till 1935, five major wars took place between the Kuomintang and the Red forces. Each time the Kuomintang armies were decisively defeated with heavy losses in men and guns. Few greater military puzzles are to be found in history.

Agnes Smedley's book throws a good deal of light on this military puzzle. The chief factor in the situation seems to be the support of the peasant masses which the Red leaders have succeeded in enlisting by means of their war-cries, "land for the peasants," "no debts, no rents and no taxes." The Red Army, now composed of 400,000 regulars and 600,000 irregulars, has grown entirely out of bands of peasant partisans whose fights with the help of clubs, stones, spears and swords are described in purple passages which leave harrowing effects on the reader's mind. Miss Smedley stoutly denies that the Red Army has got its guns from Soviet Russia and passionately affirms that the guns and ammunition of the Red forces have all been captured from the hands of the Kuomintang's soldiers who often desert *en masse* to the side of the enemy. The account ends with the founding of the Chinese Soviet Republic by the First All-China Congress of Soviets in 1931.

Miss Smedley's sympathies are wellknown. Her violent predilictions, romantic temperament and sentimental outbursts spoil, a good deal, the historical value of her writings. There are obvious exaggerations in her narratives of battles which often remind us of the descriptions in the Mahabharat. Yet it is probable that the book is much more faithful to reality than we can imagine from the deliberately lying reports emanating from Nanking and Shanghai. The least that can be said is that Agnes Smedley shows us the other side of the Chinese shield. No student of world affairs can afford to remain ignorant of Soviet China which now claims to occupy one-sixth of China with a population of eighty millions and whose military leaders, Chu Teh, Mai Tse-tung and Peng are among the greatest that the world has known.

X. Y. Z.

THE HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS: *By B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Congress Working Committee, Allahabad. Yellow Khaddar Cloth, demy 8vo. Pp. 1038+CIV+XXII, and portraits of the presidents of the Indian National Congress. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Besides the main body of the work, there are an introduction by Babu Rajendra Prasad, the present president of the Congress, and several appendices.

Considering the bulk and importance of the book, the price is very moderate.

The book is divided into several parts, according to the different "eras" into which, according to the author, the fifty years of the life of the Congress may be divided. These periods are, according to him, the era of reforms, 1885-1905, the era of self-government, 1906-1916; the era of home rule, 1917-1920; the era of Swaraj, 1921-1928; the era of complete independence, 1929-1935. Part V describes the era of fight, and Part VI, the era of reorganization.

It is a very useful production.

CONGRESS IN EVOLUTION: BEING A COLLECTION OF CONGRESS RESOLUTION FROM 1885 TO 1934. *Compiled by D. Chakrabarty, M.A. and C. Bhattacharya, Advocate. The Book Company, Ltd., College Square, Calcutta. Demy 8vo., pp. XLVIII+232. Price Rs. 2.*

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has written a foreword

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to this useful publication, in the course of which he says :

"Such a publication is certainly a crying need. I felt the need myself when I was engaged in writing "The Indian Struggle" last year—a comprehensive account of our political movement from 1920 to 1934. During my recent stay in Europe several foreigners interested in our political movement have approached me for literature in connection with our political movement, and whenever such a request has been made, I have felt most acutely how backward we are in the matter of literature, as compared with other political movements. In the circumstances, a publication of this sort is bound to prove useful to the student of Indian politics and to the historian as well. I have great pleasure, therefore, in welcoming this publication and in commending it to the general public."

We also commend it to the general public. Besides the resolutions, divided into groups, there is a survey of the history of the Congress covering 36 pages. There are also some useful appendices.

C.

SANSKRIT

SHARADATILAKAM. Part I (Chapters I-VII), Part II (Chapters VIII-XXV) : *Edited by Atalananda Sarasvati. Published for the Agamanusandhana Samiti by the Sanskrit Press Depository, 30, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

The publication of scholarly and beautiful editions of various Tantra texts in different well-known Series of Oriental Publications has supplied sufficient inducement to scholars for an investigation of their contents and has led to the bringing about of a healthy change in the definite unsympathetic outlook of the world of scholars with regard to their aims and ideals. And in this respect special reference should be made to the contributions of the Tantrik Texts Series initiated by Sir John Woodroffe, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, under the pseudo-name Arthur Avalon, who appears to have been the first to conceive the idea of starting an exclusive Series of Tantra publications. It is these Series of Publications and other writings of Woodroffe that are acknowledged by savants like Winternitz to have enabled scholars 'to form a just judgment and an objective historical idea' of the religion and literature of the Tantras.

Seventeen volumes, so far issued in the Series, contain a number of highly important Tantra texts, some of which have been published here for the first time. The publications in the present Series are not mere mechanical reproductions of defective manuscripts as in the case of earlier editions of Tantra texts, but they embody the results of the collation and comparison of a number of manuscripts by competent scholars entrusted with the task of editing them. Reference should also be made to the excellent printing, paper and general get-up of each of the volumes in the Series. This is a feature that has increased the popularity of the Series as a whole even though works that were previously published elsewhere are found in some cases to have been included here, and has necessitated the issue of second editions in the case of a number of works.

The edition of the work under review, prepared by Atalananda Sarasvati, fully maintains the prestige of the Series, two volumes of which (XVI and XVII) are covered by it. The text of the *Sharadatilaka*, one of the most popular, learned and authoritative Tantra treatises, which has been profusely laid under contribution by innumerable Tantra digests of Northern India, is here accompanied by the well-known commentary of Raghavabhatta. Besides the characteristic features of the Series, *e.g.*, a detailed list of contents and an elaborate introduction, a running summary of the contents of the work, have here an index of the first lines of the verses in the book. This will be of great use in identifying and verifying the numerous quotations made from various other works. Another index of the names of works and authors quoted or referred to in the commentary would have been all the more welcome; it would testify to the vastness of the learning of the commentator and reveal many a name, little known or absolutely unknown in the present days. It is expected that the recent issue of a cheap, one volume edition of the work in the Kashi Sanskrit Series will not in any way minimise the importance of the edition in question, even though the former professes to improve the latter, which, however, is curiously referred to as a publication of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, made under the auspices of the Maharaja of Darbhanga.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANGLA SABDATATVA OR BENGALI PHILOLOGY. *By Rabindranath Tagore. Second edition, enlarged. Crown 8vo, pp. 210+29. Price One Rupee. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

This book is one out of the many solid proofs of the versatility of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore's genius and talents. It is a collection of papers dealing with the Bengali philological subjects. They were contributed mostly to Bengali periodicals. The first was written 45 years ago and the last, five months ago. Whether the Poet was the first to write on Bengali philology or not, we cannot say; but this we can say that no one has written for so long a period on philological topics and thrown such new light on the subject of Bengali philology. The introduction of 29 pages is an illuminating and enjoyable discourse. Though the book is written on Bengali philological topics, it will be of use to philologists in general, as it is scientific and scholarly.

SIKSHA OR EDUCATION : *By Rabindranath Tagore. Third edition, enlarged. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. Pp. 286+6. Price Re. 1-8.*

The Poet Rabindranath Tagore is not only an original thinker on the subject of education but is also one who has striven to the limit of his resources to give concrete expression to his thoughts and ideas. First his school at Sanitiniketan, named Brahmacharya Asram, and later his Visva-bharati University are embodiments of his educational ideas.

The first essay in this book was written 44 years ago and the last was written only a few months ago. They were contributed mostly to Bengali periodicals.

The book should be read by all who are interested in the subject of education—students included and the education minister and the director of public instruction not excluded.

Though entitled *Siksha* or education, that word must not be understood in a narrow sense while reading the contents of this book. For, it has papers on literary re-unions and conferences, the main function of libraries, village service, meditative Japan, education and culture and the like.

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Both the above works of the author are written in his fascinating style, and shine with the many-coloured lights of his poesy, wit and humour.

The educational system prevalent in India is an imitation of the British educational system and that, too, only so far as it may subserve the ends of the foreign rulers of the country. For this reason, the intelligentsia of India require to read this book as a corrective. Those who do not know Bengali should learn it, if only to read the prose and poetical works of Rabindranath Tagore. It will not be lost labour. It will not do to wait till all his works are translated—perhaps all of them will never be translated. Moreover, not many are the translations of his works which are satisfactory.

BANGIYA SABDAKOSH OR A BENGALI DICTIONARY: *By Hari Charan Bandyapadhyay, Santiniketan. Price of each number Annas eight, postage one anna.*

Number 29 has been published, carrying this biggest of Bengali lexicons to its 920th page and the word *Kula*. We had occasion to notice this valuable work before. It is being compiled, edited and published with as much ability and as well as before.

BANGIYA MAHAKOSH OR ENCYCLOPAEDIA BENGALENSIS. *Chief editor Prof. Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan. Indian Research Institute, 55, Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta. Number 6. Price of each number Annas eight.*

The chief editor and his colleagues continue to maintain the high standard of their work. The get-up continues to be commendable. The article "Akshara" or script, by the chief editor, deserves particular study.

C.

GUJARATI

GUJARAT AND ITS LITERATURE: *By K. M. Munshi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate (Q.S.), with a Foreward by Mahatma Gandhi. Published by Longmans Green & Co., Ballard Estate, Bombay. Cloth Cover. Pp. 407. With a map of Gujarat. Price Rs. 6-0-0 (1935). Illustrated.*

Mr. Munshi is an outstanding personality in modern Gujarat, both in politics and literature; there is not a branch of the latter to which he has not contributed and contributed handsomely. Novel, drama, history, essay, journalism, research in old Gujarati, have all been handled by him and in a way which would leave a mark behind. A man blessed with dynamic energy and tirelessness, he was thrown on his own resources, while undergoing imprisonment as a Civil Disobedience prisoner in the Bijapur Jail, and the result was this valuable book, which though diffuse and in a great many places, suffering from a lack of sense of proportion, gives a very good picture of the origin and development of Gurajati Literature from the earliest to the present times. It is divided into three parts: Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhransha, (A.C. 2007—1297); old Gujarat (1297—1852); Modern Gujarat (1852—1934)). The best part of Mr. Munshi's work lies in the First Part. In about eighty pages, this part gives a connected account of the Land, the People, the Aryan Colonies of the West. Their Language and Literature from which was evolved Old Gujarati, which in its turn gave rise to Modern Gujarati. It betrays an amount of labour and study of scholarly materials which would be praiseworthy under any circumstances but is the more so when one remembers that the study was made in jail, whose reference books and other help could be procured with great difficulty and at least inadequately. The Second Part presented comparatively less difficulty, as the author had already (before going to jail) made a special study of the works of some of the best writers of the period; like Narsing Mehta, Premananda and Dayaram. The Third Part deals with the modern period, and the treatment has met with a chorus of disapproval at the hands of critics. In the one hundred and fifty pages devoted to it, critics have found that thirty have been given to Mr. Munshi, by the writer to whom the work of appreciating his literary worth was entrusted and eight by himself to his wife, who is also a well-known and facile writer. This left about one hundred and ten pages, in which to crowd up the modern period, which is rich in number of writers, and in materials, because Gujarati Literature like all other Modern Vernacular Literatures is passing through times of great activity and output. Parsis are crying out that their best men are ignored, Hindus point out a number of omissions, and they both criticise his mode of criticism and review of the works of those he has reviewed as unfair and hasty. Whatever defects there might be, judging as a whole, the book adheres to be a very creditable performance, and in spite of the fact that in places false values are assessed, and that greater carefulness should have been exercised in the statement of facts, the book will for a long time to come hold the field as a valuable guide to those who are not familiar with the Gujarati language but nevertheless interested in its history and literature. Mr. Munshi's Preface gives in a nutshell the trend and tendency of the contents of the pages to follow, and a Bibliography and an Index at the end, together with a section on the Elements of Gujarati Prosody, add considerably to the usefulness of the book. Copious extracts of the texts in Gujarati, printed in Devnagri characters help the readers of allied vernaculars to understand more fully the points made by the writer.

KETLANK VIVECHANO: *By Navalram J. Trivedi, M.A. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover. Pp. 260. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1934).*

"A few Reviews or Criticisms": This is how Mr. Trivedi modestly characterises his work. On reading the reviews, however, one finds that the work discloses sterling worth. He has treated ten of the most well-known writers of modern Gujarat, novelists, poets, and prose writers. He has reviewed their works, extensively and according to the best canons of criticism. The reviewer is a man of parts, and has kept himself abreast of all the latest movements in Gujarati prose and verse. He writes in a way which makes his language flow easily and though the subject is serious, he has been able to make it attractive.

BHUT KAL NA PADCHHAYA: *Part II, by Gunavanta Rai Acharya, printed at the Jay Swadeshi Printing Press, Ranpur. Cloth bound. Pp. 188.* Price *Re. 1-0-0 (1934).*

"Shadows of the Past," Part II is, in a way better than part I, as the eleven stories told in it, are more vigorously told and range over wider subjects. The style has certainly been successful in visualising to the reader the past glory of Kathiawad, glory that has vanished.

K. M. J.

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INDIANS TO PROVE THEIR CAPACITY TO BRITISHERS!

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

In the course of his reply to the address presented by the Municipal Board of Lucknow on the 28th of November last, Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, said that "the coming reforms" "throw open a wide avenue by which the people of India can show the measure of their capacity and progress." They do not throw open any such wide avenue. On the contrary, they are a great step backward. In commenting on this passage we said in our last December number:

> "Lord Willingdon and other British imperialists do not perhaps understand how galling and insulting the attitude of superiority of the political schoolmaster-examiner assumed by Britishers towards Indians is to the latter. The former should know that Indians are not political babies. They are entitled to rule themselves and quite capable of doing so, if left alone. Besides, if their capacity is to be measured, Englishmen are not in a position to measure it impartially; because they are interested in prolonging, if not perpetuating, the dominance of themselves and the subjection of Indians. It is not we Indians alone who think that we are capable. Many competent foreigners, including Englishmen, have said so. It makes us ashamed whenever we have to quote their testimony. But we shall do so again in some future issue....."

We proceed to do so accordingly; but not for convincing British imperialists, but for helping those Indians who labour under the inferiority complex to get rid of it. For, though there have been and are just and impartial Englishmen, the British nation as a whole, being deeply interested in maintaining British rule in India, cannot be convinced by any amount of writing that we are fit to rule ourselves. As the late Mr. John Page Hopps, editor of *The Coming Day*, London, wrote in *The Modern Review* for June, 1907:

> "Who say the people of India are not fit for home rule? We, Englishmen, who profit by ruling them; we, who do not want to surrender power; who in our egotism think we are the best and the ablest rulers in the world. But it is an old cry. It was raised against the middle class in our own England; it was raised against the mechanics of our great towns; it was raised against our country farmers; it has been raised against our women; and in every case it has been raised, not for reasons of justice, but by the people in possession of power who did not want to lose their power."

Capacity includes intellectual power and moral fitness. So the testimonies we shall quote will relate to both intellect and character, both thought and action. For, human personal not divided into mutually unrelated air compartments.

Lord Curzon said in his address as Vi in the big Delhi Durbar in 1901:

> "Powerful Empires existed and flourished here Englishmen were still wandering painted in woods, and while the British colonies were wilderness and a jungle. India has left a mark upon the history, the philosophy, an religion of mankind, than any other terrestri in the universe."

These empires were empires ruled, no foreigners, but by persons who had their b in India alone. Hence the existence of empires connoted the possession of n capacity and administrative ability by Ind India has left the deepest mark upon history, the philosophy and the religion mankind because of the spiritual, moral intellectual capacity of her children.

Says Max Muller, the eminent orientali his book, "What India has to teach us":

> "If I were asked under what sky the mind has most fully developed some of its ch gifts, has most deeply pondered on the gre problems of life, and has found solutions of of them which will deserve the attention even those who have studied Plato and Kant, I sh point to India. If I were to ask myself from literature we here in Europe may draw the co tive which is most wanted in order to make our life more perfect, more universal, in fact more human, again I should point to India."

British imperialists of the extreme declare that it is Britishers who have India. Let us, therefore, see what sort of Britishers found when they began to rule country. Sir Thomas Munro, a distingui governor of Madras, said in the course statement made by him before a Comm of the British House of Commons in ("Hansard's Debates," April 12):

> "If a good system of agriculture, unriv manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce wh contribute to convenience or luxury; sch established in every village for teaching rea writing and arithmetic; the general practice hospitality and charity among each other, above all a treatment of the female sex, full confidence, respect and delicacy, are among signs which denote a civilized people, then the H are not inferior to the nations of Europe; and civilization is to become an article of trade betw

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the two countries, I am convinced that this country (Britain) will gain by the import cargo."

Sir John Malcolm, a former governor of mbay, declared late in life that he "looked ck with shame to the days when he had sidered himself the superior of the Indians h whom he was called upon to associate."

But, it will be said, all these testimonies ate to the past; what of the present? We e coming to our own days, though it cannot admitted that a people's past is necessarily related to their present capacity.

As in the existing machinery of the state India the position of Indians in no depart- nt is more humiliating and more indicative British distrust of the capacity of Indians an in the army, navy and air force, we shall gin with the fighting capacity of Indians.

Sir Valentine Chirol writes in his book, India":

"The Indian army has a fine record for gallantry, and is a great fighting engine." P. 277.

In the same book he says that Kaiser ilhelm, the ex-emperor of Germany, once bserved that the Sikhs of India were the only reign troops against whom he feared to put s own German infantry.

Lieutenant-General Sir Ian Hamilton writes "A Staff Officer's Scrap-book during the usso-Japanese War," vol. i. p. 8:

"All this is supposed to be a secret; a thing to be whispered with bated breath, as if every sepoy did not already know who does the rough and dirty work, and who, in the long run, does the hardest fighting. Nevertheless, these very officers who know will sit and solemnly discuss whether our best native troops would, or would not, be capable of meeting a European enemy! Why—there is material in the north of India and in Nepaul sufficient and fit, under good leadership, to shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundations ....."

General Sir James Wilcocks writes in his book, "With the Indians in France," page 182:

"Here was a great country (Britain) with 48,000,000 inhabitants, and yet it was found necessary to summon a few thousands from Asia to defend our cause at our own gates. I have heard it said that the Indian corps was only sent to France to give India a chance of taking her part in our European war: may be that was partly the idea of those who first originated it, but the fact remains that the arrival of the Army corps, just when it did come, was the respite so sadly needed by the brave men who had wrought deeds of almost superhuman devotion, but were then outnumbered and all but overwhelmed by the German hordes."

Here the British General gives as little praise as he could to the Indian troops, reserving all his superlatives for the soldiers of his own country. But the reader can guess at the truth by reading between the lines.

Lord Birkenhead, who too was not a pro-Indian British politician, is quoted thus in Mr. George Lansbury's *Labour's Way with the Commonwealth* (Methuen), p. 51:

"The winter campaign of 1914-15 would have witnessed the loss of the Channel ports but for the stubborn valour of the Indians Corps . . . . . Without India, the war would have been immensely prolonged, if, indeed, without her help it could have been brought to a victorious conclusion."

This is the grudging British imperialistic way of admitting that, but for the fighting qualities of the sepoys, "the German hordes" would have overrun Britain.

It may be objected that Indian soldiers fight well under British officers, but that India cannot produce competent military commanders. But from ancient times down to the days of the East India Company, India has produced great generals. Even in the days of the sepoy rebellion Indian officers commanded British soldiers. It was after that rebellion that Indians were deprived of the opportunity of showing their capacity for leadership in war. But Nepal still has her own generals. And even so late as the last world war the Indian troops taken to Europe came partly from British India and partly from the Indian States. Those from the latter were commanded by Indian officers. They did not compare unfavourably with British officers. Those sent from British India were commanded by British officers; but when these were killed or disabled, the Indian officers took command, and did so with complete success.

Professor Edward E. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, who is an eminent sociologist, said in an address delivered in New York in 1926 on his return from an extended visit to India:

"I was greatly impressed with the physical beauty of the people of India, and still more with their intellectual ability. Being myself a university professor, I was particularly interested in the students there, of whom I met a large number. The students of India struck me as much more studious and much more serious in their attitude towards life than the students of America. They seemed conscious of the great part they were destined to play in life. I met with universal testimony to the intellectual keenness of the students. Once I asked an American missionary, 'What do you think of the intellectual capacity of the Indian people as a whole?' He answered: 'There is no question that it is equal to that of the American people.' I think it is even greater."

The late Mr. W. W. Pearson, M.A. (Cantab), who spent long years in India and knew the people intimately, says in his book, "For India," published in 1927:

"How can it be argued that Indians lack ability

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to rule themselves when we find the actual British government in India to-day full of Indians of all ranks, to such an extent that if to-morrow the British rulers of the land should leave India the machinery of administration would continue with very little change of outward form. The chief difference would be, that the Ruling Power . . . . . would have it for its primary object to *benefit India*. . . . ."

Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the distinguished British publicist, writes in "Truths about India," Series I, pp. 8, 9 (New York, 1923) :

"Many hundreds of years before the coming of the English, the nations of India had been a collection of wealthy and highly civilized people, possessed of a great language, with an elaborate code of laws and social regulations, with exquisite artistic taste in architecture and decoration, producing beautiful manufactures of all kinds, and endowed with religious ideas and philosophic and scientific conceptions which have greatly influenced the development of the most progressive races of the West. One of the noblest individual moralists who ever lived, Sakya Muni (Buddha) was a Hindu; the Code of Manu, dating from before the Christian era, is still as essential a study for the jurist as the institutes of Justinian. . . . . And there are in India, in this later age, worthy descendants of the great authors of the Vedas, of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, of the architects of the Taj Mahal and of such soldiers and statesmen as Baber, Hyder Ali and Runjeet Singh. And yet, nine-tenths of what has been written by the British about India is so expressed that we are made to believe the shameful falsehood that stable and civilized government in Hindustan began only with the rule of the British."

The Bishop of Calcutta preached a sermon, reported in *The Indian Messenger* of April 17, 1921, in which he said :

"Indians have achieved the highest distinction in the varied spheres of human activity and by their success have refuted the charge of racial inferiority. Certain of those qualities which we (British) are apt to think rank highly may be less in evidence among them than among ourselves; but that is merely to say that they are different from ourselves; but difference may exist alongside of perfect equality."

Mr. J. A. Spender, editor for years of the *Westminster Gazette*, writes in his book, "The Changing East," p. 23 :

"There is no Eastern country which has so many talented men in so many walks of life as India."

Then after naming Rabindranath Tagore, Sir J. C. Bose, the late Major B. D. Basu, &c., and observing that they "would be highly distinguished in any European country," he says :

"All of these should be respected and appreciated by us Englishmen and Europeans, as working on a plane of absolute equality with ourselves."

Mr. Spender came to India in 1911 to attend the Delhi Durbar. On his return he wrote in his paper (January 29, 1912) :

"India may impress one as poor, or squalid, as mediaeval, but never for a moment can it strike him as a crude, a barbarous country. Evidences meet him everywhere of art, originality, and [illegible] He will see more beautiful faces in a morning [illegible] in an Indian bazaar than in any European [illegible] he will be charmed by the grace and [illegible] the common folk. It may surprise Englishmen [illegible] it, but many Indians seriously express the [illegible] that the Indian is mentally the superior of [illegible] man."

At the St. Andrews dinner in Calcutta [illegible] Sir Thomas Raleigh, Vice-Chancellor [illegible] Calcutta University, said :

"Masterpieces of thought and language [illegible] duced in this country at a time when our [illegible] as Englishmen were little better than save[illegible] though the age of masterpieces may have [illegible] none of us who come into contact with [illegible] natives of India to-day can doubt that their in[illegible] power is worthy of their ancestry."

General Smuts said in the course [illegible] speech delivered in Johannesburg, Aug[illegible] 1919 :

"I do not look down on Indians; I look [illegible] them. Two with whom I have come into par[illegible] close contact of late, Lord Sinha and the M[illegible] of Bikaner, I regard as among the ablest men [illegible] ever known. There have been Indians who [illegible] been among the greatest men in the history [illegible] world. There have been Indians who have [illegible] among the greatest leaders of the human race. [illegible] shoes I am unworthy to untie. Nor is there [illegible] else here to-night worthy to do that."

He was asked, if commissions in the [illegible] were given to Indians, whether he would [illegible] serve under them. He replied immediately :

"Why not? I would be glad to serve un[illegible] able Indian."

Alfred Webb, president of the tenth I[illegible] National Congress, writes in "The Peo[illegible] India," page 51 :

"In Madras, in 1894, I conversed with a s[illegible] machine agent, who had travelled and done b[illegible] over the globe. His principal trade now was [illegible] Indian tailors, and seamsters—selling machines [illegible] paid for by monthly instalments. I asked the [illegible] portion of bad debts in such business. He s[illegible] had found them as high as ten per cent. in Eng[illegible] 'How high in India?' 'But one per cent., and [illegible] chiefly with Europeans. Practically we have no [illegible] with Indian natives. If it comes that they c[illegible] pay instalments, they will give back the machine [illegible]

"In open crowded bazaars or market-places [illegible] railway platforms in India are money-changers. [illegible] sit at tables upon which are heaps of coins of v[illegible] denominations. Could money be thus expose[illegible] similar gatherings in Europe."

Sir Lepel Griffin, who had spent his w[illegible] official life in India and had held high o[illegible] said as president of a meeting of the East I[illegible] Association held in London in December, 1[illegible]

"The Hindu creed is monotheistic and of [illegible] high ethical value; and when I look back upo[illegible] life in India and the thousands of good frie[illegible] have left there among all classes of the comm[illegible] when I remember those honorable, indus[illegible]

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orderly, law-abiding, sober, manly men, I look over England and wonder whether there is anything in Christianity which can give a higher ethical creed than that which is now professed by the large majority of the people of India. I do not see it in London society. I do not see it in the slums of the East End. I do not see it on the London Stock Exchange. I think that the morality of India will compare very favourably with the morality of any country in Western Europe."

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson said in the course of a speech made in 1913 when he was retiring from the office of Finance Member of the Government of India :

"I wish to pay a tribute to the Indians whom I know best. The Indian officials, high and low, of my department through the years of my connection with them have proved themselves to be unsparing of service and absolutely trustworthy. When need arose, they have done ungrudgingly a double or triple amount of work. When their advice was sought, they have given it to me fully and frankly. As for their trustworthiness, let me give an instance. Three years ago when it fell to my lot to impose new taxes, it was imperative that their nature should remain secret until they were officially announced. Everybody in the department had to be entrusted with this secret. Any one of these, from high officials to low paid compositors in the Government Press, would have become a millionaire by using that secret improperly. But even under such tremendous temptation not one betrayed his trust. So well was the secret kept that a ship laden with silver in Bombay delayed unnecessarily its unloading for three days and was consequently caught by the new tax."

Colonel Sleeman, who was instrumental in putting down thuggee in India and knew all its ways and conditions of men here, particularly the worst, said :

"I have bad before me hundreds of cases in which a man's property, liberty or life has depended upon his telling a lie, and he has refused to tell it." (Quoted in R. C. Dutt's "Civilization in Ancient India," vol. ii, p. 159).

Sir Michael Sadler, president of the Calcutta University Commission and Vice-Chancellor, Leeds University, said in a lecture delivered in Leeds in 1919 :

"One cannot walk through the streets of any centre of population in India without meeting face after face which is eloquent of thought, of fine feeling, and of insight into the profounder things of life. In a very true sense the people of India are nearer to the spiritual heart of things than we in England are. As for brain power, there is that in India which is comparable with the best in our country."

Earl Winterton, sometime under-secretary of state for India, said in a speech in the British Parliament on July 8, 1927 :

"Owing to a long tenure of my present office, I have become personally acquainted with a larger proportion of the Indians of all parties who are in public life, than any of my predecessors, and I do not hesitate to say that in culture and in education the leading men among them are not behind the public men of any country."

Sir Basil Blackett, when introducing the Indian Budget on March 1, 1926, as Finance Member, said :

"India long ago revolutionized mathematics, and provided the West with the key to the most far-reaching of all the mechanical instruments on which its control of nature has been built, when it presented to Europe through the medium of Arabia the device of the cypher (and the decimal notation) upon which all modern systems of numeration depend. Even so, India to-day or to-morrow, will, I am confident, revolutionize Western doctrines of progress by demonstrating the insufficiency and lack of finality of much of the West's present system of human values."

Sir Valentine Chirol says in his "India" (published 1926), page 6 :

"At all times in her history India has produced some of the finest and most subtle intellects of which the human race is capable; and great men of action as well as profound thinkers."

Mr. A. O. Hume said the following before the Public Service Commission of 1886 :

"The fact is—and this is what I, who claim to have had better opportunities for forming a correct opinion than most men now living, desire to urge—there is no such radical difference between Indians and Britons as it generally flatters these latter to suppose. . . . . If both races be judged impartially, and all pros and cons be fairly set down on both sides, there is very little ground for giving the preference to either. If you compare the highest and best of our Indians with the ordinary run of the rabble in England, these latter seem little better than monkeys besides grand men. If you compare the picked Englishmen we often get in India, trained and elevated by prolonged altruistic labours, and sobered and strengthened by weighty responsibility, with the rabble of India, the former shine out like gods among common mortals. But if you fairly compare the best of both, those in each class would exhibit excellencies and defects less noticeable in the other, and neither can, as a whole, be justly said to be better or worse than the other. . . . . The whole misconception regarding the people of India arises from the habit which Englishmen in India have acquired of regarding only the blackest side of the Indian and the brightest side of the English character, and from their theories as to the capacities of the two races being based on a consideration of the worst specimens of the one and the best specimens of the other." (Proceedings of the Public Service Commission, 1886, vol. vi, section iii, sub-section 6).

Professor J. R. Seeley writes in "The Expansion of England" :

"We are not cleverer than the Hindu: our minds are not richer or larger than his."

Speaking of the most accomplished and highly trained Indian officials in India Lord Morley gave it as his opinion, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, that they were "as good in every way as the best of the men in Whitehall."

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The Earl of Selborne, when Lord Chancellor of Britain, bore the following testimony to the worth of Indian judges from his place in the British Parliament :

> "My lords, for some years I practised in Indian cases before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and during those years there were few cases of any imperial importance in which I was not concerned. I had considerable opportunities of observing the manner in which, in civil cases, the native judges did their duty, and I have no hesitation in saying—and I know this was also the opinion of the judges during that time—that the judgments of the native judges bore most favourable comparison, as a general rule, with the English judges. I should be sorry to say anything in disparagement of English judges, who, as a class, are most anxious carefully to discharge their duty; but I repeat that I have no hesitation in saying that in every instance, in respect of integrity, of learning, of knowledge, of the soundness and satisfactory character of the judgments arrived at, the native judgments were quite as good as those of English judges." (Quoted in Sir Henry Cotton's "New India," p. 140).

The following testimony of Mr. Hodgson Pratt, I.C.S., appeared in the London Weekly *India* on November 10, 1905 :

> "As regards the possible qualities which have delayed the admission of Indians to a larger share in the management of their national affairs, it cannot be said that there is any evidence of moral or intellectual unfitness. When posts of great responsibility, requiring qualities of no mean order, have been filled by Indians, whether in British or Native States, they have evinced high capacity as well as trustworthiness."

Mr. Ben Spoor, speaking in the British House of Commons during the India Debate in 1922, stated :

> "At the present moment over 20,000 political prisoners are in jail in India. They include men of high character, men whose character has never been questioned. They include men of profound culture—of a culture, I submit, probably greatly in excess of that of the average Member of this House of Commons."

The following is from Sir Henry Cotton's "*New India*" (pp. 141-142), which was written many years ago :

> "The natives of India are assumed to be unfit to have charge of districts; it is convenient to assume that all Englishmen are cool and wise in danger, while no natives are so, and that consequently only Englishmen, and no Indians, are competent to be trusted with independent charges. By a process of the grossest self-adulation, we persuade ourselves to believe that natives are only useful as ministerial servants, but that the work of a district, if [illegible] be done at all, demands the supervision of an [illegible] officer. The truth, however, is that the In[illegible] of course they must be, are the backbone [illegible] administration. The burden and heat of the [illegible] already borne by Indian subordinates, and in [illegible] (as occasionally must be the case) of an in[illegible] European being in charge of a district, the [illegible] of the work is done by his Indian depu[illegible] clerks."

Mr. Keir Hardie wrote in the L[illegible] *Labour Leader* for May, 1909, after re[illegible] from an extended tour in India :

> "It cannot be alleged that the Indian pe[illegible] unfit for self-government. The many Nativ[illegible] which are ruling themselves is a proof [illegible] contrary which cannot be gainsaid. A great [illegible] class exists in India which manages univers[illegible] higher grade schools, supplies the coun[illegible] lawyers, professors, newspaper editors, and th[illegible] of great business concerns. Wherever the[illegible] have an opportunity they prove that, whe[illegible] administrators or as legislators, they have [illegible] of a very high order."

Mrs. Annie Besant writes in her "*India A Nation*" :

> "You ask, is India fit for freedom and self-[illegible] ment? I answer, Yes, and they are her right[illegible] India has a right to be free and self-governing [illegible] is fit to be."

Dr. V. H. Rutherford, long a memb[illegible] the British Parliament and a Labour [illegible] writes in his book, "Modern India : Its [illegible] lems and their solution" (pp. 82-84), that [illegible] attending debates in 1926 in the Indian Le[illegible] tive Assembly and the provincial legis[illegible] councils and listening to the speeches o[illegible] English and the Indian members, he "fo[illegible] definite inferiority among the Englishm[illegible] compared with the Indians." He writes :

> "Although I have a natural bias in favour [illegible] own countrymen, truth compels me to state [illegible] these legislative bodies the Indians far surpas[illegible] English rivals in brilliancy, wit, logic, kno[illegible] breadth of vision and ideals of statesmanship.
>
> "What station in life would these (English[illegible] have occupied if they had remained at h[illegible] England instead of coming to India? No m[illegible] one or two per cent. would have risen higher [illegible] first-class clerk in a government office. As a [illegible] of fact, India is governed by first-class clerk[illegible] England, with a few lordlings thrown [illegible] governors. . . . . One truth stands out [illegible] beacon-light, namely, that *Indians are infinitely [illegible] fitted to govern India than are their English [illegible] lords.* In sheer intellectual ability and parliam[illegible] capacity Indians outshine their British adver[illegible]

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IMPRESSIONS OF THE ANNUAL CALCUTTA ART EXHIBITIONS, 1935-36

By PULINBIHARI SEN

It has been a commonplace to mark down the artists belonging to what has come to be known as the Bengal School of Painting as mere 'romantic revivalists';—they have, we are told, allowed themselves to be cut off from the main stream from where should come the chief inspiration of all creative work: Life, life around us, our daily work and toils, sorrows and joys of our every-day life. They have, in their enthusiasm for 'reviving' Indian Art, sought beauty only in the myths of the past, totally forgetful of the present; the result is that their work entirely lacks vitality, reality and strength.

Now, these charges hold good only of a few of our artists, some of them self-styled as such. It is indeed true that for some time they sought inspiration in mythology, but it was only natural for them to go back to our heritage in search of a fresh starting point. It will be a mistake, however, to conclude that all of them have stood still, finding delight in romance and mythology alone, without trying to break new paths.

The last Annual Exhibition at the Government School of Art, Calcutta (December 16—21), gave enough evidence of the truth of our contention. Inspite of the many defects and drawbacks which one may naturally look for in students' work, one thing was obvious: the teachers and the students of the school, whether they possess great gifts or not, are no mere romantic revivalists, out 'to reproduce paintings from paintings in the set, stencilized fashion,' 'too superior to know the daily life and surroundings of the people,' 'indifferent to the local environment.' Indeed, the school seems to have freed itself from inglorious copy-work, cheap "studies" and still-life drawings with which it seemed to have satisfied itself for some time in the past, and has entered into a period of real creative work. It is refreshing to find the students eager to explore the possibilities of new mediums and art-crafts, eastern and western, not confined to any scheduled set of subjects to draw upon and receiving inspiration from nature and life around them, the common and the drab not excepted.

The most interesting exhibits in this exhibition were the prints executed in different graphic mediums. The Graphic Arts are a recent introduction in Bengal from the West, but quite a number of our artists seem to be keenly interested in experimenting with them and to have attained a fair degree of success. Of the chromolithographic prints, Susil Sen's "Passenger" was easily the best, executed with considerable feeling and imagination combined with able craftsmanship. Second only to this was Indu Rakhsit's "The Carpenter at his Work" a common scene invested with beauty through the artist's skill. His painting "A Street Scene" may here be mentioned; it looked rather exaggerated and eccentric; nevertheless, the scene was very effectively portrayed. Of the monochrome lithographs, Basudev Roy's "A Village Musician" and Purnendu Bose's "The Mendicant" deserved and attracted attention.

Among the wood-cuts, the prints done by Basudev Roy were the best, showing him to be a keen artist-craftsman, sure of his tools and possessing a good sense of proportion. Tarak Bose's wood-and lino-cuts also deserved notice, but he spoiled some of them by introducing unnecessary details and clumsy lines. In his "Interior of a Film-studio," however, he showed a great deal of cleverness and was successful in creating an atmosphere of mystery.

The specimens of work of the students of the 'Indian Painting Class' next deserved attention. These students have not, indeed, ceased to receive inspiration from Indian Mythology (nor need they do so); but their chief source seemed to be the little daily incidents of the Bengali Home-life and common scenes from Bengal villages and cities. Satyaranjan Mazumdar of this class, in his picture "A Third-class Booking Office," portrayed his subject faithfully and with much sympathy. Maniklal Banerjee's "The Village *Ghat*" was a delightful picture.

The school appeared to have made much progress in artistic commercial drawings and designs.

The Indian Fine Arts Academy, which was started by Atul Bose and others with the avowed

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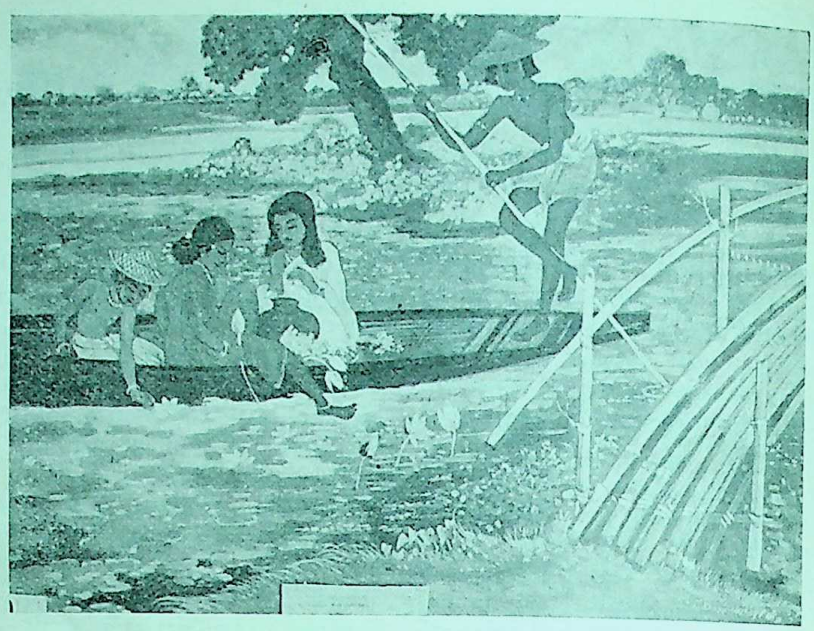

Plucking lilies—Ramendranath Chakravarti

A Drink—Sudhirranjan Khastgir

After the bath—Chaitanyadev Chatterjee

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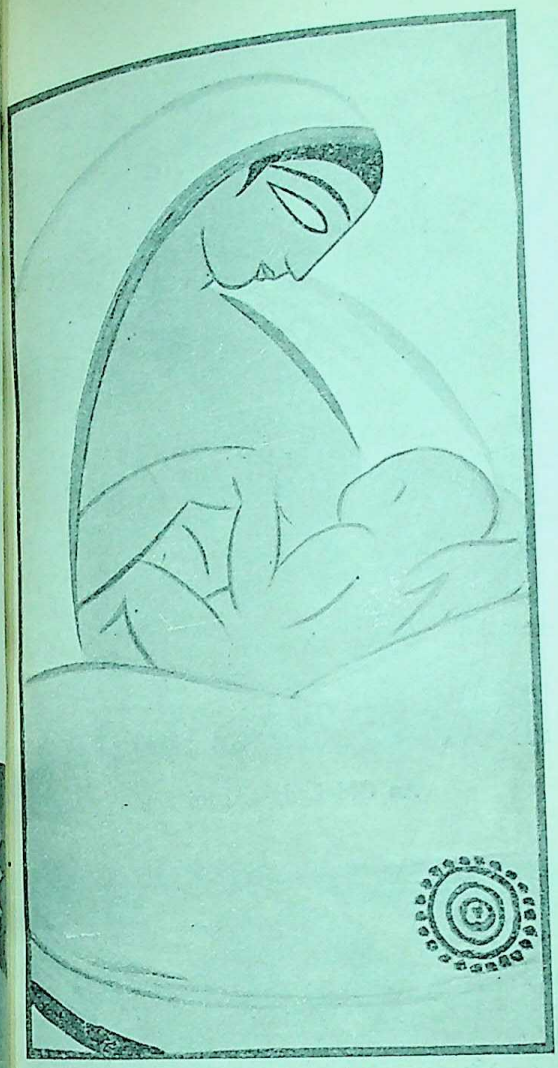
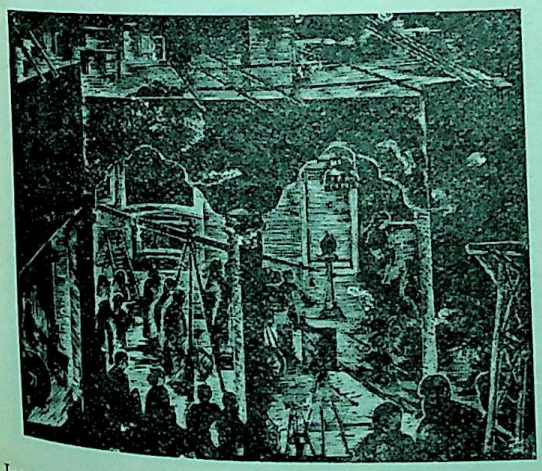
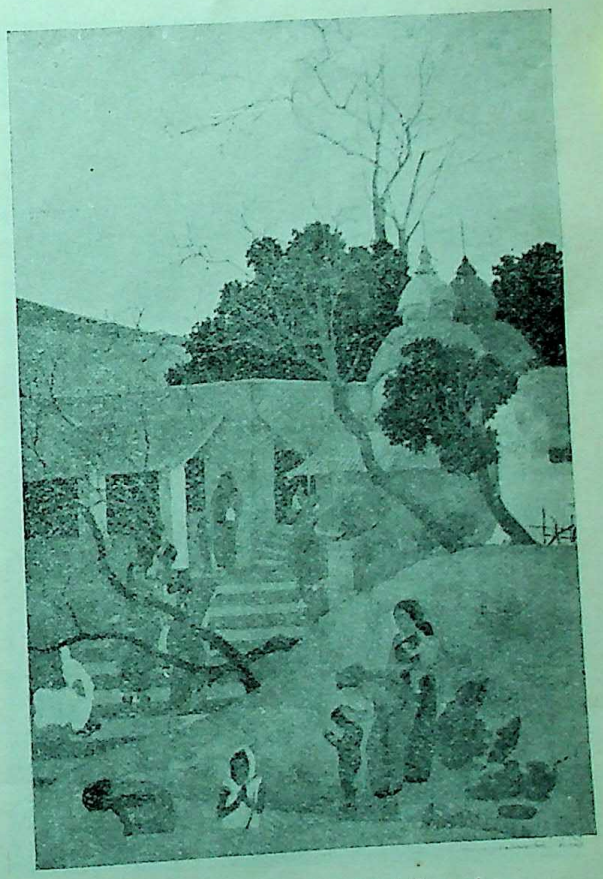


Mother—Jamini Ray

Sunlight—L. M. Sen



Interior of a film-studio (Wood-engraving)—Tarak Bose



A village *ghat*—Maniklal Banerjee

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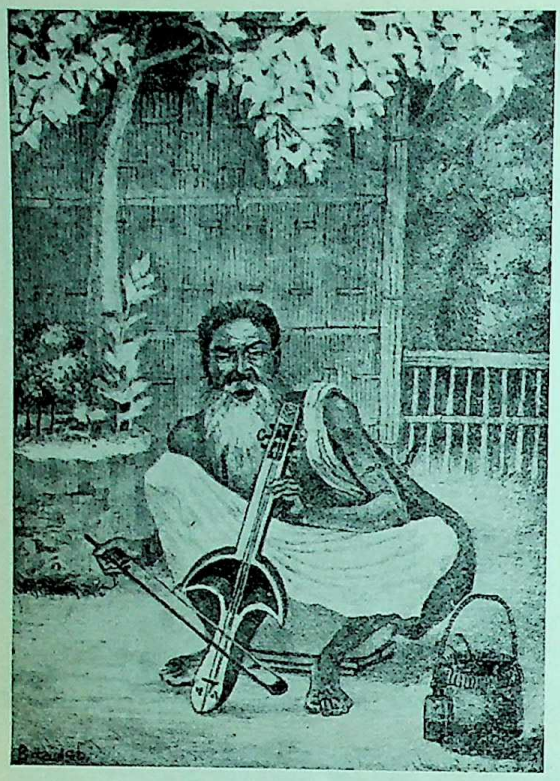
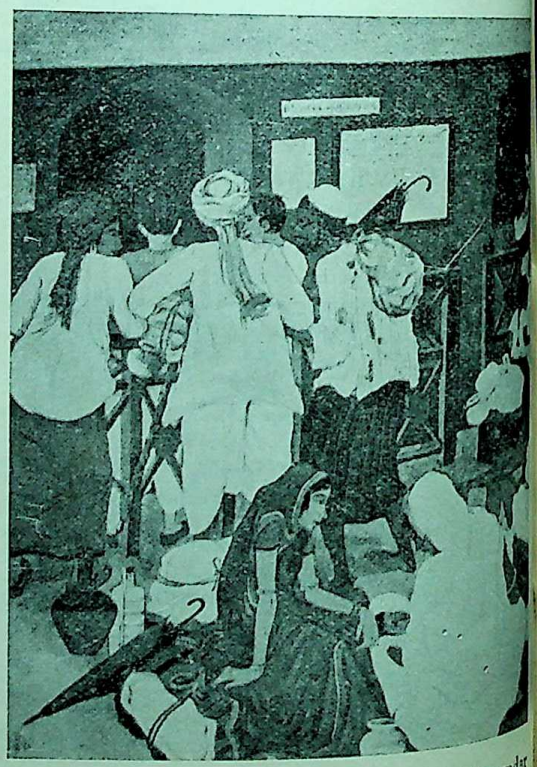


A village musician (Lithograph)—Basudev Roy

An Old Lady—Abani Sen

Dance (Fresco)—Indu Rakhsit



A third-class booking office—Satyaranjan Mazumdar

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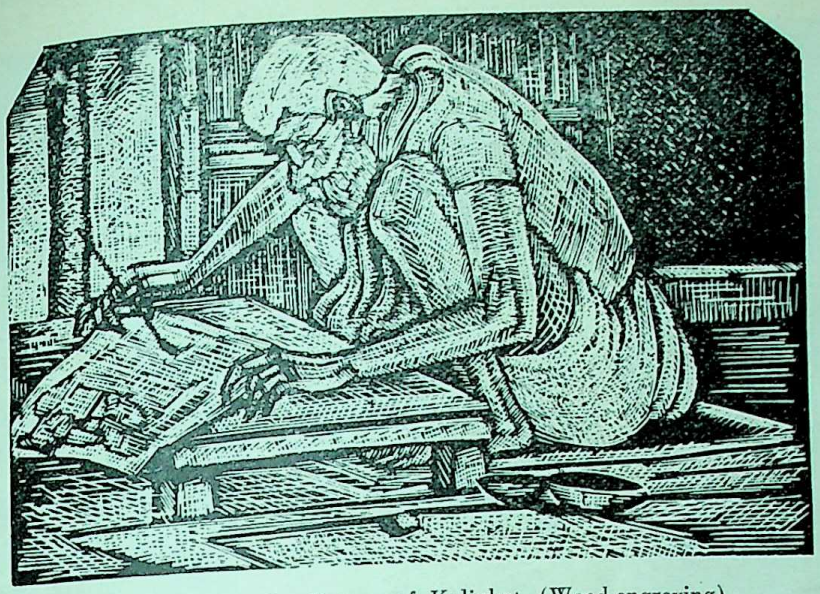
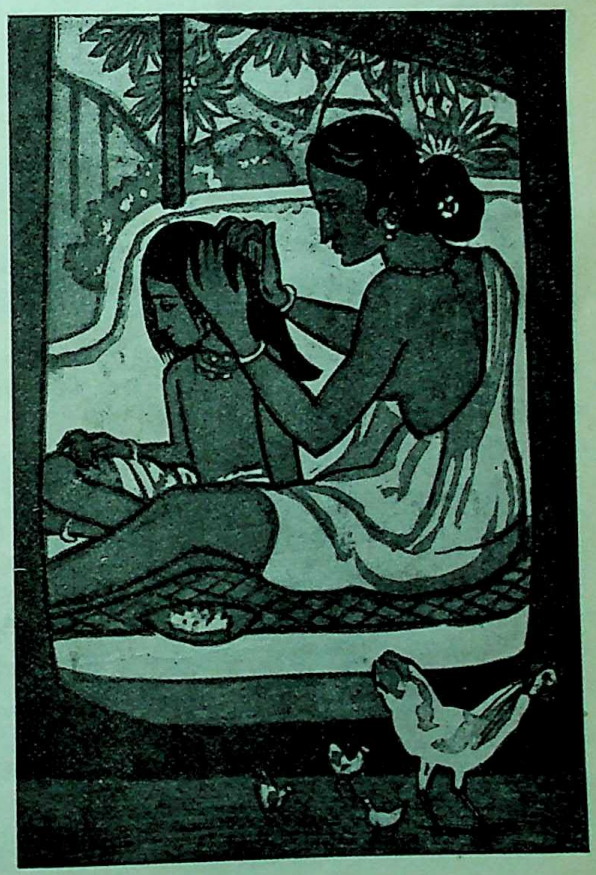


The Last of the *Patuas* of Kalighat (Wood-engraving)
—Ramendranath Chakravarti

A Pilgrim (Linoleum Cut)—Manindrabhushan Gupta



Toilet (Coloured Woodcut)—Ramendranath Chakravarti

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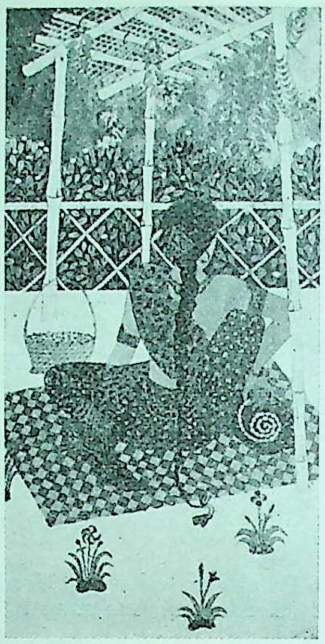
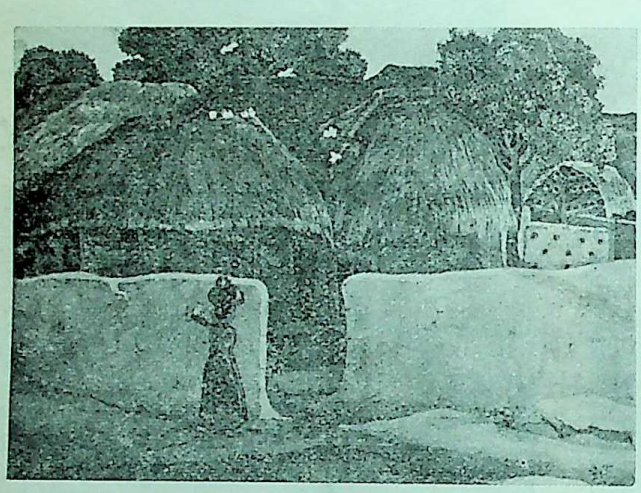
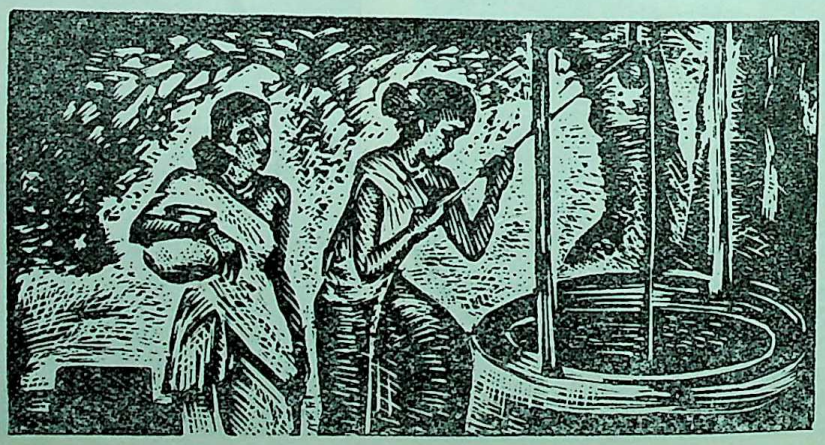




Above: Zebunnisa—Kalipada Ghosal. The Bride—Nivedita Ghose. The Golden Pitcher—Nandalal Bose
Below: Huts—Tarak Bose. In the shadow of Pagoda—L. M. Sen



The way-side well (wood-engraving)—Ramendranath Chakravarti

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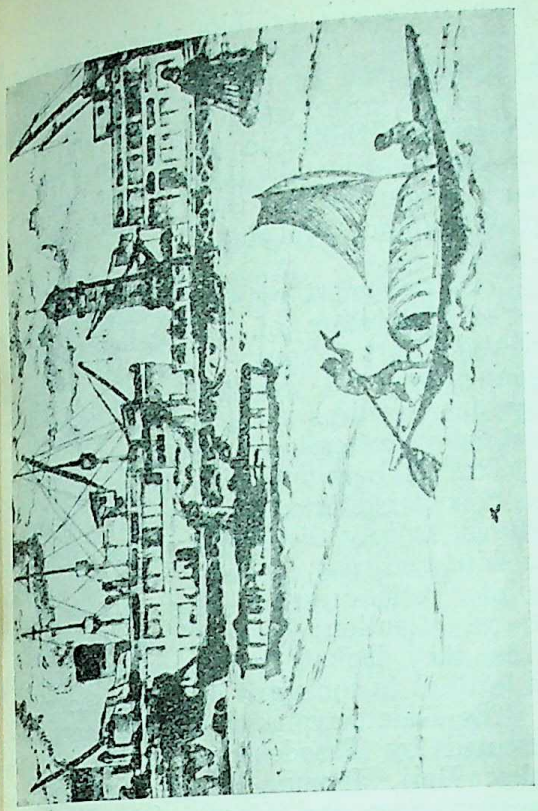
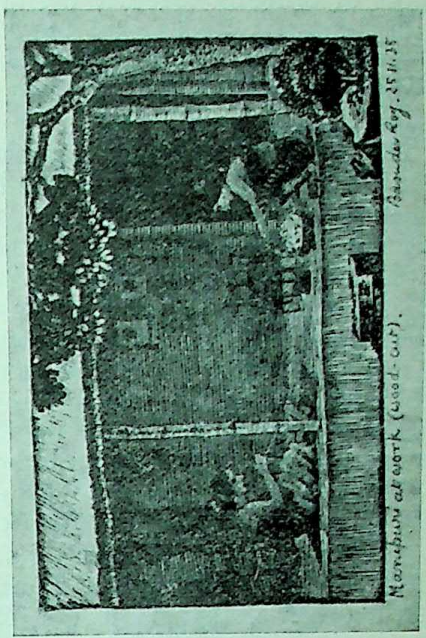
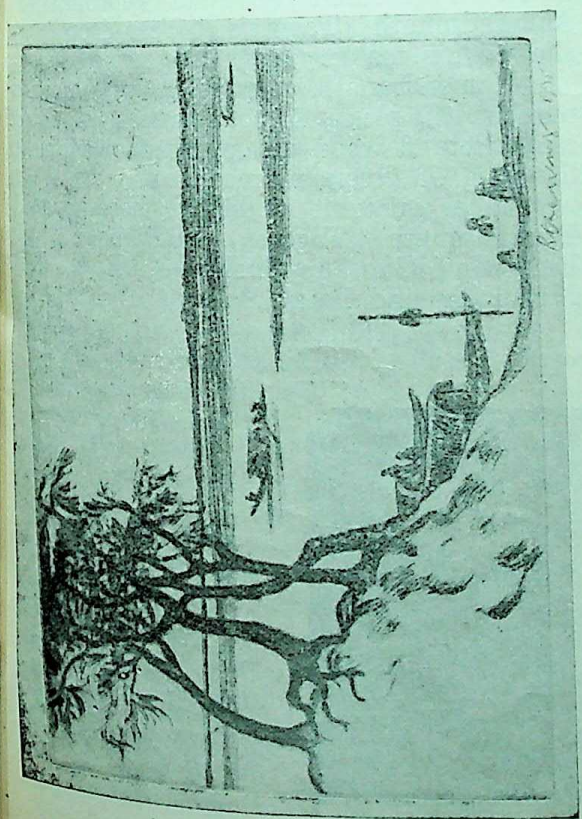


Kidderpore Dock (Drypoint)—Ramendranath Chakravarti



Manipuri at work (Wood-engraving)—Basudev Roy



The Padma (Drypoint)—Ramendranath Chakravarti

A Street Scene—Indu Rakhsit

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purpose of bringing together the artists belonging to different schools and pursuing different styles, held its Third Annual Exhibition (December 21—January 5) in the Indian Museum Gallery.

The Exhibition authorities selected Jamini Roy's "Mother and Child" as the best painting in the exhibition; this, however, was no new effort but a copy, more or less, of one of his earlier and well-known pictures. This artist, with all his easy proficiency in eastern and western methods, has given them up all and now finds inspiration in the indigenous Bengali style of painting followed by the *patuas*. He exhibited here a number of his paintings done in that style, and without going into the question of the scope and limitations of that style, one easily appreciated two of them, "Mother" and "Reflection." His "Jashoda" naturally suggested a comparison with Nandalal Bose's "Birth of Chaitanya," to the former's disadvantage.

Of the other pictures exhibited here, it is possible to notice here only a few. Ramgopal Vijaybargiya, earnest and careful as he is, seemed to repeat himself and to have developed certain mannerisms which made it difficult to distinguish his pictures one from another. Manindrabhushan Gupta's water-colour sketches, done in bold strokes, were fresh and lively. His careful drawings were, however, not so happy.

L. M. Sen exhibited a number of remarkable oil-paintings, mostly done from scenes of Burmese life, in some of which he showed the play of light with great effect and cleverness. Atul Bose submitted a few portraits and two pleasing landscapes. Abani Sen showed some skill in his crayon sketches.

In the sculpture and modelling section, particular mention should be made of Sudhiranjan Khastgir's exhibits which showed strength and originality, the two e qualities of good art, though, judged by ar tests, minor errors could be traced out in Some of the exhibits in this section were less—pseudo-oriental they might be Some, again, were what might be "photographic," and dull.

The two most notable absentees this in the Exhibition of the Indian Socie Oriental Art were Abanindranath Gaganendranath. Nandalal Bose sub only one picture, "The Golden Pitcher outstanding example of high craftsmans

The teachers and students of the Lu Art School exhibited here a large numb pictures, mainly distinguished for fine manship and gay colours. Of the Lu exhibits, B. N. Jijja's hill-life pictures att greatest attention; beautiful pictures in selves, they looked rather cramped and not faithful to the spirit of life in the hill

The Kalabhavana of Santiniketan w presented by Binodebihari Mukherjee, kinkar Baij, Jamuna Bose, Nivedita G Bisvarup Bose and others. One liked t more of Binodebihari Mukherjee's po efforts. Bisvarup Bose submitted among things a coloured wood-cut reproductio Abanindranath Tagore's "Tear-drop," showed his mastery over this art-craft.

Ramendranath Chakravarti submitte number of pleasant boat-studies in dry and coloured wood-cut, which showed his handling of divergent mediums.

Other notable exhibits here were Bratindranath Tagore, Indubhusan G Kalipada Ghosal, Sudhansu Roy, N Mazumdar and Tarak Bose.

Ducks (Wood-engraving)—Ramendranath Chakravarti

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INDIA AND AUSTRIA

By HERRN KOMMERZIALRAT OTTO FALTIS
Managing Vice-President, Indian Central-European Society.

There has always been a great deal of interest in this country (Austria) about India. I remember that when we were at school one of the things we learnt was that India was the cradle of humanity (Wiege der Menschheit). This interest has until recently been centred in the old culture of India. Only after the Great War have the Austrian people come into direct contact with the living modern India. The visits to Europe, and especially to Vienna, of such prominent Indian personalities as the poet Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and the scientist Sir J. C. Bose have been greatly helpful in rousing Austrian interest in modern India. During the last decade Mahatma Gandhi and his movement have done much to stimulate popular interest in India's political aspirations.

Against this background we have had during the last few years visits from two prominent Indians associated with the public life of modern India. Unlike other Indian visitors who have rushed through Austria on their way to the south or to the west, they spent a lot of time in establishing personal contact with Austrians in different walks of life. The result of their personal endeavour has been that today several prominent Austrians can claim intimacy with some prominent representatives of the India of today. I am referring to the late Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel and Mr. Subhas C. Bose.

Towards the end of 1933 some of us felt that it would be desirable to make an organized attempt to bring India into closer contact with Austria and the other Danubian countries. As a matter of fact, somewhat earlier a Society had been started for this purpose, but owing to reasons into which I need not enter, it was not handled properly on the Indian side, and it thereby forfeited the confidence of the Indians in Vienna. It was the desire of the Indian colony in Vienna to make a further and better attempt to establish closer relations between India and Austria. The Indian students in Vienna have had for some years an organization of their own called the Hindusthan Academical Association and it has been their experience that sympathy and support on the Austrian side has never been lacking. As it was not possible for a body of students to attempt the larger work of establishing contact between India and Austria, the only course left open to us was to start a new Society for the purpose. In 1933 I had long talks with Mr. Subhas C. Bose, followed by an interchange of correspondence, on the question of starting a Society. Ultimately we came to an agreement to have the Society duly registered under the law of the land. There were to be two branches of the Society—cultural and commercial—for developing cultural and commercial relations between our two countries.

Herrn Kommerzialrat Otto Faltis
[At present the Indian Central European Society is being run mainly with his financial support.]

It naturally took some time to do the spade-work and to enlist support on the Austrian side. By April, 1934, the arrangements were completed and in the first week of May, 1934, the Society was formally inaugurated at a meeting held in the premises of the Vienna Chamber of Commerce. The meeting

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was presided over by the former Federal Minister, Dr. Karl Pesta and was from the beginning assured of influential support.

The announcement regarding the formation of the Society—called the Indian Central-European Society—in the Indian Press brought a large number of enquiries from India, from those who wanted to sell as well as from those who wanted to buy. For a year we kept ourselves busy in following up these enquiries and thereby bringing into touch businessmen in Austria with businessmen in India. Simultaneously we got into touch with the Indian Chambers of Commerce and other public bodies representing the economic and commercial life of India. Our work was considerably furthered through the visits of many prominent Indians to Vienna during the summer of 1934 and 1935.

On the 6th June, 1935, the Indian Central-European Society arranged an *enquete* (conference) at which several prominent Austrians read papers on the different aspects of Indo-Austrian relations. The Conference was presided over by the former Federal Minister Edward Heinl who made constructive suggestions on the improvement of Indo-Austrian trade relations. The following is an extract from his speech:—

> ". . . . If we want to sell more to India we have to buy more from her. This possibility is given if we change our purchasing markets from those raw material supplying countries with which we have no favourable trade balance, in favour of India.
>
> "Looking at the trade figures of the countries framed in this Society, we may optimistically remark that an increase of these figures can be attained if we study carefully the markets in India, and if our industry endeavours to compete in every item with other nations.
>
> "We see for instance that India is buying, on an increasing scale, machinery of every kind of her industrial development. In this regard, Austria and the Danubian countries are capable of supplying every sort of productive goods. . . . ."

He (ex-Minister Heinl) was followed by Mr. Bose who assured sympathy and support on the Indian side and remarked as follows:—

> ". . . . Today once again India wants to resume intimate contact with the outside world. She desires direct intercourse, both cultural and commercial. With this twofold object of developing cultural and commercial relations between India and Central Europe, this Society has been founded.
>
> "Austria today may be a small country, but this small country is one of the pulses of Europe. Is it therefore not natural that we should endeavour to develop closer contact between Austria and India? Therefore we chose also Vienna, the metropolis of Austria, and one of the most prominent international cities in the heart of Central Europe. In the domain of art and culture, Vienna has much to offer. In the matter of commercial intercourse, she has not only a striking position but also wonderful op tunities. . . . ."

One of the other speakers was Hofrat P Dr. Karl Beth who spoke on the questio "What can India offer Central Europe turally?" During his speech he said,

> "Some 125 years ago when the German mind acquainted with the large treasures of Indian cu she was deeply impressed and turned to it eag An oddly vibrating rhythm reached the ear of Middle European, originating from the great l works of art and metaphysics. Never, indeed another nation's rhythm identical with one's but this was similar and complementary and fore engaging and interesting. The Indian m attitude is prospective and this is an impo element in the prospective potency of a nation. own methods of thinking are highly retrospe The practical Indian psychology has an optim character. India has an unparalleled concentr of mind and spirit and therefore India has muc tell us."

Professor Beth was followed by Prof. Hans Eibl who spoke on the question—"W can Central Europe offer India culturally In the course of an interesting speech he said

> "The far Asiatic world steps into the phas the machinery epoch and with it into the wa mechanistic thinking. That comes to Asia as s thing strange and presumptively will cause destruction than it did in Europe. The Occide spirit is attempting now to bridge the onesidedn of the Atomism and Mechanism of the techni epoch by Synthesis and we can already get s of a new world-view. In physics, biology, socio psychology, historical philosophy we can notice breaking through of a new spirit, starting in Cen Europe. We believe that this will be the re-birth Occidental culture and it may be a help to Orie culture as well."

The above Conference was a great succe and it helped to rouse further interest in t work of the Indian Central-European Society

The Annual General Meeting of the Indi Central-European Society was held on the 20 December, 1935, in the Vienna Chamber Commerce buildings with ex-Federal Minis Pesta in the Chair. Prominent among th who attended were:

Hofrat Karl Angermayer
Hofr. Prof. Dr. Karl Beth (Prof. of comparat religion and philosophy)
Rechtsanwaltin Dr. Marianne Beth
Mr. Subhas C. Bose
Prof. Dr. Geiger (Prof. of Sanskrit)
Prof. Dr. Robert Freih. v. Heine-Geldern (Pr of Anthropology)
Ex-Federal Minister Pauer
Altbundesrat Kommerzialrat Hans Rotter
Former Ambassador and Minister Baron v. Seidl
Dr. S. K. Sen } Representing the Hindusth
Mr. A. S. Wimalakirti } Academical Association.
Mr. K. N. Gairola }

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As the Managing Vice-President, the report for the year's work was duly placed before the meeting by the writer. It was shown that since its inception the Society had to deal with a large number of enquiries from the Indian as well as from the Austrian side, regarding agencies and regarding goods for purchase as well as for sale. Thus firms in Calcutta inquired for sugar-mill machinery, printing machinery, laboratory equipments and fittings, surgical instruments, heavy and fine chemicals, galvanized wire, paper, brushes, electrical equipments, etc. Firms in Madras enquired for rubber-wares, paper, perfumery, soda-water bottles, etc. Firms in Bombay enquired for glassware, chemicals, medicines, etc. Firms in Delhi, Cawnpur, Karachi, Meerut, Ellore, Tinnevelly, Lyallpur, Colombo and many other places in India and Ceylon made enquiries about wireless accessories, leather-ware, horse-nail machinery, textile machinery, tool machinery, etc. Besides these, a large number of Indian firms wanted to be put in touch with buyers of Indian raw-products, like cocoanuts, cotton, rice, jute, hides, minerals, indigo, spices, fibres, Indian balsams, besides several other articles like bronze-ware, rackets and hockey-sticks, etc. There were also enquiries about monetary regulations, customs, freights, storage, etc. On the whole we feel satisfied that we have been able to bring into contact a large number of businessmen in India and in Central Europe. On the Austrian side, we have had the co-operation of many important and influential personages like Dr. Bouvier, Secretary of the Association of the Chemical and Metallurgical Industry in Austria and Dr. Luger, Secretary of the Association of the paper manufacturing Industry in Austria. Besides this, we have already the co-operation of Dr. Leopold Bermann, the Managing Secretary of the Vienna Chamber of Commerce, who is a member of the Managing Committee of our Society.

So far as the future is concerned, we hope to open branches in other countries in Central Europe. Up till now we have occasionally received enquiries from Poland, Hungary, Roumania and Czechoslovakia.

During the current year we intend devoting more attention to the development of cultural relations between India and Austria. The cultural Committee of our Society has already been enlarged for the purpose. So far as the work in Austria is concerned, we intend arranging a series of lectures on India from prominent Austrians and Indians. In the work of cultural intercourse we have the support of a large number of University Professors and also of the Minister of Education. We have already sent a circular round to a large number of Indian Universities and Colleges placing ourselves at the service of those who intend coming to Austria for further studies or training. Among our latest acquisition is Prof. Koppers, head of the Institute for Volkerkunde (Anthropology) who has kindly offered the use of the rooms of his Institute for the Headquarters and for the meetings of our Cultural Section. This Institute is in the Neue Hofburg, the new palace of the former Austrian Emperor.

While we are endeavouring to push forward the work of the Indo-Austrian friendship to the best of our ability within the means at our disposal, it is but natural that we should look forward to the inauguration of a corresponding Society in India. Since a large number of Indians have returned home during the last few years after a stay in Austria, it should not be difficult to found such a Society in India, if only someone will take the initiative. We need hardly add that the presence in Vienna of Mr. Subhas C. Bose has been a very great help and encouragement to us. His early return to India, which is now inevitable, will be a severe loss to us. At the same time we are not so selfish as to desire to keep him back from his countrymen and his future work. We have no doubt that when he is back in India he will be able to do much on the Indian side in fostering Indo-Austrian cultural and commercial relations. Among other things which we would like to be done in future is an exchange of Professors and of businessmen between our two countries so that our cultural and commercial relations may be placed on a basis of lasting friendship and good-will.

The bureau of the Indian Central-European Society is located at Tuchlauben, 7A/19, Vienna I. The writer will very gladly attend to any enquiries concerning Indo-Austrian relations—cultural and commercial.

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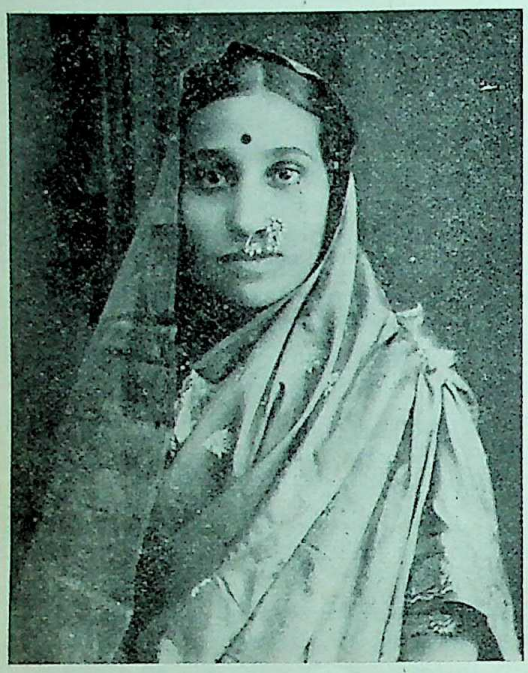
INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. TARABAI KALURAMRAO URANKER of Poona presided over the second session of the All-India Bhavsar Kshatriya Mahila Conference held at Bangalore on the 27th December, 1935.



Mrs. Tarabai Kaluram Uranker

MRS. LINGAMMAL (Congress) was el as the member of the Tinnevelly District B for Women Seat.

Mrs. Lingammal

Mrs. Mary Manickavasagam

MRS. MARY MANICKAVASAGAM, Virudhunagar, Ramnad, was recently appointed Magistrate by the Madras Government.

Miss Vishini Jagasia

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At the All-India Music Conference, Delhi, s Vishini Jagasia of Karachi, a girl of lly 14 years of age, won the first prize in the competition for girls of 12/16 years of and for her exceptional talents in singing awarded five gold, one silver medal, also silver cup and one cash prize of Rs. 25/-; also received from the Congress Jubilee sic Conference at Delhi one gold and one er medal.

Srimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has been minated by the Government of India to be a mber of the Central Board of Education.

Mrs. Habiba Rasul, a Bengali lady, has been nominated a member of the Municipal Board of Sekandra Rao, Aligarh.

Dr. Mrs. Indumati B. Adarkar, M.B.B.S. (Bom.), D.L.O., M.R.C.S. (Lond.) was appointed Lecturer in Domestic Science at the Women's College in the Benares Hindu University during the new session which commenced in July last.

Mrs. Iqbalunnisa Hussain, B.A., Dip. Ed. (Leeds.), was invited by the University of Mysore to deliver Extension Lectures on "My Experiences in an English University" in English at Bangalore and Mysore and "Education of Muslim Women" in Urdu at Bangalore and Channapatna.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE TENTH SESSION OF THE ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

By RENUKA RAY, B.Sc. (London)

he All-India Women's Conference has just ncluded its Tenth Session, which in many ys has been one of the most eventful and ccessful. Not only has the Conference for e first time in its history met in an Indian ate, but also in one of the most progressive, hich being a land of matriarchal sway, women ve in it an assured status both in social and onomical life. To meet in Travancore, where omen are free from legal disabilities, and where om time immemorial down to the present day, eir rightful position in society has been corded to them, was an inspiration to all the legates, who came from north, south, east d west of the country to this southern-most orner of India to deliberate on problems vital o the women's cause.

Nature is lavish in her generosity to rivandrum—the capital of Travancore and it as in superb surroundings of majestic beauty hat the women of India met this year. The raditional hospitality of this great state was ffered to them. The Reception Committee rovided lavishly for the comfort of their guests nd also arranged a striking variety of social ngagements, which were a pleasant relaxation rom the arduous and ever-increasing work hich the affairs of the conference demand. The Maharani's Garden Party, given in the eautiful environments of the Kudiar Palace, where the colourful saries of her guests mingled with the hues of the magnificent flowers, was a ight worth remembering. It was followed by the performance of the Kathakali play, a survival of the art of ancient India, famous in the South, and seen for the first time by a majority of the Maharani's guests. The picnic arranged at Cape Comorin, about 60 miles away, by the Reception Committee was a very enjoyable occasion. This was on a Sunday, a day of rest for the Conference, when work was forgotten, restraints thrown off and a happy feeling of comradeship prevailed. It is the social side of the Conference where friendships are made and cemented year by year which forms a far more living and indissoluble bond of unity between India's women than pious wishes or paper theories could ever achieve. The dignity of bearing, the flashing intelligence and the charming and inherent simplicity of the women of Travancore won the admiration and respect of all those women who came as their guests. The Maharani, who so ably and so wisely guides her subjects, has not only honoured the guests to her State in a manner befitting her royal house, but also as the elected President of the Conference this year, she showed a remarkable enthusiasm for its cause, and her practical suggestions were a marvel to all.

Every year the opening ceremony of the Conference to which men and women are both invited is an impressive and stately affair but this year, in the atmosphere of an Indian State, with all its splendour and the exquisite artistic nature of the decoration it was unique in its impressiveness. The Presidential Address

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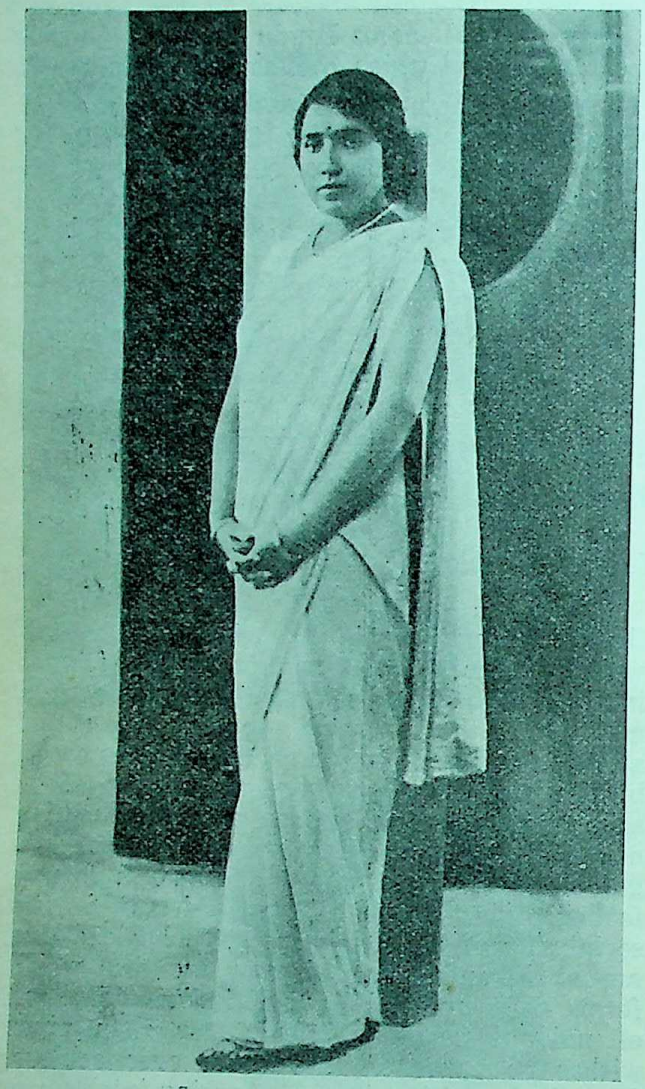
rendered a clear unmistakable statement of the underlying aims of the Conference and the Annual Report gave a record of achievement which is steadily growing year by year. For



Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi of Travancore

the first time this year special visitors came not only from England but from the U. S. A., Japan and China, bringing with them messages of sympathy and goodwill from the women of these countries. This is clearly an unmistakable sign of the growing desire among women of all nationalities to come to a better understanding of each other's aspirations and achievements. "Mere men," as one of their representatives this year called themselves, also have their spokesmen on this first day. As their Annual Report has it, "This is no feminist Organization aggressively reiterating its right but that we work rather for the larger welfare of the country as a whole." This has been true of the Conference from its very beginning. W India have to fight orthodoxy and ig and the apathy born of ignorance. B is in India no bitter and demeaning s and from the days of Raja Rammoh pioneer women have had gallant cham the cause of their liberation and so a suffragistic policy has never been adopte those who do not know Indian conditi have no conceptions of domestic life country, it must be pointed out that W Organizations in India have not the task them to emancipate a set of down-t women, oppressed by husbands but rat enlarge the sphere of activity of the women, to bring her to a proper realiza her duties as a citizen, and to equip her part in public life and embrace activi merely of a domestic but of national impo

The word Conference is in some misnomer and sometimes leads to a misc tion of the nature of its work. This merely an Annual gathering passing reiterating paper resolutions. The work taken by its Standing Committee, which for two or three days before and afte Conference, gives ample proof of this. from drawing up the resolutions and m arrangements for the Annual Session Standing Committee has the far more imp task of reviewing the work and deliberati the problems of its thirty-seven constitu and numerous sub-constituencies througho country and draws up the lines of work fo coming year. Each constituency has representative on the Standing Committee voices its local problems and difficulties a is as an outcome of all local interests th All-India Committee arrives at a pra basis of work, in consonance with its ideals aspirations. Even the resolutions for di sion for the Annual Session are drawn up an exhaustive survey of all those passed a different constituent Conferences, so a guarantee their representative character.

Perhaps the most noteworthy feature o Conference this year is the practical natu its resolutions, and the discussions show little time was wasted over mere bandying s of words, and almost every speaker gave su tions of real utility. Every year has s rapid strides in practical achievement. quicker than those who started the Confer ten years ago could ever have imagined. year the grave need for rural reconstru work was particularly stressed, and many stituencies have already started working in this matter. This year the Confer

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ded that every constituency situated near l areas should take up at least one village do uplift work in all its aspects. In the e way, a growing amount of practical work, as the setting up of Maternity and d Welfare Centres, Rescue Homes, Harijan ools, Adult Education Centres, Nursery ools, Industrial Classes and a multifarious ety of other work is being done, as the ual Reports give evidence. The Conference lizes the immense value of propaganda work has been carrying this on unceasingly to ak down reactionary social customs. It lizes that only by propaganda work carried unabated that a real change of heart can be ained, a far more powerful weapon than the etest and most stringent laws that can ever s the legislatures.

Among the resolutions passed is year the most controversial s the one asking "for the ead of scientific knowledge birth control through the dium of clinics and maternity ntres to those who are in ed of it." Some of the most thusiastic speeches were made this resolution, and after e discussion was over Mrs. argaret Sanger of the Inter-tional Birth Control Centre, e of the special visitors of e Conference this year, gave r own experiences of work. e resolution was carried by majority of eighty-five to enty-four votes. Here it ght be said that the Confer-ce does not believe, as some e deliberately misunderstood, total birth control. It be-eves in birth-spacing and a rtain amount of birth restriction where nditions of health or poverty make it cumbent, and it believes that it is necessary at scientific knowledge should be given in cognized medical establishments, as otherwise uack remedies detrimental to health will gain scendency. The Conference essentially believes glorious motherhood and in the child who is rn to a joyous life, but not in the unwanted ild born to live in misery and die in squalor.

Three new Sub-committees have been pointed this year on the educational side in gard to the spread of mass literacy, a common nguage for India and the school hygiene and edical inspection of children. The Con-erence has for the last two years been agitating for the appointment of a commission to enquire into the legal disabilities of women and to suggest remedies which can be passed into law. In spite of much propaganda and the creation of a real demand they have not been successful in their attempt to prevail on government to appoint the commission. This year it has appointed a special Committee from amongst its members with powers to co-opt lawyers and experts to inquire into the different legal systems and suggest adequate remedies. Branch Committees will also be appointed in each local area where the different interpretations of the laws are in vogue. The Conference is particularly anxious to remove the social and legal disabilities of the women, because it believes that only thus unhampered by restrictions can women be builders of the "Home beautiful" and do their duty both as mothers and responsible citizens. It believes in penalizing polygamy and advocates a rational system of marriage laws, including divorce when it is necessary. This does not mean that it countenances flimsy and temperamental divorces, as often seen in the West and oftener in the U. S. A. It is only on grounds such as cruelty, desertion, adultery and all other reasons which were advocated in the Smritis of ancient India before other influences had crept in, and on the lines of the Divorce Act introduced in modern times in some places such as Baroda.

The Conference has continued to stress the necessity of amending the Sarda Child Marriage Restraint Act so as to make its enforcement

Kaudiar Palace, Trivandrum

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more effective. The anti-child marriage Sub-committee appointed last year at the Karachi Conference is doing good work. The Conference has also decided about keeping a woman organizer in the Mining Districts to help the women who are being eliminated from underground work. An attempt is being made to raise enough funds for the expenses of the woman organizer. As regards the franchise qualifications for women in the New Constitution the Annual Report and subsequent speeches have made it quite clear that the women of India are deeply disappointed that their demands have been ignored, although they were united from the very beginning. Even though the new powers given to women are so inadequate, they have decided to ask all women to make the fullest use of such powers, as it will give women an opportunity to have experience of public life. They will not rest satisfied, however, until essential changes which are a matter of principle with them are effected. The wifehood qualification given to them as wives of property-owners, and the unjustified division of women's electorates into communities, go against the grain of all women.

Due to the sad lack of funds and the dearth of workers, all that is planned cannot always be achieved. In India paid social service is almost entirely unknown, and all the work that is being done in every constituency is the result of voluntary work. The Conference work is growing heavier year by year and it is often at considerable personal sacrifice, and due to the unbounded enthusiasm of its workers that it is carried on so successfully. This year an appeal has been launched to raise funds for a Central Office and a paid Secretary. To keep up continuity and to cope with the increasing amount of work the need for this is becoming more and more urgent.

Although the All-India Women's Conference is working for practical solutions and is not a merely visionary body, it has sight of its fundamental ideas. The Co claims to be the living embodiment of th of India's women. It wishes above all to its own independent thought and action its very constitution does not enter into politics nor support any one community those who have attended a Session Conference can realize how successful been in maintaining this desire. of all communities, races, religions and women from the Indian States and every province of British India, women from the aristocracy, professional middle classes, Harijans, women of every of opinion—nationalists, moderates, ment officials or members of the Co those who take an active part in public those who work silently for social or educ advance, one and all contribute their Their attitude is relentlessly and fe rationalistic. They believe in a world irrationalities, of blind prejudices, retr customs and religious superstitions. human beings meet, differences of opini only natural, but it is no idle boast although each section of thought has cont its share, the Conference has always bee to maintain a united outlook and has kept its ideals steadfastly before it representatives of the Conference do not in blind imitation of things western, fo are aware of the pitfalls in which some cherished hopes of western civilization danger of falling today. They belie equality of opportunity for all, in freeing from all disabilities which hinder them obtaining their just rights, and contri their due share in the regeneration of country. At the same time they firmly in retaining all that is real and intrin India's culture and tradition and in glor her ancient civilization.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Historical Fantasies

Writing in *The Christian Register*, Rayford W. Logan institutes an interesting parallelism between Napoleon and Mussolini on the one hand and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and Touissaint Louverture, leader of the Haitian Revolution on the other :

Just as the campaign against Toussaint was launched in the fourteenth year of the French Revolution, just so the attempt to destroy the independence of Ethiopia comes in the fourteenth year of the Fascist Regime.

Substantially the same motives that led Napoleon to seek the recovery of France's richest colony now impel Mussolini to yearn for the allegedly rich territory of Ethiopia. Indeed, the parallel between Napoleon and Mussolini is so striking that M. de la Fouchardiere, writing in *L'Oeuvre* of Paris, has already compiled an imaginary diary that Mussolini keeps after his exile to Saint Helena by the English.

After the administration of President John Adams had aided Toussaint to gain virtual independence, the friendship of Thomas Jefferson for France brought about a change of policy that contributed materially to the temporary victory of the French. Domestic politics and the international situation governed the policy of the United States, just as they today determine the policy of Great Britain and of France. Evidence of this may be seen in the postponing of the embargo on oil to Italy. This postponement was probably due to the establishment by the Japanese of the "autonomous" state of North China. France and Great Britain realize that if war were to ensue between them and Italy the Japanese would surely set up another "autonomous" state that would cover at least the territory down to the Yangtse. Events in North China (and in Egypt) may well determine the fate of Ethiopia, just as events in the United States determined the fate of Toussaint. The murder of a Japanese soldier in Asia may easily result in Italy's continuing to receive enough oil to permit her to "civilize" more thousands of dead Ethiopians.

Haile Selassie should remember, then, the famous words of Wendell Phillips, who attributed Toussaint's downfall to the fact that "he had faith in the white man's word." But Mossolini might also read that portion of Napoleon's writings in which he said : "The expedition against Saint Domingue was the greatest mistake of my life. I should have come to terms with the black chiefs."

Re-allocation of Raw Materials and Markets

The *World Events* publishes the opinions of different authorities on the question of re-allocation of raw materials which has been suggested as a means of removing the causes of war :

The question is, what sort of re-allocation? It is well known that Mr. Lansbury has never been an imperialist, and has always envisaged any redistribution of economic privilege among the nations as based on satisfaction for native colonial peoples. With Mr. Hoare and the usual proponents of this step, there is less reason to be sure.

Dr. Ulrich Noak, of the University of Frankfurt, a specialist in this field, has been urging a peaceful settlement of the colonial issue. But how? By changes that would give the six colonial powers of Europe "an assured future and frictionless solidarity!" What happens to the natives who really own the properties to be distributed?

Another view of the question is that the need of raw materials is not at all related to the demands, say, of Italy, Japan, or Germany. Sir Norman Angell, his eyes glued increasingly on the legal aspects of peace, has asserted that "The bad economic conditions of peoples has very little relation . . . . to lack of necessary raw materials." Mr. P. C. Loftus, a member of Parliament, takes issue with Sir Norman as follows : "Japan in my own lifetime has increased its population from under thirty million to over sixty-five million (the mainland only), and it is now increasing at the rate of nearly a million a year. It has to import (if its population is not to starve) all its wool, cotton, potash, phosphates, nickel, tin, lead and rubber, nearly all its petroleum and a large part of many other essential raw materials . . . . To import increasingly it has to export increasingly, but the nations of the world are combining to limit its export trade. It has an area a little bigger than that of France, but less than one-sixth of the area is suitable for agriculture. Therefore, if it is not allowed to export, it must face starvation or be prepared to fight for territory containing supplies of necessary raw materials."

Mr. Francis Williams, financial editor of the *London Daily Herald*, suggests that there are some reasons to hope that even without any fundamental changes in the economic order, the nations may be induced to act a little less savagely in adjusting their needs and privileges; he cites the international rubber scheme, based on an agreement among the governments of France, the United Kingdom, India, the Netherlands, and Siam; and also the international tin regulation compact. But he adds : "While an inquiry into colonial raw materials might make an excellent approach to the whole problem of international control of such supplies, it can only be regarded as an approach, and not as a solution. Eventually, if we are to remove the struggle for materials as a cause of war, something on a much bigger scale, covering international control of the raw material resources of the whole world, is desirable."

"Although international ownership of essential raw materials," he continues, "is, I believe, the only final and logical solution of this difficulty, it is hardly conceivable that a government which is in the main opposed to public ownership and which is concerned to maintain the system of private ownership for private profit, would go as far as that."

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Hitler's New Religion

In the course of an illuminating paper on the decline of the Catholic Church in Germany, contributed to *The Catholic World,* Adolf Schuckelgruber observes :

Hitler knows that men will always need something to adore. Like Mohammed he declares a new religion and makes himself its Savior and Prophet.

This new religion is thoroughly secularized : "God" is Germany, the eternal and superior race. This Diety has approved of the new revelation through a visible blessings on all that Hitler has undertaken, especially in his wonderful, nay miraculous accession to supreme power. "God is with us," says Hitler, and a thousand voices throughout Germany repeat "and he has helped us." "My prophecies have always come true," he trumpets on another occasion. "Communists, Socialists, Catholics and Steelhelmets have all been smashed to pieces after failure. Where are their Gods?" It is the old cry of the Saxons who submitted to Christ, because He overthrew their heathen gods. It is the Jewish philosophy which looks on success and wealth as proofs of election. Germany is God, God is Germany, Hitler is prophet. All German history before Hitler has been a blind errand and a sad dream; the light has come through him.

Is there any doubt that there is no more place for Christ in Germany than in Islam ?

National Socialism is the only faith of new Germany and it comprehends everything. You musn't say "How do you do," or "Good-by," but "Heil Hitler!" You musn't shake hands, but lift up your right arm. You have to think what Hitler thinks and believe what he wants you to believe. Germany is apparently one big mass of workers with the same tastes and the same inclinations, uniformly dressed and uniformly behaved.

The press has already been suppressed. The theater and wireless will gradually follow. Literature is being organized according to the same principles of mass production and with the same slogans used in Russia.

There is no room for special beliefs and individual or group philosophies. Nazidom is the atmosphere which penetrates and permeates everything.

The aim is clear : there shall be no God than the one which is Germany.

Mussolini : Then and Now

The Royal Italian Army invaded Tripoli in 1911 with no more justification than Mussolini had for invading Ethiopia in 1935. The Tripolitan war was opposed by many distinguished Italians, *The New Republic* reproduces a speech then made before a group of Italian working men:

Women, mothers, this is your duty—lie down on the rails and don't let the trains carry your sons to the imperialist massacre!

Have we not misery and slavery enough in our own country? Have we not enough people who do not know how to read or to write? Have we not people starving at home and in the streets?

How can we civilize other peoples? You know that the capitalist government does not care for your welfare.

Thousands of our working-class lives must be sacrificed to the imperialist ambitions of the exploiting class. That is their patriotism!

These words were spoken by a Socialist named Benito Juarez Mussolini. They were taken by his old friend Angelica Balabanov, and were in a recent issue of the People's Press, of Chicago, recommend them to the attention of Il Duce, he has forgotten what he said in 1911.

The Press in Germany

The Living Age relates certain ordinary facts about the condition of the in Germany under Hitler, selected from actual instructions that the Propaganda Ministry hands out to the German papers:

On the 65th birthday of Berta Krupp's husband press was told 'to comment favorably on the man work, and his firm.' The Ethiopian affair has called especially delicate treatment—'*There must be no on Italy* (Italics in original) . . . . The importance League of Nations can be dealt with in a cautious . . . . The way in which the French newspapers writing may be commented upon with gentle irony.' then such curious items as this: 'The report death of the Fuhrer's uncle must not be circu In the light of these restrictions it is hardly surp that the circulation, as well as the number, of the G papers has fallen by leaps and bounds. Between 1933, and March, 1935, the number of newspapers periodicals published in Germany declined from to 8,700, and, since 2,000 of the present crop orig in the past two years, this means that some 4,600 ceased to exist since Hitler's arrival. The numb periodicals sent through the mails each year has d from 1,800,000,000 in 1933 to 1,400,000,000 in Foreign sales of German publications have declin per cent, but the sale of foreign publications in Ge has increased even in the face of prohibitions, se and delays. And of the forty-four really big Ge dailies published in 1933 eleven have gone out existence.

A Soviet Prison

The same journal publishes a Fr journalist's description, quoted below in part a 'Russian Labour commune,' where thousand habitual criminals live, work, manage the whole community:

In Arkadi Ivanovich's office I watched the ar of a newcomer. He was dirty, unshaven, and ra From under his red eyelids, unadorned by a single lash, two black eyes starred at the secretary defiant. '. . . . What are you going to do with him' asked the secretary when he returned to his office.

'Maxim will live with him several days or s weeks, if necessary. He will listen to his rebe talk, will calm him, will show him the commune will explain its rules. He will take him to me and will never leave him alone except during wo hours . . . . For tomorrow he will begin working.'

'But what can he do?'

'Nothing. He will be employed as a common lab But everything here will induce him to specialize become an expert. Just think, a skilled laborer from 300 to 350 rubles a month, whereas an unsk laborer gets only 70; that is to say, just enough to his rent and food.'

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I expressed my surprise: 'But how can he become specialized worker?'

Arkadi Ivanovich explained, 'The wordshops are open from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon. The rest of the time, a man can attend special courses, given by professors who will teach him the technique of his new trade. Sometimes comrades of ours are sent to Moscow to attend schools of higher learning and obtain their degrees as engineers.'

On that day I asked the secretary a question that had long bothered me: 'I can hardly imagine that among the thousands of men brought into the commune during the past years all have become acclimatized and none has ever tried to escape?'

Arkadi smiled. 'Of course the call of the wild is irresistible to some,' he said.

'And what "sanctions" do you use in such a case?'

'We have only one at our disposal—perpetual exclusion from our communes. You who know what their living conditions are and what awaits them outside will not be surprised to learn that the percentage of escapes is practically non-existent . . . .'

I asked him once more, 'On the other hand, have you, the older ones, and those who have changed the most been able to change your civil status?'

Arkadi arose, opened a file, and showed me a long list of names. 'Here are those who have been reinstated as citizens. They have been able to leave Bolshevo and begin again a free existence in the Soviet Union, with the same rights and privileges that they would enjoy if they had never been convicted.'

'But . . . .'

'Except those who had families, all myself included, have asked to be allowed to remain in the commune, for here we have found a reason for living. a reason for being happy and proud of ourselves.'

Proud Ethiopia

Victor G. Heiser, who had been to Ethiopia on a medical mission, relates in *Asia* the story of an interesting interview with the Emperor of Ethiopia:

In my enthusiasm I was led to remark somewhat jocularly on the backward condition of Ethiopia. The Emperor bore with me in gentlemanly fortitude, then inquired politely, "You are an American, are you not?"

"Yes," I admitted, somewhat puzzled as to the object of his query.

"How many unemployed have you in the United States?"

"About twelve millions, I should imagine."

"Well," he continued blandly, "my government has been in continuous existence for over five thousand years. We have no unemployment; we have never had any. We have no starving. All my people have homes to live in. They have clothes to wear. They are happy."

I could think of no answer. I have not yet been able to think of one.

The Coming of War

The *Unity* makes an illuminating extract on the Coming of War from Mark Twain, the one hundredth anniversary of whose birth was observed last year:

There has never been a just war, never an honorable one—on the part of the instigator of the war. I can see a million years ahead, and this rule will never change in so many as half a dozen instances. The loud little handful, as usual, will shout for war. The pulpit will—warily and cautiously—object—at first. The great, big, dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly, "It is unjust and dishonourable, and there is no necessary for it." Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded, but it will not last long. Those others will outshout them, and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity. Before long you will see this curious thing—the speakers stoned from the platform and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers, as earlier, but do not dare say so. And now the whole nation, pulpit and all, will take up the war cry, and shout itself hoarse, and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth, and presently such mouths will cease to open. Next the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame on the nation that is being attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscience-shooting falsities, and will diligently study them, and refuse to examine any refutations of them, and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just, and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception.

Mark Twain

The same journal makes the following observations on the claims of Mark Twain as a writer and as a man:

There was a time, not so long ago, when it seemed as though this great writer were passing under a cloud. Van Wyck Brooks, in his *The Ordeal of Mark Twain*, led a movement of thought that Mark Twain was a victim of repressions and complexes, and thus a frustrated genius. Later researches have shown that this idea was largely moonshine, with the result that a literary planet of the first magnitude is restored to its native and pristine glory. What we see today is that Mark Twain ranks with Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and Walt Whitman as one of the supreme cultural geniuses of our American life. His easy and frequently parochial humor has tended to obscure or distort his essential claims to recognition as a writer of the first order of importance. Strange how we think of humor, though associated with such names at those of Shakespeare, Cervantes and Rabelais, as something of basic inferiority! What Mark Twain did was to contribute at least three or four books to the world's great treasure of immortal literature. What American can rival him in this gift? But Mark Twain was more than an author—he was a prophet as well. Never a pessimist, least of all a cynic, he despised injustice, cruelty, oppression, especially the ignoble hypocrisies in which these iniquities are so often disguised, and he blasted them with a scorn which swept the social horizon like a blast of lightning. If Mark Twain appeared at times to be bitter, if he indulged himself on occasion in black prophecies of man's future if he voiced now and then despair and even hate, it was because he had a sense of righteousness which was outraged by the world's spectacle of shame and sham. But his heart was ever touched with pity, and his memory sits in judgment on our times.

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The Worship of Isolation

In the course of a paper entitled "Shall America Worship Isolation," contributed to *The Christian Register*, Robert McElroy observes :

The most dangerous life today is that which worships isolation. There has been a strange shifting of the worship of isolation and self-sufficiency, within the memory of living man. Not only in America, but in every land, there are men who are sacrificing common peace, common prosperity, to the idol, isolation. They are intent upon securing separate advantages. They are securing collective defeat. But tariff walls—Chinese in exclusiveness!—every nation is now seeking to hold its own markets, while persistently insisting on its right to enter those of other nations. As a result, they have brought ruin, poverty and misery upon all mankind. When prosperity can lie only in international prosperity, nations dream of only national prosperity; and as the result, not of fate but of bad leadership, international trade is stifled by higher and ever higher tariff walls.

What is the solution? The American statesman of the greatest proved wisdom, Elihu Root, offers this: "The indispensable prerequisite of a lasting peace is the creation of an international mind." Confucius, long ago, anticipated him with the words, "I seek unity all pervasive." If that be true (and I personally believe it to be absolutely true), every educated man and woman, in every land, who is seeking a way out of our vast bog of despair, owes this much at least to the hope of future peace, a vow to think of every question in the largest possible terms. The international mind, when it comes, will not destroy patriotism. It will only glorify it. It will not even commit us to the decapitation of the inoffensive among our national idols, but only to the policy of not seeking to decapitate those of other nations. It is not the mind of submission, but of co-operation, of human sympathy. Without it, we must fight forever, and in the end, if forever can end, have all of our problems left. With it, we may hope to live our lives in peace, and look upon her neighbors as friends, even though they may be friends of a different faith.

A Poetess of Modern Bengal

C. F. Andrews, writing on the poetry of Toru Dutt in the pages of the *Eastern Affairs*, observes :

Sir Richard Jebb, in a famous lecture on Mediæval Europe, uses these words concerning the Renaissance which followed the Middle Ages:—

"The new spirit of the Renaissance differed in two respects from any which the Middle Ages could show. In the first place, excellence of literary form became a direct object of study. The second difference was still more important. Greek and Latin literature were welcomed as disclosing a new conception of life."

If we were to substitute the words 'English literature' for 'Greek and Latin literature' we should have a picture of what happened last century in Bengal when that remarkable Renaissance took place in Bengali literature which made the poetry and prose of Bengal among the richest and noblest in the East. While there was a revolt against English manners and customs, there was a passionate attraction towards Shelley and Keats and the poets of the Revolution. It is noticeable that this appreciation of the 'Poetry of Liberty' of the West was found first of all in Bengal amo countries of the East. Long before China and were attracted by the 'new learning' Bengal wa awake.

One of the most delicate flowers of this Renaissance was a woman, Toru Dutt, who only for a short time and died of tuberculosis while quite young. She might be called the young Ly the Movement, 'dead ere her prime.' If she had she might have reached the highest fame amo great immortals of world literature.

Chinese Art

The International Exhibition of Ch Art now on at the Burlington House, Lo has renewed popular interest in China's ar heritage. Laurence Binyon, who has int tional reputation as an authority on Far Ea Art, writes in the *Asia*:

Painting in China is considered as a branch of writing. The Chinese characters are written with a and to write them well requires a trained mastery as few European painters possess.

Chinese ink is a wonderful substance, capab giving an infinite range of tones from the deepest bla black to faint and silvery gray. The subject of a pi may be merely a bamboo growing on a rock; to our that seems a slight and insignificant motive, but it so to the Chinese. Each painting partakes of the of handwriting : and the close affinity of these two must be grasped, if we are to appreciate Chinese pai to the full. Silk is absorbent, and the strokes mus laid on therefore with swiftness and with complete tainty. The artist must have his picture all in his before he takes up his brush. What the Chinese to feel in a painting, as in a piece of calligraphy, i immediate touch of the brush, so that something of painter's personality is communicated to us directly.

A subject which was painted over and over agai a traditional motive, that of "the Moon over Ri Waves"—illustrates another aspect of Chinese art. western painter, if he took such a subject, w endeavor to give us the actual aspect of the scene, glitter of the crests of dark water, the shadowy hori The Chinese painter does not care so much about external appearance of things as about their esse character; and, in painting the sea, it is the move of the water which he attempts above all else to co nicate to the spectator, the rhythm by which the w are created. He uses a convention of sinuous lines w does not correspond with the visual appearance of w but which emphasizes the continuity and the rhythm their movement.

This is in accordance with Chinese theory. As e as the sixth century a painter who was also a c formulated six canons or standards by which a work art should be judged. The highest excellence was inspiration which confers life. It was recognized the movement of life, when not obstructed by circ stances, is rhythmical. And the true work of art sh embody this ideal rhythm of life.

A profound sense for nature has from time im morial distinguished the Chinese race. I mean not a delight in the pleasant aspects of nature, as they a to the wants or the admiration of men, but that sympathy which can identify itself with the life of th in nature and value non-human existence for its sake. Thus certain early emperor of China ord

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ic to be played to the young flowers as they unfolded
is garden.

In the British Museum is a painting which could have a simpler, homelier motive. It is just two geese. ere does this picture get its nobility, its grandeur? artifice is used to heighten the subject. Nothing d be more natural. But what is in a man goes into d he does. Unconsciously the painter reveals to us mind, his manner of looking at the world and life. feel that he has an innate reverence for life, even the life of these geese. It is as if he saw all nature them. Now, if you want to understand the minds of se Sung artists, you can approach it through the poetry Wordsworth. You may be surprised. But in the poems d sayings of Chinese Taoists you will find constant rallels, almost the same turn of phrase.

As Chinese art matured, it gradually invented a tem of spacing which was quite new in the art of the rld. In European art the idea of symmetry has been starting point for composition and decoration. It ives no doubt from the symmetry of the human body. ly Buddhist are based its compositions on symmetry. the Sung genius substituted the principle of balance: as a tree is not symmetrical but is perfect in its poise. d in a picture a small mass of strong tones is balanced a large space of emptiness. It is the unsymmetrical, incomplete, the imperfect, which is insisted on. For, ording to Lao-tzu, completion means the end of growth d therefore death.

Philippine Independence

The inauguration of Manuel Quezon as the st president of the Philippine Commonwealth arks the first step on the road to complete dependence. But the economic consequences this independence, however, have been almost st sight of. How are the Philippine people ing to make a living when cut off from the merican market? *The New Republic* itorially discusses this question:

The three great industries that dominate Philip- e economic life—sugar, coconuts and abaca (Manila mp)—all function as feeders for American factories. great has been the concentration on export crops that Islands are not even self-sufficient in food supply, t must import considerable quantities of grain, meat, getables, dairy products, etc. As for manufactured ticles, it has been cheaper to buy them abroad than make them at home, and protection of infant industries s of course been out of the question. The proceeds the export trade have been used to purchase food d manufactures which the Islands were not equipped to oduce for themselves.

Foreign trade is therefore not a profitable sideline t a vital necessity. And 75 per cent of it—amount- g in normal times to about $200,000,000 a year—is rried on with United States. The economic provisions the Tydings-McDuffie act, by threatening the existence this trade, destroy the rock upon which, through no oice of their own, the economic life of the Filipinos s been built.

The act provides for a transitional system of merican quotas and Philippine export taxes, the pro- eeds of which, incidentally, must be used for retire- ent of the present Philippine public debt, thus protect- g the interests of American bondholders. In 1945 e Philippines will become a foreign country and their products must pay the full duties.

The Filipinos are quite aware of the high price placed upon independence, and their willingness to pay it, if they must, is indicative of the valuation which they set upon this precious commodity. Nevertheless, a vigorous campaign is being carried on for modification of the terms of the Tydings-McDuffie act through establishment of a system of reciprocal tariff concessions by agreement between the United States and Philippine governments.

Failing drastic modification of the independence act, the Philippines are faced with the necessity of recasting their entire economic life under what promise to be highly unfavorable conditions. Already the possibilities of alternative crops and establishment of domestic industries are being intensively explored. If these changes are wisely administered the long-run result may be a sounder and better balanced national economy. But the price will be a long period of excessively painful readjustment.

The League Sanctions

John C. deWilde, observes in the *Foreign Policy Reports*:

Economic sanctions might be much more effective if they were preventive; that is, if they were imposed before, rather than after, the beginning of hostilities. Under the Covenant, League members are obliged to take action only after a state has gone to war in violation of its undertakings. Thus Italy could deliberately and openly prepare its campaign against Ethiopia without danger of restraint by the League. Yet the Covenant does confer on the League the power—although not the obligation—to take preventive measures. If there is a threat of war, the League is authorized by Article XI to "take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations." Since last April, when the Council considered Germany's repudiation of the disarmament provisions of the Versailles Treaty, a League committee has been studying what measures might be taken under Article XI against a power threatening to break the peace.

The doubtful effectiveness of economic measures directed against an aggressor has produced many schemes to implement these sanctions by military action. They have taken the form of proposals for a League army or police, and of bilateral and multilateral treaties of mutual assistance. It must be admitted, however, that many obstacles must be surmounted before an international army can become a reality. Probably the only practicable way in which military action can be undertaken against an aggressor is by means of bilateral pacts of mutual assistance such as the Franco-Soviet Treaty of May 2, 1935, or regional multilateral engagements like the organic statute of the Little Entente concluded on February 16, 1933 and the Locarno Treaty of Mutual Guarantee of October 16, 1925. Of these, the bilateral treaties have been considered most objectionable, for even though subordinated to the League Covenant, they tend to develop into alliances of the pre-war type. The multilateral pacts should, as far as possible, not be directed against any particular state outside the group of signatories, but provide the means by which all states within a given region of the world can enter into specific obligations to lend each other assistance in case of attack, no matter from what quarter. Article XVI would thus be strengthened if universal military sanctions of doubtful practicability were replaced by joint action on the part of states definitely interested in preserving security in the area or region of the globe affected by aggression.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Rice We Eat

Rabindranath Tagore takes strong exception to the spirit of apathy we show towards the selection of our food. The adoption of polished, in place of *dhenki*-hulled rice, for our daily meals, has resulted in Bengal, he points out in the *Visva-bharati News*, in a serious impairment of our national health:

When a people's diet takes a vicious path of its own improverishment, it causes a graver mischief than any act of cruelty inflicted by an alien power. Such has unfortunately been the case in our province. Rice has been our staple food from which we have for generations received a great part of our health, strength, energy and intelligence. But curiously enough, especially among the upper class of our community, a fatal epidemic of foolishness has become prevalent which allows this principal foodstuff of ours to be depleted of its precious nourishing element. Rice mills are menacingly spreading fast extending throughout the province an unholy alliance with malaria and other flag-bearers of death robbing the whole people of its vitality through a constant weakening of its nourishment. We not only boil away an essential amount of nutrition from our daily ration of rice but also use elaborate machinery to polish off its skin which contains its most vital gift. This is a self-imposed form of famine deliberately welcomed by a people who had already been suffering from the scarcity of milk and that of ghee of a non-poisonous kind. One of the consequent diseases in the form of beri-beri has specially chosen its victims from the Bengalis, who still remain indifferent to its lesson. There had been, I am told, some proposal to check the progress of this fatal evil through the intervention of legislature. I am glad that it failed, for the people must not be treated like eternal babies carefully protected by its appointed nurses from its own utter silliness. It is only for ourselves to exercise our intelligence for choosing our food which must be wholesome and sustaining. It is for the people themselves to realize that in the long run it is not cheaper to substitute the callous force of machinery for the indigenous rice-huller, oil press and grindstone for crushing the wheat. Physical vigour born of healthy meals is valuable, not only for itself but for its power of enhancing one's earning capacity. Then again, we have to take into account the immense importance of our rural economic life whose course has been cruelly obstructed by the iron monster rubbing our village women of some of their natural means of livelihood and the labouring class of its right to gather its simple living out of the gleanings from the people's own green field of life. It has gone on for long, this tampering with the time-honoured irrigation of living, in this country causing large desert tracks of privation in our villages. Would it be too much to expect a body of volunteers in Bengal to form a league whose members should take a solemn vow to use *dhenki*-hulled rice for their meals not allowing it nourishment to be stupidly thrown away by wasteful cooking? Could they not realize that it is the perpetuation of a national calamity to which most of us helping by instituting in our homes an insidious of suicide?

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The Bengal Agricultural Debtors Bill and After

In an article in the *Landholders'* Satis Chandra Ray Chowdhury, a mem the Legislative Council, criticizes the p of the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Bil has recently been pased into an Act, an measure of its likely effect on the well-b the people. He says:

The first principle that the measure has in in the field of legislation in this country is that fectly legitimate to repudiate all obligations based existing laws on the ground of expediency to pu particular class. This principle, it is feared, wi force as it goes on working till the national mind pletely purged of all traditional ideas and belief can say that this will be an unmixed evil?

The second glaring feature which also runs c the traditional ideas and faiths, is that the God Justice must henceforth cease to sit in her fortified temple hidebound by rules and procedu will now walk abroad unfettered and unhampe smiling on one and now frowning on another pleases dispensing the same kind of justice as h immortalized in the trial of the unfortunate Queen Antoinette by Judge Hermann and on the same evidence. It is idle to expect that Government judicious in the selection of the Board to be c with the working of this odious measure so that working it may become less harmful and less than it appears. No safeguards have been provi that in the Act.

The next noteworthy feature of the measure will make any honest debtor shudder and will make for his ultimate ruin is that any attempt part to bring the provisions of the Act into op in his favour will result in his having to face creditors all at once with the possibility of a ban at the end of the process. Such a composition creditors might be feasible and successful only Government were prepared through some agen advance long-term loans to liquidate all existing But such an obligation the Government is not p to shoulder.

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Educational Re-construction

In speaking of educational re-constr Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancell the Calcutta University, makes the follo observations in *The Calcutta Review*:

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Suggestions are now and again put forth to limit missions to Universities, either directly or indirectly, only with a view to alleviating the increasingly distress-ing problem of unemployment. While as I have said, it is the duty of the State and the people to explore new venues which could absorb our trained young men, I must affirm that it is a retrograde measure to seek to solve the problem by reducing the number of educated men. We must not forget that percentage of University-trained men in our country in relation to our population is deplorably lower than in other civilized lands, and any attempt to reduce still further even this small number will bring about national deterioration. Crude and mediaeval standards of life yet prevail in most villages and in many towns and call for immediate redress at the hands of trained and skilled workers. With the development of electric power, broadcasting, cinema, to mention only a few, scientifically trained men can, with the help of the State, make themselves eminently useful to society. Cultural and political awakening due to the influence of Universities still calls for their services. Educational institutions must not regard themselves as factories for the production of clerks and subordinate officers but they have also to supply the country with the leadership and skill in different branches of activity, economic, commercial and industrial; municipal, provincial and national. India stands in urgent need of University men, animated with the ideals of service, imagination, courage, catholicity of outlook and resilience of nature.

There can be no question of reducing the existing educational facilities on the plea that re-orientation of education is vitally necessary. We do not believe that the present number of schools and colleges is too large for the requirements of the country. Those who urge their reduction on the ground that the education imparted by them is defective, must, in the first instance, secure the foundation of a sufficient number of institutions where the right type of training will be provided for the children of the soil. The schools and colleges of today may be enabled to adapt themselves gradually to the altered demands of the educational reformers. The situation becomes extremely dangerous when a reduction in their number is advocated on the plea of educational reform. Let us not follow the path of destruction so easy of access until the materials for reconstruction and expansion are generously made available to us.

Origins of Indian Culture

It was due to Lord Curzon that excavation was recognized as one of the obligations of the Government when the Archaeological Department was established in 1902. But no Indian monuments worth the name of pre-Asokan period had been discovered upto 1923. The belief that Indian culture was of European or Greek origin, was long cherished by many European scholars. The belief is reflected in the earlier editions of Vincent Smith's "Ancient India" which began with an account of Alexander's invasion. *Science and Culture* has the following in its January issue:

About the beginning of the nineteenth century the most divergent ideas prevailed regarding the origin of Indian culture. The Hindus believed their civilization to be of immense antiquity, as a matter of fact, started by Grand-father Brahma himself, and they ascribed their successive misfortune to be due to their deflection from the principles of Dharma: on the other hand, the Europeans believed Indian culture to be comparatively modern. Some scholars even thought that Sanskrit was an invention of the wily Brahmins and their epics were pale imitations of those of the Greeks and the Romans. They thought that Hindu religious ideas were derived from the Bible and science including medicine and astronomy to be derived from that of the Greek conquerors. But it is well known that a hundred years' patient work started by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and financed by the Government of India has thrown a flood of light on the past of India, and has mostly disproved the old theories of the origin of culture, Indian as well as European. Large forgotten monuments and inscriptions were discovered, and in the seventies of the last century Sir Alexander Cunninghum gave a preliminary description of the former sites of civilization and of the monuments contained in them. The Brahmi script was deciphered by Prinsep and gradually the glorious story of the Buddhistic civilization which had once spread over the whole of Asia and which Hindu India had done its best to forget was recovered. But this civilization, glorious as it was, was all posterior to Alexander's invasion of India. Hence it did not dispel the European belief that the origins of the Indian culture were to be traced to Greek influence.

We are specially indebted to Sir John Marshall for the excellent opportunity which he gave to his colleagues for the "probing of archaic mounds and the excavation of old Indian sites." Harappa was excavated by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni in 1921, and Mohenjo-daro in 1923 by the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee who (Mr. Banerjee) at once recognized, in the seals and objects recovered there, something very different from the remains of Buddhistic India, and had no hesitation in calling the site as 'Indo-Sumerian.' Attention of the archaeologists to the seals and objects discovered at these two sites was called by Sir John Marshall himself in the *Illustrated London News* of the 20th Sept., 1924, and the whole world of archaeologists were roused to the sense that after all many surprises still awaited them under the soil in India. The discovery had a great moral effect inasmuch as it gave the final death blow to the belief cherished by many European savants that Indian culture was of "Hellenic origin." It confirmed the belief of the Indians that their beloved land was after all proved to be one of the "earliest cradles of human civilization."

The Conflict of Cultures

Culture is an expression of the soul of a nation. Different types of culture and systems of civilizations are bound to clash. But a new or an alien civilization, writes Swami Ghanananda in *The Vedanta Kesari*, cannot seriously affect the original culture, of a nation or country, which has struck its roots deep into the soil:

The forms and setting through which a system of culture expresses itself vary. Such variation is seen more in the arts and poetry which are its typical products. Taking music, for example, we find that the Indian music and the music of Wagner differ so much that the songs of one school have no charm for the followers of the other, but both are expressions of the cultural soul of their respective nations. If the genius of a

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language is something which inheres in it and does not lend itself to translation, the genius of a culture is still more inexpressible. Variety is the law of nature and the diversity of the several types of cultures and civilizations, is as inexplicable as the diversity of natural life, of fauna and flora. But behind all this natural diversity a grand unity and commonness of purpose is discernible. All great systems of civilizations contribute to the pleasures and amenities of life, and all great cultures conduce to its refinement. The one improves the objective world and makes nature subservient to man who derives both profits and pleasure from a mastery of her secrets; the other chastens the mind and purifies the soul. They both reflect the yearnings and aspirations of men, their struggles and successes in the march of life.

Culture is like food which we consume not merely for its nutritive value, but also for its agreeability. A system of culture suits the race that has evolved it more than any other, and the forms of its expressions like poetry, music, and other arts appeal less to other races, if at all. It prepares the environments in which the minds of the men belonging to it are able to grow and blossom with ease and vigour. When a person belonging to one type of culture by birth and tradition is under the environments of another system of culture, he shares the fate of the tree that is transplanted from an alien soil and an alien climate. That is why a foreign system of education and culture like the English system is unsuited to a country like India possessing a highly evolved culture from time immemorial. Genius flowers best on its native soil.

Congress : A Retrospect and A Prospect

In a retrospect and a prospect in respect of the evolution of the Congress, Prof. Bhagat Ram Kumar observes in *The Hindustan Review:*

A little thought shows that the radical disease in the body-politic which is at the root of all our ills today is the growing sectarianism of the Congress during the last 15 years or so.

But not only has the Congress suffered as the result of its growing sectarianism: the nation has suffered even more. The Congress was the only factor of co-ordination in our national life. It has aroused the classes, the masses, and the various interests making up the nation. It had aroused the Muslims, the Hindus, the Sikhs, the zamindar, the peasant, the town-dweller and the village-dweller. It had given birth to new aspirations, new longing and new hopes.

If the root-cause of all our ills today can be traced to the sectarian character of the Congress—is it too much to hope that wisdom may yet prevail and that false steps may yet be retraced. The greatness of individuals is judged by the willingness with which they acknowledge mistakes and retrace their actions. In that respect Mahatma Gandhi has never lacked in greatness. And if there is one man more than another who is responsible for the growing sectarianism of the Congress it is he. It is under his guidance that the Congress has been changing its objectives and policies, and methods of work. He sees the results of his policy today on all hands. Is it too much to hope that he may render the country the greatest service of his life by restoring to the Congress its national character to enable it once more to take its place as the leader of India in its efforts at regeneration?

What is needed to be done is merely to free the Congress from being associated with any one party or policy.

Is Congress a Political Party?

C. Rajagopalachar, the well-known C leader, discusses, within a short compa above question in some of its aspects *Indian Review*. He concludes:

The Congress is not one of many politic Every political party in India that works for the interest of this or that group, community community, looks upon the Congress as its opponent, and wishes it were more comp Congress is a "Party" opposed to all parties. soul within the living body, there is a soul for which looks upon the separate aims of groups munities in the nature of fatal temptations of Congress is the functioning of that nation-soul. us hope the Golden Jubilee was a yoga of that occasion for the nation to contemplate its own purity and divine purpose, and rise above the fle

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The Problem before the Congres

An Inquirer in an article in *The Tw Century* discusses the trend of the Co movement and puts in a plea for the re-o tion of its policy:

Now, as the recent history of the Congr nothing but the story of Mahatma Gandhi, e temporary retirement has become a problem to its and their hope lay in the possibility of his re active politics. While the failure of the Congr in its indefinite attitude towards its own ideal, the of Mahatma Gandhi lies in his attempts to imp own personal ideals on the members of the Congr such a desire of his is to be fulfilled, most of the workers in it would be forced to walk out and it be fast converted into an ashram of limited ac It would cease to represent the country. But such will not happen. It may be possible for the Cong win freedom through strict adherence to the prin non-violence but it is a mere dream to suppose t its members would become equally religious-mind evolve such faith in the doctrine of Ahimsa and U Love. The only possible regulation in this affair be to allow the members to have their own faiths members of the Congress and as representatives people of a nation, they should adhere to the p of non-violence. Faith is a thing which belongs heart and heart is the last thing that will yield exigencies of time. One has a right to try to inspi others the same faith which has grown strong dear heart but others have got an equal right to to follow it. Who does not love to be free in matters?

The Congress should therefore lay more emph the principles which its own collective mind should than on those which its individual members shoul milate. It should describe its own ideology in terms and organize the country on that basis. As as its organization does not include the masses, as as it fails to create a new haven, a brighter fut their hearts, so long it fails to conduct a mass mov For this purpose it is not enough if it awakens in political consciousness but it is social consciousness must be evoked. The Congress should bring in march towards freedom all the members of the which it claims to represent and place before th ideal and a programme which their brains can stand and hearts would not refuse.

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The Problems that Challenge Thought

Why should a handful be happy and prosperous, reaping what they sow not? Why should the vast majority be born to suffer till death, reaping not what they sow? Why should genius pine and disdainful wealth rule the earth? According to Sampurnanand these are the problems that challenge thought today. In an article in *The New Call* he grapples with them in the socialist way:

Of the three ways in which these and allied problems may be faced, the third one is the way which the Socialist has chosen for himself. He is as keenly alive as are the others to the forces of evil which seem to have mastery here. He cannot turn his back on the fight; nor, on the other hand, can he counsel consolation, in the hope of a Hereafter. There may or may not be a hereafter, but he is not immediately concerned with it. His domain is the Here and the Now and he is certain that these can be altered. He believes that it is possible so to arrange the affairs of men that all can share in the good things of life, material, aesthetic and intellectual. He feels that the happiness of one man does not necessarily imply the unhappiness of another, much less of a group. And there is an inner urge within him to bring about that happy day. He is the preacher of discontent. The problem is old but he brings to its solution a new technique. As Marx once observed "philosophers have tried in various ways *to interpret* the world; the problem is *to change* it." The preacher of Religion also realises this but he makes an indirect attack on the problem, as it were. He tries to change the world subjectively by changing man's attitude towards it, not so the socialist. He also does effect a change in man's attitude, making it less egocentric, more catholic, but his familiarity lies in the fact that he believes that the world can be changed objectively and what is more, he sets about this business, without caring for the opinions of the timid and the wordly-wise. It will be bad future for the world, if he fails.

Wanted—Social Courage

In *The New Outlook* Shyam Kumari Nehru in an article under the above caption deals with the problem of the division of mankind into smaller communities, castes and sub-castes. She observes:

We are faced with the glaring problem that the society of the future is not going to be divided on the basis of caste, creed or religion. Divisions are natural among humanity—the world is too large to be without them—but the whole of humanity must in future be worked upon as one great family of beings. It is a new social and mental outlook that is needed. Petty reforms to popularise inter-caste marriages (restricting them strictly to the three upper classes of Hindus); or to tell the untouchables that they are also Hindus and to throw temples open to them to worship the same God; or to ask the Mahomedan groups to merge and to be truly Islamic; or to ask the Christians to be one in the name of Christ, will only lead us to another and a greater problem when the whole process of history will repeat itself to evolve a common nation out of these three great religions. Therefore, if there is to be a process of breaking these unnatural barriers between man and man in the name of caste, creed and religion, reformers realize that the process cannot stop midway—and society must be prepared for the ultimate merging of all castes, creeds and religions. Society must be founded on common principles and ideals, common education and economic adjustments. In such a social world there are bound to be individuals who will freely associate in life with each other despite different religious labels, and a society that closes its eyes to such a probability and treats those individuals as outcasts is only showing want of faith in its own ideals of progress. What we need therefore is a wider outlook, far more humane and rational than we possess at present.

Book Selection for Libraries

Book selection for Libraries is always a live topic as it forms one of the first duties of a librarian. In an article on the subject in *The Indian Library Journal*, K. Nagaraja Row, Librarian of the Annamalai University, refers to some of the leading principles in regard to the selection of books for libraries:

The Library has got to be so constituted as to meet the demands of its readers which demands may happen to be either expressed or unexpressed. It must have definite reference to the needs and desires of all its users just as a water-supply scheme of a city is laid for meeting the persistent demands of a locality or a neighbourhood. The Public Librarian must first plan out the volume of demand and assess it, have a standard for fixing the value of demand and by virtue of this standard evaluate the demand, find out the various varieties of demand and finally satisfy them to the best of his ability.

The standard for fixing the value of demand is stated by MacColvin as dependent upon the development of personality of the readers of the library. The chief aim and purpose of the public Librarian is to guard and take care of the intellectual life of his readers, try to develop in them their personality in its intellectual, moral, ethical and spiritual aspects so that the readers may gain from life maximum pleasure and happiness. This is the mission of a Public Librarian. So having this as the test, the books have to be given a value in proportion to the degree in which they will be able to promote the development of readers' personality.

Let us consider in detail the nature of demand. Demand for Library provision has been said to be "the sum total of services which a library can perform and the volume of demand emphasises the extent of this service." Demands again are both expressed and unexpressed. Expressed demands comprise all requests for library services which may or may not be provided for and (2) the use which is made of existing provision.

The Public Librarian having assessed the demand, must take these steps to the expression of demand. (1) Readers must be encouraged to state what exactly they desire. It is often found that a number of readers are too timid to seek the assistance of the staff. These must be encouraged to formulate their needs. (2) Suggestions from readers and users of the library have to be taken into account. (3) The public have to be asked for developments in any possible sphere. (4) And the Public Librarian has to cultivate the acquaintance of experts and men of standing in various branches of knowledge.

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Sheep Breeding in Mysore

The following is an excerpt from an article on sheep breeding and sheep rearing in Mysore : Lieut. A. A. Monteiro writes in *The Journal of the Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union* :

In point of climate, Mysore falls into two main divisions, the region of heavy rainfall known as the malnad, which is mountainous and hilly with a rainfall of about 70 to 300 inches, and maidan which is a less rugged country with a rainfall not exceeding 20 to 35 inches on the average. On account of climatic and ecological factors, and geographical conditions, sheep do not thrive in the malnad parts and are not reared there, but in all maidan parts sheep rearing is an important industry and is done on very haphazard lines, as they are chiefly prized for their manure.

In developing animal husbandry grading up is done by importing sires from foreign countries. The natural herbage which is able to support in health, slower growing native sheep that have evolved on this herbage, is too poor in constructive material to support more rapidly growing animals. The equilibrium between the grazing and the herbage is upset and the resulting mortality is really a natural process tending to the elimination of a type whose rate of growth inherited from the sire is greater than the herbage can support. The flocks of sheep owners possessing cross-bred progeny do not receive any special attention. It is the general law in nutrition that the faster the rate of growth of the animal, the richer must be the food in constructive material required for bone and tissue formation and any method of supplying the deficiencies could only be second best. To add to this, the poor pasture throughout the sheep-rearing tract is highly infested with parasites.

The breeding season in the State begins usually after the showers in April. The whole male stock of the village, whether of breeding age or not, move about throughout the year with the female stock. The facts that a breeding ewe has to maintain her body, grow her wool, provide for the growth and development of the unborn lamb and provide milk for its sustenance after birth, do not worry the sheep rearer in this country. Even a well-to-do landlord has not for his object the rearing of sheep for the production of a commercial commodity and to produce it in such a manner and of such quality and in such quantity that it will allow a reasonable profit over the expenses incurred in producing it.

The Material of Literature

It is always interesting to note what a great litterateur has to say of literature. The most eminent literary man of our time, Rabindra Nath Tagore, defines and describes literature in *The Visva-bharati Quarterly* in the following way:

Ideas that are worthy thus to become everlasting usually differ in many ways from those that serve our every-day needs. Corn gives us annual crops, but we want long-living trees, a different kind of seed to be sown. The seeking of such immortality through literature is an endeavour ever dear to man's heart in spite of the exhortations of our patriotic critics, the production of informative literature, in spite of complaints that novels, plays and poems are flooding the country, writers persist in writing for the expression of their emotions. For, while that which is useful to fulfil some present purpose, that which has no immediate use stands a better chance of permanent survival.

Thus literary expression is seen to be the body of an idea. On the success with which the idea is established in such body, depends the merit of the writer; the quality of its body depends the value of the idea; the extent and endurance of its life in men's minds. These things are necessarily dependent on their bodies, and cannot, like water, be poured from one to another. Idea and life exist together as one and indivisible, to their mutual embellishment.

The idea, the subject-matter, belongs to all. If it does not occur to one, it will, in time, occur to another. But its particular expression belongs to the writer alone. What this expression is in the case of one it cannot be in the case of another. So that the idea lives in his expression, not in the idea or subject that is embodied. A water-reservoir consists of both the earth embankment and the water contained. But the water is not provided by man, it is always there. The merit of the engineer, which is his own, is in keeping it permanently available for the use of man. Similarly a piece of literary work includes both the idea and the form of its expression, more especially the latter, which it is the glory of the writer to have provided as a means of making the former a joy for ever.

So we come to the conclusion that literature proper consists in the appropriation of an idea by the work of genius in such a way as to make it enjoyable by all. Carbon is everywhere, in earth, water and air; the plant by means of its intrinsic power, first incorporates it in itself, and thereupon makes it fit for use by others. So is it the function of literature, first to make special ideas that are general, and then by that very specialization to make them of universal significance and value.

If that be so, then that which belongs to the domain of pure knowledge is of itself excluded from literature proper. For the truths that are to be apprehended by our intellect fight shy of the personal factor,—they must be seen in the dry light of reason, independent of individual predilection. Gravitation cannot mean one thing to you and another to me; different minds and hearts must not be allowed to variegate it with the tincture of their own feelings. It is only those ideas which demand for their expression, colour and tone and suggestiveness from the artist,—which are unable to gain entry into other minds unless so re-created,—that are the material of literature. They can only live when giving a fitting body by language and form and rhythm. They are not discoveries, not copies, but creations. Once they find a body they cannot be transferred into other forms, or conditions of life. The whole of such embodied idea is dependent on each of its parts. To the extent that a written production does not create such body, it is not as literature.

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His Majesty George V

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His Majesty Edward VIII

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NOTES

His Late Majesty King George V

By the death of His Majesty King George V the British Empire and the world have lost a great king, a great gentleman, and a great lover of world peace. Our heart goes out in respectful sympathy to Her Majesty Queen Mary, His Majesty King Edward VIII and the royal family.

During the late king's reign of more than twenty-five years there have been revolutions and great political changes in many countries of Europe and wars in Asia, America, and Africa. In Britain there has been no revolution or anything like it during this period. This was, no doubt, in great part due to the temperament of the British people and to the fact that they enjoy as great liberty as, if not more liberty than, the inhabitants of any country having a republican form of government. But it cannot be gainsaid that it was also due in some measure to the statesmanship, wisdom, commonsense—in one word—the personality of King George V. He was free from any dynastic or personal ambition, and adhered strictly to the British constitution, never desiring or trying to exceed his powers as a British constitutional monarch. He took the profession of kingship seriously and worked hard to do his duties as a king. He used his power and influence to promote the welfare of his people. His dutifulness, his gentlemanly qualities, his simplicity and his domestic virtues made him highly popular with the British people. All this does not mean that there are no persons in Britain who want a republican form of government. There are communists and some socialists who want to have a republic. But even among those Britishers who consider the existence of a monarchy in a democratic age an obvious anomaly there was a feeling that King George V fulfilled the duties imposed upon him in an admirable manner.

He had an advantage over all his prime ministers and other ministers in this that he had a broader outlook, a wider vision and greater experience than any of them. For they have belonged to this party or that, and could not but adhere to the programme of their parties. But he belonged to no party, or rather, he belonged to all parties and could appreciate the good that there was in the principles and programmes of all parties. There is no means of knowing what passed between him and Conservative, Liberal or Labour ministers in their consultations on state business. But it may be safely inferred that they all profited by his sage counsel.

His Majesty King Edward VIII

His Majesty King Edward VIII succeeds to the throne of his ancestors and is the heir to a great name and a great example. He could not have formed a wiser resolve than the determination to which he has given expression that he would walk in the footsteps of his great father. That is a guarantee that British interests would be safe in his hands.

A Beneficent Forward Policy

The British monthly, *Reconciliation*, has in its January number an article by C. Delisle Burns. In the course of that article the writer says :

> There is an alternative policy . . It is to send . . doctors and agriculturists and men who know something of tribal customs and religious beliefs. C. F. Andrews has pointed out, in the *Manchester Guardian* of November 8th, the importance of the experience of Dr. Pennell who went across the frontier to cure illness, and "could go everywhere among the hills without any real danger. The hill tribesmen would do anything for him." There is also another similar experience which has actually been made the basis for policy.
>
> Not long ago I was talking to Professors of Colonial

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History and similar subjects in the Dutch University of Leyden. I discussed colonial policy with the great authority on Islam in the East Indies—Professor Suvnck-Hungronje—and he told me of his own experience with barbaric and warlike tribes. The Dutch in the Indies had sent continuous "punitive" expeditions into the hills. It was both expensive and futile. And then Suvnck-Hungronje, who knew tribal customs and religions, offered himself to go up among the hills to find out what the tribesmen really wanted. A little friendly negotiation and some quite simple arrangements brought complete peace. The Dutch scholars rather "pulled my leg" by saying that only a small nation like theirs ought to have colonial dependencies, because great nations had so many domestic worries that they left colonial policy to local officials and did not see how great their own responsibilities were for people who cannot protect themselves! Can we in England not do something to stop the obsolete and futile policy which is called "defence" on the North-West Frontier of India?

The writer proceeds :

The positive policy of friendly advances by men and women who know about medicine and agriculture and tribal customs would probably be well understood by the present Secretary of State for India, Lord Zetland, and also by the ex-Viceroy, Lord Halifax. Such a policy clearly requires at least as much skill in its instruments as is required from military men who undertake "punitive" expeditions. Good will is not enough. If we require training for bombing, we require it also for persuasion: and it would be worse than useless to send on to the frontier men and women with good intentions and no knowledge or adaptability. Above all, a new policy must not be confused by the continuance of the old policy at the same time. There is at present in England a very general condemnation of the Italians for bombing villages in Abyssinia: . . . But the Italians are also using what is called "propaganda"; and they are using as "propaganda" the digging of wells and freeing of slaves. They might have done these things much more effectually—even for their own purposes —without the accompaniment of bombing. Now, however, that we can see the evils of bombing and "punitive defences," we should change our own policy in India: and similar changes could perhaps be introduced in Iraq.

American Achievement in the Philippines

Robert Aura Smith writes in the January number of *Asia* :

"With the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth Government the United States concludes in a sense a phase of its relationship to this insular possesion. Although it is true that sovereignty will continue to reside in the United States for a period of ten years, it is equally true that the direct administrative control of domestic affairs in the Philippines has passed from American into Filipino hands. It is, therefore, appropriate to undertake some survey of what has been accomplished in the course of thirty-five years of American occupation. . . ."

The fact should be noted that the Filipinos have obtained full control of internal affairs after thirty-five years of American occupation—not after a century or two, or after even a century—and that they will have contr both domestic and foreign affairs in ten more. Thus they will be free and indepe in less than 50 years.

Mr. Smith writes:

"Three large closely related fields of activity and behavior suggest themselves points at which one can analyze the effect impact of American civilization on the Islands: the fundamental question of living and dying; the question of how one lives in the social that is education, government and culture; question of how one lives in the economic state is, how good a living one gets and how one In all three of these fields the thirty-five ye American rule in the Philippines pre metamorphosis."

Can it be said that thirty-five *ye* of British rule in India present the same of metamorphosis in these three fields thirty-five *years* of American rule do in Philippines? India is, no doubt, a much country than the Philippines with a much population. But India's resources, too, much larger than the resources of Philippines; and Indian civilization and cu of the pre-British period were also far sup to pre-American Filipino civilization culture.

Cholera and bubonic plague have stamped out from the Philippines. Have disappeared from India? In modern plague appeared in India in the nineties last century—before the American occup of the Philippines, but it has not yet stamped out. There is a persistent attack beri-beri and malnutrition going on in Philippines, and it is going to end in victory

". . . . when the Americans landed in Philippines, the average death-rate was 47 thousand. In 1935, it had been reduced to 18 the same time the birth rate had been accele from about 35 to about 50. The spread, then between the two was multiplied."

According to the League of Na "Statistical Year-book," 1933-34, the rate in British India for the latest year (1 available was 24.8 per 1,000, the birth rate the same year being 34.3. So the excess births over deaths in the Philippines is 32 thousand, against 9.5 in India!

As regards infant mortality Mr. S says :

"Most important in this changing picture is conquest of infant mortality. When the corps men with the first American expedition their survey of conditions in the city of Manila time of the occupation, they were horrified that the infant mortality rate was approximate per hundred (800 per thousand). Four out of

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babies died. Today in that same low-lying city the death rate is 60 per thousand (six per hundred). Fourteen out of fifteen Manila babies live. Throughout the archipelago as a whole the infant mortality rate has been cut to 138 per thousand and, wherever supervision and hospitalization are possible, to less than half that figure. This means an actual vital change in the lives of Filipino families. It makes a great deal of difference to a mother if four out of five of her children survive, or if four out of five of them die."

In British India as a whole the deaths under one year per 1000 living births numbered 1 in the year 1930, according to the League of Nations "Statistical Year-book."

Commenting on these vitality statistics the writer in *Asia* observes :

"This particular point of approach gives the spectacular touch to what has been a long laborious story of the introduction of modern conceptions of health and sanitation: quarantine services, control of epidemics, building sewers and digging latrines, spraying for mosquitoes and fighting flies, cleaning up public markets and inspecting fish, persuading superstitious people to eat whole rice instead of polished grain and giving mothers 50,000 bottles a year of rice hull extract to get rid of beri-beri in their children."

It will be noted that Rabindranath Tagore has recently urged the importance of eating whole rice instead of polished grain and of so cooking rice as to keep the rice hull extract in the cooked rice instead of throwing it away. We do not know whether our public health departments give Indian mothers rice hull extract to get rid of beri-beri in their children.

As regards education,

"When Dewey's ship steamed into Manila Bay, 200,000 Filipino children were receiving instruction. In 1935, more than 1,300,000, or one-tenth of the entire population, were enrolled in the public schools of the islands."

According to the "Statesman's Year-book" for 1935, the number of scholars in British India in all educational institutions was 12,853,532 out of a population of 289,491,241, or about 4.5 per cent., against more than 10 per cent. in the Philippines. This after more than 150 years of British rule, before which there was greater literacy in India than now.

The writer observes :

"Throughout the past decade the Philippine Government has spent one-third of its total income on health and education alone."

This cannot be said of the Governments of India and the provinces thereof.

As regards political progress we read :

"Government itself in the Philippines has become both representative and autonomous. A republican democracy has been set up. The national Legislature is chosen through a suffrage limited only by the ability to read and write. An increasing degree of domestic authority has been placed in the hands of the Filipinos until today, except for the retention of sovereignty and the direct fiscalization of economic affairs, the government is free. Politically the Philippines are not yet entirely independent, actually the Filipinos have more freedom of action, more genuine liberty than do the citizens of the country to whom they still owe allegiance."

The political status of the people of India according to the new constitution imposed on her by Britain has been described by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee in an article entitled "This is not self-government" in the same (January) number of *Asia* from which the foregoing extracts have been taken.

As regards the cultural progress of the Filipinos the writer observes :—

"The impact of western culture has made itself felt not only in this institution of representative democracy and in the achievement of genuine freedom but in a thousand and one minor modifications of the standard of living. Eight million people in the Philippine Islands have put on their first pair of shoes within the past two decades. Newspapers and periodicals which in 1900 had a total circulation of less than 100,000 have jumped to twenty times that number. Every sizable town in the Islands not only has now its hospital, dispensary and high school; it has also its cinemas, public playgrounds, tennis courts and automobiles."

There has been economic improvement also.

"In 1903, the total imports of the Islands were less than 70,000,000 *pesos*. The normal figure now is three times that amount. Back in 1903 the Philippines sold even less than they bought, about 60,000,000 *pesos*. Today they sell four times that amount. A few thousand pounds of badly milled sugar were all the Islands could boast when the Americans came in. Today their production of more than a million tons is so great that their American competitors regard it as a 'menace.'"

Dr. J. T. Sunderland's Christmas Greetings

The Rev. Jabez T. Sunderland, the greatest living foreign friend of India, will complete another year of his long and beneficent life on the 11th of the current month of February. He will, we believe, complete his ninety-fourth year on that day. We convey to him our highest regards and wish him very many returns of his birthday.

He did not—he could not—forget India during Christmas. His Christmas Greetings to friends in India is a beautiful leaflet of some 2,500 words, devoted partly to Ethiopia and mostly to a description of the condition of India by Miss Slade (Mira Ben), daughter of a British admiral, and to his own summing up of India's new constitution.

His Christmas Greetings end with the following words of Christ :

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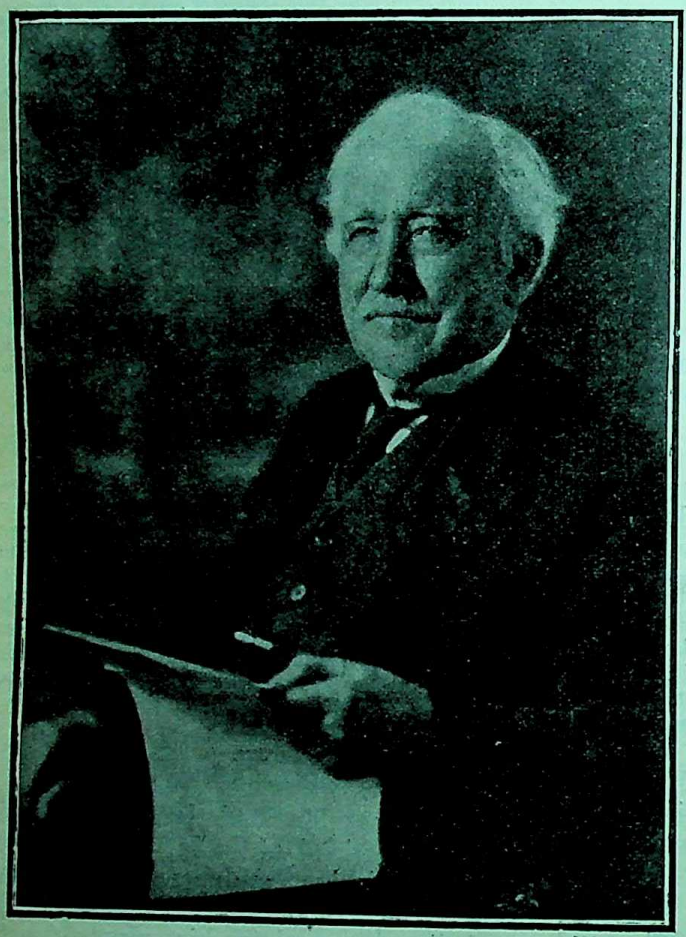
"He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captive, and liberty to them that are bound;"

and also these other New Testament words:

"Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them;"

as well as the following lines of the American poet, James Russell Lowell:

"Whenever a wrong is done
To the humblest or the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding sun,
That wrong is done to us, and we are slaves more base
Whose love of right is for ourselves, and not for all the race."



Dr. J. T. Sunderland

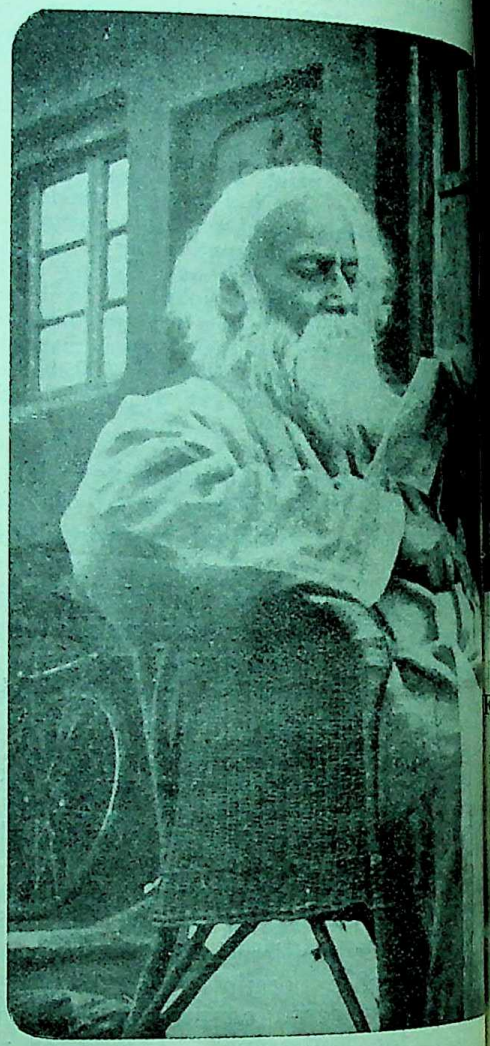
Rabindranath Tagore's Appreciation of Folk songs

The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, has written the following letter to Professor Devendra Satyarthi in appreciation of his articles on the folk songs of different parts of India:

"Dear Satyarthi,

I have read practically all your articles published in *The Modern Review* and congratulate you for their general high standard. They reveal the inner soul of Rural India and it is extremely desirable that they should be known in other parts of the world as well. I am glad to know that *Asia*, which is a favourite of mine, is going to publish some of your articles.

Yours sincerely,
RABINDRANATH TAGORE"



Rabindranath Tagore's Latest Portrait
Photo: Satyendranath Bisi

Romain Rolland's 70th Birthday

On the 29th January this year the celebrated French author and idealist M. Romain Rolland completed the 70th year of his life. On this occasion the Bengal branch of the India section of the P. E. N. Club sent him its felicitations through its Secretary Professor Kalidas Nag. In reply M. Rolland has sent the following

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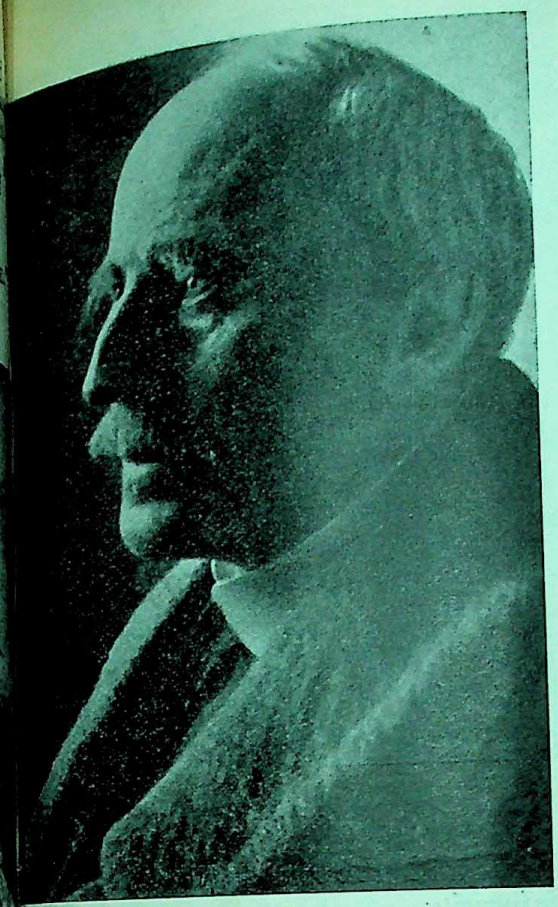

Romain Rolland's Latest Portrait

(*Translation*)

Fraternal Greetings to my friends of India:

"May the great century of heroic works in which we are engaged, build a new, more lofty and more large Humanity, with our agonies, struggles and hopes. May that embrace the totality of the human family. May the genius of India be wedded to the genius of the Occident. I see in the Future the semi-divine children to be born of that blessed union. From our troubled Dawn I salute the radiant noon of the Great Day.

January, 1936. (Sd.) ROMAIN ROLLAND."

We give the original French also of his greetings in facsimile, with his latest portrait and that of Maxim Gorky and himself. We wish him many happy returns of his birthday.

The Materials of History

In our last December number we printed a list of presidents of the several sections of the All-India Oriental Conference held at the end of that month at Mysore, as supplied to the press by the "United Press." It was stated therein that the Rev. Henry Heras of Bombay was to be the president of the history section. But we find it reported in *The Hindu* of Madras that Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji, head of the department of history, Lucknow University, actually presided at the meeting of the history and geography section. That paper has given a summary of his address, in the course of which the professor is reported to have said:

> History has to work under hard conditions and with tough and intractable material. It does not deal with the present or the future but only with accomplished

A mes amis, de l'Inde, mon fraternel salut!

Que puisse le grand siècle de travaux héroïques, où nous sommes engagés, forger, avec nos espoirs, nos efforts et nos peines, une nouvelle, plus haute et plus large humanité! Que celle-ci embrasse l'ensemble de la famille humaine! Que le génie de l'Inde s'y marie avec le génie de l'Occident! — Je vois, dans l'avenir, les enfants demi-dieux, qui naîtront de cette union bénie. De notre aube troublée, je salue le midi radieux de la grande journée.

Romain Rolland

Janvier 1936

Romain Rolland's Fraternal Greetings to Friends in India.

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Romain Rolland Maxim Gorky

facts and dead realities. It is also a job to recover the records of the past. The sources of History are of diverse kinds. The earliest life of man is to be found in the traces of the primitive tools, implements and habitation he had used and of cremation or burial then in vogue. Progress in civilization brings up other kinds of evidence of man's expanding life in works of architecture, sculpture and painting, in inscriptions, legends, etc.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji

Three-hundredth Anniversary of Harv University

As far as we are aware the C University was founded for the advance learning. Its Foundation Day was cel last year and this year with sports, r past and refreshments. There was no the celebrations which had anything specifically with learning. Sports, marc and the like are good in their way, b are not the essentials of a university cele Harvard University is going to celebr 300th anniversary this year. The aut of the Calcutta University may compa contrast their programme of anniversar brations with the Harvard plan for its tenary celebration as outlined below extract taken from *Unity* of Chicago.

The President and Fellows of Harvard U have done an amazing thing. They have a a plan for the celebration of the 300th anniv the founding of the College which has some do with education. Not sports, or bail rackets of any kind, but—*mirabile dictu!*— is to be exalted in this festival! First of all autumn of 1936, there is to be gathered in C (U. S. A.), from all countries of the w greatest assemblage of scholars this nation times have ever known. In meetings large a in enormous public conferences and lect seminars, the content of modern knowledge restated by the outstanding authorities of

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That this will be an event of almost overwhelming significance is certain. Secondly, there is to be established, through gifts from graduates and the general public, a 300th Anniversary Fund, for the service of two perpetual purposes, both aimed "to strengthen the intellectual and spiritual life and increase the usefulness of the University." On the one hand, the Fund is to create a number of new professorships, "intended to reinforce teaching and research by affording to teachers and scholars of unusual scope and ability broader opportunities than have heretofore been available in American universities." The idea is to get the best men in the field of learning, and to liberate them for the guidance of youth and the search for truth. On the other hand, the Fund is to establish new "Harvard National Scholarships," intended to "open the door of opportunity for study . . . . to more of the most promising youths from every part of the country." This two-fold project is a thing to kindle the mind and lift the heart. It would have been so easy, and so exciting, to have celebrated this third-century birthday with a great building program of stadia, clock-towers, gymnasia, and halls of learning! But Harvard has put all this aside, to serve and glorify learning itself. Never was there a nobler evidence of Harvard's unshaken and unshakable primacy among the universities of America. And thus early, Conant, whose dream this is, ranks himself with the immortal Charles William Eliot.

Newspapers in Future "Autonomous" Provinces

The Vidya Mandal of Allahabad deserves praise for holding annual All-India Newspaper Exhibitions during the Magh Mela at Allahabad. This year Mr. C. Y. Chintamani inaugurated the third of these annual exhibitions at the Ardha Kumbha Fair grounds. According to an Associated Press message, referring to the condition of newspapers in the future so-called autonomous provinces,

> he asked whether the ministers in office who would necessarily be partisans and have their own supporters and newspapers will suppress opposition papers which would try to subvert and overthrow their ministry and whether they will take advantage of exceptional laws now placed on the statute book by the bureaucratic government. If they made such an attempt to muzzle the opposition press, will the governor come forward with the exercise of reserved powers? He was not free from anxiety how the ministers would utilize their powers that the present government had in anticipation given them.
>
> Mr. Chintamani emphasized that the only remedy on the part of public-spirited men was to intensify public opinion against all forms of bureaucratic government and in favour of constitutional and democratic swaraj.

As a constitutionalist Mr. Chintamani could not possibly have suggested any other remedy than the intensification of public opinion. But it should be remembered that the "exceptional laws" to which he has referred were passed in the teeth of all but unanimous and vehemently expressed public opinion. These so-called laws which could be passed in defiance of public opinion it would not be difficult to enforce in spite of public opinion to the contrary. If it were suggested by those who are temperamentally or on principle not opposed to direct action or revolutionary endeavours that there should be such action or endeavours in case the ministers acted arbitrarily, it would be easy to confront the former with the powers which the new Government of India Act has given to the Governor-General and the Governors to suspend the constitution wholly or in part and exercise power autocratically. The new Act has provided all the devices that human ingenuity could suggest for frustrating the "constitutional" and extra-constitutional efforts of the people to assert themselves. The only hope lies in the historical fact that somehow or other the will of the people has prevailed in various countries and various ages. But there can be no doubt that in whatever way the will of the people may prevail, the strengthening and intensification of public opinion is a *sine qua non.*

> The Hon'ble Prakash Narain Sapru, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Vidya Mandal, thought that responsible government and a controlled press could not go together, and urged that the various press laws should disappear from the statute book under the autonomous government from the next year.

It is a truism that responsible government and a controlled press cannot go together. And, therefore, according to bureaucratic logic, responsible government can and must wait indefinitely and the Indian-owned and Indian-edited press must be "controlled" for an indefinite period.

A yawning gulf separates "should disappear" from "must disappear" which Indian constitutionalists cannot bridge; nor are Indian direct-actionists in a better position to do so.

Allahabad Public Library

It is seldom that we are able to notice reports of public libraries. We may be excused, however, for a little partiality to the Allahabad Public Library. For, *The Modern Review* was born in Allahabad and owed some of its success to the facilities afforded by that library, not only so long as our offices were situated in Allahabad, but even for years afterwards during the lifetime of our esteemed and dear friend and co-worker, the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S.

During the year ending March 31, 1935, its managing committee had the following personnel :

> **Chairman—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru,**
> **Vice-chairman—Commissioner, Allahabad Division.**

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Members—Pandit Kanhaiya Lal, Professor Dr. Tarachand, Lala Sita Ram, Professor Dr. Prasanna Kumar Acharya, Professor Amarnath Jha, Professor Dr. Meghnad Saha, Professor Dr. Nil Ratan Dhar, Rev. Dr. C. Herbert Rice, Mr. Sarat Chandra Chaudhuri.

Hon. Secretary—Professor Amiya C. Banerji.

The general section of the library contained 27,412 books; oriental section 7,525; and Government publications, magazines and the like 5,328 : total 40,265.

The number of visitors to the Library during the year was 8,965 as against 15,426 in the previous year and 9,236 books were requisitioned by them from the shelves for consultation in the reading room. The decrease in number of visitors was due to the fact that the main hall of the Library had been closed to the public from 27th January, 1934 to 11th October, 1934. The building was seriously damaged by the great earthquake of 15th January, 1934.

It is to be hoped the number of visitors will increase in future years.

During the year under report 12,155 books were lent out to the depositors as against 10,576 in the preceding year under the following subject heads :

Subject heads	Number of books issued
General Section	
General Works	119
Philosophy	533
Religion	370
Sociology	913
Philology	110
Science	991
Useful Arts	363
Fine Arts	206
Literature	1,526
Fiction	1,396
History	1,164
Government Publications	3
Oriental Section	
Sanskrit	173
Hindi	1,983
Arabic and Persian	476
Urdu	674
Bengali	1,155
Total	12,155

It is a pity the Hindu public of Allahabad, forming the majority of its population, has so little use for Sanskrit books.

The Late Mr. Dip Narain Singh's Will

It has been published in the papers that by his last will and testament the late Mr. Dip Narain Singh of Bhagalpur, Bihar, has left his property fetching an income of Rs. 1,50,000 per annum and his palatial residence to a body of trustees. His widow is to receive Rs. 500 per mensem and his daughter Rs. 750 per mensem. The greater portion of the balance of the income has been donated for technical ed[illegible] Three national educational institutions [illegible] receive monthly grants ranging from Rs. [illegible] Rs. 100.

A truly princely and wise benefaction.

Reforms Which May Precede Independe[illegible]

A correspondent asked Mahatma [illegible] to discuss the following question in *Hariji*[illegible]

"Don't you think that it is impossible to [illegible] any great reform without winning politic[illegible] The present economic structure has also [illegible] tackled. No reconstruction is possible [illegible] political reconstruction and I am afraid all [illegible] of polished and unpolished rice, balanced [illegible] so on and so forth is mere moonshine."

Gandhiji's reply begins thus :

I have often heard this argument advance[illegible] excuse for failure to do many things. I adm[illegible] there are certain things which cannot be done [illegible] political power but there are numerous other [illegible] which do not at all depend upon political po[illegible]

The first example which he gives is fre[illegible] of thought—obviously differentiating it [illegible] the freedom of expression of one's thoug[illegible] opinion on some subjects, which depen[illegible] political freedom.

There is certainly no limit or restraint [illegible] freedom of thought. It may be remembered th[illegible] reformers are nowadays laying the greatest e[illegible] on a new ideology. How few of us are going [illegible] any reform in our opinions? Modern scien[illegible] cognize the potency of thought and that is wh[illegible] said that as a man thinks so does he b[illegible] One who always thinks of murder will [illegible] murderer, ... On the contrary, he who [illegible] thinks of truth and non-violence will be truth[illegible] non-violent, and he whose thoughts are fixed o[illegible] will be godly. In this realm of thought p[illegible] power does not come into play at all. Even [illegible] must be obvious that political power or want o[illegible] of no consequence in many of our activities.

Gandhiji then proceeds to make a su[illegible] tion to his correspondent.

Let him make a detailed note of all his [illegible] activities and he is sure to find that many of [illegible] are performed independently of any political p[illegible] Man has to thank himself for his dependence [illegible] can be independent as soon as he wills it.

As regards the question of 'great re[illegible] Mahatmaji observes :

The correspondent has raised the bugbear of [illegible] reform and then fought shy of it. He who [illegible] ready for small reforms will never be ready for [illegible] reforms. He who makes the best of his fa[illegible] will go on augmenting them, and he will fi[illegible] what once seemed to him a great reform was [illegible] a small one. He who orders his life in this [illegible] will lead a truly natural life. One must forg[illegible] political goal in order to realize it. To think [illegible] of the political goal in every matter and at [illegible] step is to raise unnecessary dust. Why worry

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head over a thing that is inevitable? Why die before one's death?

Thinking as he does, it is natural for ndhiji to do what he has been doing.

That is why I can take the keenest interest in discussing vitamins and leafy vegetables and unpolished rice. That is why it has become a matter of absorbing interest to me to find out how best to clean our latrines, how best to save our people from the heinous sin of fouling Mother Earth every morning.

It was when I was a young man—perhaps ll a student, that I formed the opinion that ll kinds of reform are inter-related and interpendent," and I still harp on it whenever ecessary. It is, therefore, a pleasure to find at Mahatmaji thinks that the questions ferred to by him *have* a political significance though one may not be thinking of politics at ll while interesting himself in the solution of se problems. Says he :

I do not quite see how thinking of these necessary problems and finding a solution for them has no political significance and how an examination of the financial policy of Government has necessarily a political bearing. What I am clear about is that the work I am doing and asking the masses to do is such as can be done by millions of people, whereas the work of examining the policy of our rulers will be beyond them. That it is a few people's business I will not dispute. Let those who are qualified to do so do it as best they can. But until these leaders can bring great changes into being, why should not millions like me use the gifts that God has given them to the best advantage? Why should they not make their bodies fitter instruments of service? Why should not they clear their own doors and environments of dirt and filth? Why should they be always in the grip of disease and incapable of helping themselves or anyone else?

No, I am afraid the correspondent's question betrays his laziness and despair and the depression that has overtaken many of us. I can confidently claim that I yield to none in my passion for freedom. No fatigue or depression has seized me. Many years' experience has convinced me that the activities that absorb my energies and attention are calculated to achieve the nation's freedom, that therein lies the secret of non-violent freedom. That is why I invite everyone, men and women, young and old, to contribute his or her share to the great sacrifice.

The Future of Democracy"

In our last issue in the Note entitled, Philosophers Discuss Democracy," we quoted extract from a newspaper report of Professor N. Banerjee's speech on "The Future of emocracy." That report made him say :

"But the most serious objection against Absolutism is that it produces a most demoralizing effect upon the Government."

It has been pointed out to us that what he ctually said was :

"But the most serious objection against Absolutism is that it produces a most demoralizing effect upon the people."

The Deutsche Akademie Scholarships for Indians

India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie announces the following sixteen scholarships in institutions of higher learning in Germany available for Indian scholars (male or female) of outstanding ability, for the academic year 1936-1937. The scholarships are named after great German and Indian representatives in their field of science or in honour of personalities who supported the cause of Indo-German cultural co-operation

Medicine :
1. Mary K. Das and Taraknath Das—Scholarship (tenable at the University of Munich. Applications from women-students preferred).
2. Robert Koch—Scholarship.

Mathematics :
3. Ashutosh Mukherjee—Scholarship

Indology :
4. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar—Scholarship (This scholarship is due to a gift from the "Allian and Stuttgarter-Lebensversicherungsbank A.-G., Bln.)

Chemistry :
5. Justus von Liebig—Scholarship
6. Carl Duisberg—Scholarship

Physics :
7. Heinrich Hertz—Scholarship
8. Sir J. C. Bose—Scholarship

German Language and Literature :
9. Jakob Grimm—Scholarship
10. Friedrich Ruckert—Scholarship

Engineering :
11. Oskar von Miller—Scholarship
12. Werner von Siemens—Scholarship

Archaeology :
13. Heinrich Schliemann—Scholarship

Veterinary Science :
14. Wilhelm Ellenberger—Scholarship

Agriculture :
15. Albrecht von Thaer—Scholarship

Mining :
16. Adolf Ledebur—Scholarship (tenable at the University for Mining, Freiberg-Saxony).

All scholarships consist of 500.-Marks (payable in ten monthly instalments of 50.-Marks each) and exemption from the tuition-fees at the University.

Some Rules and Conditions.

The scholarships are tenable for one academic year (10 months beginning by November 1st, 1936, ending by August 31st, 1937).

The selection of successful candidates, which will be determined solely by the qualifications of applicants, is in the hand of the Deutsche Akademie.

Applicants for the stipends must be graduates of recognized Indian Universities, preferably scholars possessing research experience. Applications from non-graduates will be given consideration only if they have recognized literary or scientific achievements to their credit. Every applicant must possess good health.

It is desired that the applicant should have fair knowledge of the German language, as all academic work in Germany is carried on through the medium of German.

Besides it is imperative that a scholarship-holder

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should arrive at Munich by the 1st of September and stay in this city *at his own cost* till the academic year begins in November, devoting these weeks to intense study of German language in the German language course for foreigners at the University of Munich (arranged by the Deutsche Akademie) where he will be exempted from fees.

As stated above the scholarships are tenable only for one academic year. If the candidate is desirous of acquiring a German degree he must be prepared to stay in Germany *at least* for three (mostly four) terms=1½—2 years. An extension of the scholarship not being sure (though possible if the student proves worthy) the student must possess sufficient means of his own for the second year of study.

Apart from the scholarship the student must be prepared to spend at least 120.-Marks (moderately lived) per month from his own pocket for the necessary expenses not included in the scholarship. Expenses for books have to be counted separately; the fees for examinations, the printing of the thesis (only referring to students who want to take a degree) have to be borne by the student.

THE APPLICATIONS MUST CONTAIN:

1. A survey of the previous academic career,
2. an exact statement of the further study-programme. (*If the student wants to pass the German doctorate, he should mention so*),
3. *copies* of all important certificates (if not in English, translations must be added). The certificates will not be returned. A statement regarding knowledge of German is desirable,
4. specimens of the student's work (printed or in manuscript),
5. recommendational letters from two professors or other well-known personalities,
6. a guarantee by some prominent personality that the applicant is really earnest about his application and will certainly come to Germany before September 1st, 1936, if a scholarship is granted to him,
7. a healh-certificate.

Applications not fulfilling these conditions cannot be taken into consideration.

All applications should reach India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie before April 1st, 1936. Applications reaching India Institute later than this date can no more be placed before the Selection Committee. The successful candidates will be notified by air-mail in the month of June 1936 at the latest.

The Applications must *directly* be sent to the following address:

Dr. Franz Thierfelder,

Hon. Secretary, India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, Maximilianeum, Munchen 8 (Germany).

Notes That Arrived Too Late

For our last (January) number we sent many Notes from New Delhi where we had gone during Christmas Week. But though we despatched them on dates and hours sufficiently early to reach our office in Calcutta in time to enable our editorial staff to print them in the January number, they arrived too late—we cannot say why. It would not serve any useful purpose to print the majority of these Notes now. A few which may be still found what interesting are printed below.

Christmas Week Functions

[Written for the January number.]

The annual session of the Indian N Congress is no longer held during the las of December. But the annual sessions of other All-India, provincial and local or tions of political, social, educational, and other descriptions continue to be during this week. And during this period have been Congress Jubilee Celebrati over India. These and the sessions Hindu Mahasabha, the National Liberal F tion of India, the All-India Women's C ence, the All-India Educational Conferen other Conferences, it has not been possi us to notice.

Mahatma Gandhi & the Congress

[Written for the January number.]

Mahatma Gandhi's greatest achievem connection with the Congress is that h cherished the faith and hope that freedo be won by non-violent means and has in others also with that faith and hope. T world significance in that this faith, when fied by results, will practically amount discovery of a moral substitute for war.

Congress and Simplification of Life

[Written for the January number.]

There may be, as there has been, diff of opinion regarding the economic v khaddar, but it must be admitted that th of khaddar for clothing, to the extent th has spread, has made for the simple life plain living, and in many cases for high ing also. Plain clothing does not fit in moniously with luxurious living in other tions. Therefore, khaddar has made fo expensive living in general. That means if a man is so minded, what he saves by khaddar and by adopting a standard of in accord with it, he can spend for higher —for deepening and broadening his an family's culture and for the service of s in general.

The use of khaddar has tended to pr a higher result also. It has been a leveller. When the rich man uses the poor khaddar, he voluntarily stands on the same as the poor man. The rich man uncons ceases to think of himself as other than superior to the vast mass of the men and w

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his country—verily his brothers and sisters, and the poor man is able unconsciously to bridge the gulf between himself and those belonging to higher ranks in society. He no longer stands in awe of those who used formerly to dress themselves in gorgeous attire—the distance between them and himself disappears.

It is greatly to be regretted that the results, outlined above, are less perceptible now than they were a few years back. Nevertheless, what little still remains must continue to indicate what ideal in one direction Congress has striven to realize and what it has actually achieved.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger on Indian Women's Beauty

[Written for the January number.]

BOMBAY, Dec. 26.

"Indian women are the most beautiful among all the races in the world. There is a grace and a charm in their faces, no matter what their status. Even among the poor classes living in 'chawls' I found exceptional beauty."

This was the glowing tribute paid to the Indian women by Dr. Margaret Sanger, giving her impressions of her Indian tour, to a representative of the Press, who interviewed her at the Taj Mahal Hotel.
—United Press.

It is some solace to learn that women can be at least very beautiful, graceful and charming in spite of their being ignorant of contraceptive devices and of their not adopting them.

Revised Rules of Government Servants' Conduct

[Written for the January number.]

The *Gazette of India* publishes revised rules relating to the conduct of Government servants. They fall under several headings, which include gifts, gratuities, rewards, public demonstrations in their honour, lending and borrowing, the buying and selling of houses and other valuable property, holding or acquiring immovable property, the promotion and management of companies, private trade or employment, anonymous publication of documents and communications to the Press, public speeches, etc.

The publication of these rules on the eve of the Congress Jubilee celebrations may not be quite accidental.

On the question of participating in politics and elections, the rules say :

"Subject to any general or special order of the Local Government no Government servant shall take part in, subscribe in aid of or assist in any way any political movement in India or relating to Indian affairs. The expression 'political movement' includes any movement or activities tending directly or indirectly to excite disaffection against or to embarrass Government as by the law established and to promote feelings of hatred or enmity between the different classes of His Majesty's subjects or to disturb the public peace."

Of course, pro-Government or pro-Bureaucracy politics is not politics, the maintenance of British domination in India being an entirely non-political object.

The following rules are also significant :

No Government servant shall, except with the previous sanction of the Local Government, engage in any trade or undertake any employment or work, other than his official duties.

No Government servant shall, except with, and during the continuance of, the previous sanction of the Local Government, own in whole or in part, or conduct or participate in the editing or management of any newspaper or other periodical publication.

May not a government servant have anything to do with a periodical devoted to prehistoric archæology ?

Indian Politics and the Unemployment Problem

[Written for the January number.]

The British rulers of India, when dwelling on the question of the economic advancement of this country, generally advise us not to mix it up with politics. But in no country in the world, and certainly not in India, can economics be entirely separated from its politics. It is no doubt true that even in the present subject condition of India some economic improvement is possible. But it cannot be emphasized too often and too strongly that adequate economic advancement is impossible without self-rule. For that reason, the unemployment problem also cannot be solved to an adequate extent without the attainment of self-rule. Without self-rule, there cannot be a sufficient number of careers in the fields of public service, agriculture, commerce and industries.

On account of foreign rule, numerous posts in the civil and military departments and administration of the country are held by foreigners. These under self-rule would be held by Indians. Foreign employees demand and get exorbitantly high salaries. For the work done by them, competent Indian men can be got on much lower salaries, as in Japan. This change would release considerable sums of money, which could be utilized for the agricultural and industrial advancement of the country. Foreign personnel in the higher ranks of services in all departments necessarily involves the importation from abroad of some goods required by them, which can either be manufactured in India, or dispensed with.

That at least 80 per cent of the revenues are and would remain non-votable, shows that

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crores upon crores of rupees cannot and would not be available for the direct and indirect economic amelioration of the condition of the country. Exchange, transport, and currency would continue to be manipulated in the interests of Britain to the detriment of India's interests.

And last of all, Chapter III, part V, Sections 111 to 121, of the Government of India Act, 1935, would remain a standing obstacle in the way of our economic progress. These sections are meant to prevent so-called "discrimination" by India against Britain in the spheres of commerce and industry. The prevention of "discrimination" means the prevention of the adoption by India of all those means and measures by which the national Governments of all free civilized countries protect and promote their own national commerce and industry. It is to a great extent by such means and measures that Britain herself built up her commerce and industry and continues to promote them even now whenever necessary. But what is sauce for the British goose cannot be sauce for the Indian gander. For is not India a peculiar country and are not Indians a peculiar people?

Let us by all means fight economic backwardness and unemployment even in our present politically subject condition with all the weapons we can command, but let us never forget that a complete solution of all our economic problems cannot be attempted, far less accomplished, in the absence of self-rule.

U. P. Unemployment Committee's Report

Not having received the report of the United Provinces Unemployment Committee or any summary thereof, we are not in a position to refer to it in detail. But from what has appeared in the papers about it, it appears to be a thoroughgoing and comprehensive document dealing with all aspects of the problem and suggesting remedies of various descriptions. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was the chairman of this committee. His great ability and knowledge and experience of public questions and affairs do not require to be described. He ungrudgingly gave much of his precious time and energy to the work of the committee, studied the problem of unemployment in general and its solutions both in India and Europe and bestowed much thought upon them. There was also the co-operation of the members of the committee. The excellence of the report is the natural result.

As there is unemployment all over to a greater or less extent, and as the aspects of the problem are similar all over country, both the governments and the of the provinces outside the provinces and Oudh should also make full use of labours of the Sapru committee. In order they may do so, the Report of that should be made available to them. The ment of India should see to it.

The solution of the problem of middle- unemployment depends to a great extent opening out of new careers in the sphere the public services and commerce, (including agriculture), banking and The civil and military services require thoroughly Indianized. This can be done by the Government of India, or rather master the British Parliament—as things As regards the opening out of careers fields of commerce, industry, banking, and the like, something can be done by Government of India on its own initiative way of development. But that cannot do enough to produce any result. The new Government of India Act the way, and the obstacle can be removed by the British Parliament. But it will not so of its own accord. Great pressure will to be brought to bear upon it. That the people can and must do.

Provincial Governments can, no doubt something to relieve unemployment. But are likely to plead the eternal want of as an excuse for doing nothing, though can and do incur unnecessary expense in directions to gain their own objects. Take U. P. Government, for example. That Government is reported to be going to spend five lakhs of rupees for extending the Council House Lucknow "to provide sufficient accommodation for the secretariat staff removed from Allahabad." Now, Allahabad is still said to be capital of the U. P., though only nominally Why was Lucknow made the real capital by bit, and why was the secretariat removed? In Bengal, by a real expansion primary education, unemployment among educated young men can be relieved to some extent by appointing many of them as teachers inspecting officers. But the Bengal Government is not really going to increase the number primary schools, and the teachers and inspecting officers whom they want to appoint be chosen, not from the ranks of graduates undergraduates, thousands of whom are without any employment, but from those who do know English!

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No "Veni, Vidi, Vici"!

"Veni, vidi, vici" ("I came, I saw and conquered"), were the words in which Julius Cæsar announced to the Roman Senate his defeat of Pharnaces, King of Pontus, near Zela, 47 B.C. Though, unlike Julius Cæsar, Mussolini did not lead the Italian forces in person, he expected perhaps that the generalissimo of the Italian expedition sent to Ethiopia would send him a report of his immediate success in the words of Julius Cæsar. But owing to the stubborn resistance of the Ethiopians that expectation has not been fulfilled. Nobody can now prophesy when victory would come and on which side.

"The Oil Sanctions"

If the Emperor and people of Abyssinia had to depend on the League of Nations—that is, practically on Britain and France—instead of on their own love of liberty, valour and strong right arms, their country would by now have become a dependency of Italy. That misfortune has not yet overtaken them because they love their country and know how to defend it at any cost.

"The oil sanctions," if enforced by the League of Nations, could have easily crippled Italy and brought Mussolini to his senses. But the League is still shilly-shallying. We in India know that there are two kinds of committees appointed with two different kinds of objects—committees for solving and committees for shelving problems. Perhaps the committee appointed by the League to consider the question of oil sanctions belongs to the latter category.

Zanzibar Indian Merchants

As a result of the anti-Indian Decrees of the Zanzibar Government, some 150 Indian merchants of Zanzibar have already wound up their business and left the island for good, about 80 others have closed their business but are still there because they do not know where else to go, and some twenty have become insolvent. If ruin has not overtaken more Indian merchants of Zanzibar, it is because their creditors are Indians and have not pressed them hard as yet to pay up. Preferring death to the disgrace of insolvency, one merchant has committed suicide.

The British Secretary of State for the Colonies should not only relieve individual hardships, as he promised to do, but revise the Decrees themselves, because they are ruinous to Indian merchants and injurious to the interests of the inhabitants of Zanzibar as a whole.

The following resolution was passed at the last open session of the National Liberal Federation at Nagpur:

> The Federation, while reiterating its condemnation of the anti-Indian decrees passed by the Zanzibar Government in June 1934, which decrees have resulted in squeezing out Indians from lawful pursuits in the Zanzibar protectorate expresses its apprehension at the extension of the moratorium to July 1936 in clear violation of the Zanzibar Government's promise to settle the debt problem within a year. This Federation records with satisfaction the unanimous report of the Agricultural Indebtedness Commission appointed by the Zanzibar Government, which supports the conclusions of the report submitted by Mr. K. P. S. Menon, I.C.S., to the Government of India, which exposes the one-sided nature of the Bartlett report, on which the said anti-Indian decrees were based and deplores the attitude of the Zanzibar Government in not accepting the Commission's report as well as the views expressed in the memorandum of the Indian National Association of Zanzibar submitted to the Secretary of State for Colonies and the Government of India. In the opinion of this Federation the basis of the said decrees having been shattered by the said commission of the Zanzibar Government presided over by the Chief Justice with an official majority, the Government of India should press for a repeal of the said decrees.
>
> While the Federation appreciates the sympathetic attitude and action of the Government of India it urges on them the advisability of promptly pressing for acceptance of the following demands for relief of the urgent needs of the Indian community, namely,
>
> (1) Amendment of section 19 of the Land Alienation Decree of 1934 with retrospective effect so as not to allow the period of limitation to run against the creditors during the moratorium;
>
> (2) Immediate adoption of the recommendations of the agricultural indebtedness commission by the Government of Zanzibar;
>
> (3) Abolition of the licence fee for the export of cloves;
>
> (4) Abolition of one-sided levy on export of cloves;
>
> (5) Stoppage of purchase and export of cloves by the Clove Growers Association and modification of its other activities. Failing the agreement of the Colonial Office to give effect to these minimum demands this Federation recommends to the Government of India the imposition of an embargo on imports of cloves into India, if such imports originate from the Zanzibar Protectorate.

Asutosh Professor of Sanskrit, Calcutta University

The University of Calcutta is to be congratulated on its appointing Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri to the chair of Asutosh Professor of Sanskrit.

Better late than never.

The title of "Mahamahopadhyaya" has been recently conferred upon him. On previous occasions, when this title was sought to be bestowed upon him, he expressed unwilling-

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ness to receive it. This time, it was done, we understand, without his previous knowledge. He was and is a great scholar. The title has not made him a greater. But recognition of true merit is not unwelcome.

Is Inter-Caste Marriage Un-Hindu?

POONA, Dec. 31.

The Subjects Committee meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha considered till the early hours of the morning Mr. Jayakar's resolution regarding the removal of caste system and untouchability.

After a great deal of discussion, in the course of which several speakers spoke, Pandit Malaviya gave his ruling stating that the problem of inter-caste marriage and inter-caste dinner was outside the scope of the Mahasabha and hence that particular part of the resolution was out of order. Pandit Malaviya, however, said that the removal of untouchability was undoubtedly the first duty of the Mahasabha.

A tough fight is expected over the resolution in the open session this noon.—United Press.

We are unable to understand why the problem of inter-caste marriage and inter-caste dinner was outside the scope of the Hindu Mahasabha. Inter-caste dining has become so prevalent in educated circles in India that it is no longer necessary to discuss it—not in any case in Bengal. As regards inter-caste marriage, instances of such marriages are by no means rare in ancient Sanskrit poetry and drama and mythology and in ancient Indian history, too. It is recognized in Smriti literature as a valid kind of marriage. Not only marriage between a man of a higher caste and a woman of a lower caste (*anuloma* marriage), but also marriage between a woman of a higher caste and a man of a lower caste was recognized as a valid marriage. Inter-caste marriages are still to be found in Nepal and Sikkim and the British Darjeeling district. Not a few such marriages are celebrated every year in Bengal with orthodox Hindu rites. Hindu inter-caste marriages with orthodox rites can be registered as valid marriages under the law of British India. So whatever Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya may think, inter-caste Hindu marriages were orthodox marriages in ancient times and are still valid Hindu marriages.

It is to be noted that, in spite of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's ruling, a resolution which was passed in the open session of the Hindu Mahasabha sanctions inter-caste marriage by implication.

Abolition of Caste Distinctions Urged

His Holiness the Sankaracharya of Karabir Pith, Dr. Kurtkoti, moved the following resolution in the last session of the Hindu sabha at Poona:

"The Hindu Mahasabha reaffirms its resolutions for giving equal access to all irrespective of their particular caste or cre public amenities and institutions such as wells, tanks, Ghats and other places of water hotels, roads, parks, Dharmshalas and public of worship and burning Ghats and the further affirms its faith that untouchability be regarded as a part of Hindu religion system and recommends to the Hindus for of all distinctions in the Hindu society birth or caste in the spheres of public, so political life in which such distinctions ought no application and are out of place at prese

The mover made an impassioned in supporting the resolution.

Mr. Rasiklal Bishwas, Bengal Harijan seconding the proposition said that Harijans be thankful to the Hindus for the gesture this resolution.

Several speakers including a number of H supported this resolution. Messrs. Lavate and were the only two Sanatanists who oppose resolution.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

Shapurji Saklatwala

The sudden death of Mr. Shapurji Sa wala in London removes from the ran Indian nationalists a stout fighter for fre He was a near relative of the late Mr. Tata, the great industrialist, and began an officer of the firm which bears that Later, he developed communistic proc and had to choose between his principles his job. It does him honour that he a to his principles and gave up his post possessed oratorical gifts of no mean That he was elected a member of the B Parliament was due not a little to his orat powers and skill.

Rudyard Kipling

Rudyard Kipling, who died last mon Britain, was born in India and passed his e years in this country. Some of his literary works, too, were written here. He perhaps the greatest poet of British imperi He was also an effective story-teller in He enriched English literature by his pen was a gifted literary artist.

Lord Reading

Lord Reading, whose death was rep last month, was a self-made man. Rising a humble station in life, he came to occupy highest office in the gift of the British C

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oad, namely, that of Governor-General and roy of India, which shows that he was an of great intellectual capacity. So far India is concerned, it cannot be said that pushed her forward towards the goal of raj.

John Woodroffe

The late Sir John Woodroffe began his eer in India as a barrister-at-law and was er appointed a judge of the Calcutta High urt. He was in sympathy with Indian cul- e and wrote books like "Is India civilized?" d "Sakti and Sakta." He made an extensive dy of Sanskrit Tantric literature and tran- ted some of it into English, trying thus to ke Tantric thought accessible to western ples.

ebration of Indian "Independence y"

Non-Indians living outside India should not misled by the expression Indian "Indepen- nce Day." The 4th of July is celebrated by Americans as the day on which the United tes of America won independence. The dian "Independence Day" is celebrated on 26th of January. But that date does not icate the day on which India became free. is a day which was fixed to remind lians of the fact that in December, 1929, at Lahore session of the Congress, Purna araj or Independence was declared as the al of India's struggle for freedom. So the of celebration of "Independence Day" in dia is not a day of rejoicing, but is a reminder at freedom has still to be won. That is a essary reminder, not only for Congressites t also for all other Indians. The day was ebrated this year in all provinces.

pprochement Between Congressites and berals Needed

The Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa stri, Liberal leader, made a speech in Madras the 5th of January last, defining the attitude the Liberals towards the Congress, in the urse of which he said:

> "We are not new to the Congress. Some of us have been in it longer than outside it. To ask us therefore to come back to its fold is not to give us an unwelcome advice. We should very much like to do so. We will not say 'No' but we can't say 'Yes' as we find it difficult to respond to this appeal."

Proceeding to explain why the Liberals could not enter the Congress fold,

> Mr. Sastri enumerated the fundamental issues on which the Liberals did not see eye to eye with Congressmen, namely, the civil disobedience cult for attaining the goal of Purna Swaraj, insistence on habitual khaddar wearing and manual labour clause in the Congress constitution.
>
> The Congress, continued Mr. Sastri, is a political organization meant to achieve political aims in the political sphere against political obstacles and as such conditions imposed on its membership should be political and not based on considerations of humanity or otherwise.
>
> Nevertheless, mutual understanding between the Congress and the Liberal Party, thought Mr. Sastri, was possible both during and after the coming elections. Although the Congress may not remove these barriers, it is possible for the Congress to throw the doors open in the outer court in order that no element that could be useful to them in their fight could be left out.

Mr. Sastri also explained why it was necessary for the progressive parties in the country to come together.

> Mr Sastri referred to the appeal made by them at the Liberal Federation at Nagpur. "In our resolution," said he, "we referred mainly to the need of progressive parties in the country coming together in order firstly, to keep the anti-national forces in check and secondly, to do what good we can to the country out of this constitution. What we intend by that resolution is, stripped of generalities, that the Congress being an organization most prominent in the field of politics and also most influential and most powerful has cast upon it the duty of gathering all forces in the country that may make for further development of the constitution along healthy and proper lines.
>
> Speaking about the coming elections, Mr. Sastri declared that it would redound to the good of the country in the present circumstances if the results of the coming elections should declare in favour of the Congress. The Congress represents what is progressive in the entire nation. It is therefore our duty to see that it emerges victorious.

Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, who presided, referring to closer co-operation between Congress and the Liberals, said:

> "We are anxious that the exponents of other schools of politics should seek to enter the councils and we wish all success to those who wish to serve the country. Whichever party may come into power, it must work the constitution to extract the maximum possible out of the reforms, limited as it is in opportunities and responsibilites thrown open to us."
>
> Mr. Venkatarama Sastri, President, Liberal Federation, declared that the Liberals were prepared to co-operate with the Congress on all items on which they agreed.

All this shows that there is a genuine desire on the part of the Liberals to co-operate with the Congress. The Congress attitude is indicated in the following statement issued by Babu Rajendra Prasad:

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"I have read with care and respect due to Right Hon'ble Sastri and Mr. Venkatarama Sastri, their speeches at Madras. During the last few weeks I have also received communications from friends suggesting that Congress should take steps to bring about a coalition if not fusion of parties. I have been considering the matter and while it has not been possible for me to consult the Working Committee and my other colleagues and co-workers I may state the position as it strikes me. I very much appreciate Mr. Sastri's reference to Congress and would wish that others who do not agree like him with the present programme and policy of the Congress would recognize that that institution is of great help and service in national struggle for freedom and deserves support even from those who do not see eye to eye with it. But when I come to consider the difficulties he points out in the way of the Liberals joining the Congress and the suggestions that the Congress should remove them, I am faced with the problem which baffles me. An analysis of these difficulties shows that in order to induce the Liberals to join it, the Congress should do four things: (1) It should change its object or creed of Independence; (2) It should declare that it gives up Civil Disobedience as the method as its suspension or withdrawal at present does not satisfy him; (3) It should give up its discipline of manual Labour; and (4) It should give up its uniform of Khaddar.

"As regards the object of Independence even the Government has not insisted upon the Congress giving it up. It was after that creed was adopted at Lahore that the Round Table Conferences were held and the Congress was invited to send representatives to them and the Congress representative was permitted to put it forward on behalf of the Congress at the second Conference. Civil Disobedience is not altogether a new thing in the Congress although it has been actively carried out only recently in 1917. When Mrs. Annie Besant was in internment and Congress was run by those, who subsequently seceded from it nearly two years later, Civil Disobedience was not only talked of but actually recommended by several Provincial Congress Committees and had not to be resorted to because of early release of Mrs. Besant. Earlier than that it had, as passive resistance in South Africa, secured active support of Congress, which sent funds, and it also received the blessing of Gokhale. Since then we have gone through it in this country. I can understand the objection that it is inopportune at particular moment or in particular circumstances but I don't understand how Congress can abjure it once for all and for ever and declare that it shall not resort to it under any circumstances. These two suggestions present insuperable difficulties in the way of the Congress and if the two are equally insuperable for the Liberals, a clear fusion of the Liberal federation and the Congress is impossible. As regards Khaddar I am afraid the question has not received the consideration it deserves and a lot of prejudice has been created round it. Manual Labour franchise was born in an atmosphere of suspicion and unwillingness to give effect to it on the part of even many Congressmen and it has not been able to overcome these. But in spite of what many amongst us consider to be their merits, if the objection was confined to them alone, it would have been possible to find a middle course.

"I have suggested before this that fusion of parties and organizations may not be possible but it should not be impossible to find points of agreement and to work jointly in respect of those matters. Mr. Venkatarama Sastri's speech, I am glad to note, [illegible] this line and he also suggests that avenues [illegible] ment should be explored if joint action is [illegible] and there can be no doubt that it is this [illegible] approach which promises to be more fr[illegible] constructive work in the country and the [illegible] front against encroachment on fundamental [illegible] civil citizens such as liberty of person and [illegible] of press will furnish such avenues of agree[illegible] considerable consensus of opinion regardi[illegible] merits of new Constitution may also pro[illegible] occasion for a joint attack.

"All these may be explored at Lucknow. [illegible] ing the first two, the Congress programme [illegible] attitude are well-known and whatever differe[illegible] be with others, it will probably be a[illegible] emphasis on some particular items and a[illegible] particular methods by which these can be [illegible] With regard to the last, the Congress must [illegible] decide its own line of action at Lucknow [illegible] can take any steps which will be effective."

Mahatma Gandhi has declared th[illegible] would accept and be satisfied with the [illegible] stance of independence." We believe, i[illegible] when he was in London in connection wi[illegible] so-called Round Table Conference that [illegible] so. Now, Dominion status, as interpre[illegible] the light of the Westminster Statute, does [illegible] the substance of independence. That bein[illegible] case, it should not be impossible to dev[illegible] formula which would satisfy both Congre[illegible] and Liberals without either having to gi[illegible] their principles. For our part,—and we d[illegible] belong to any party—though we are fo[illegible] dependence, we do not find it objectiona[illegible] work for Dominion status. But we would [illegible] tainly refuse to support never-ending [illegible] British connection. We have neither the [illegible] or nor the power to bind our successors. [illegible] we old men, though we have only a few [illegible] at the most to live, we do not know wh[illegible] even in the near future there may not be [illegible] opportunity to work for independence ou[illegible]

As regards civil disobedience, Mr. Raje[illegible] Prasad's statement of facts is right. An[illegible] has also quite properly observed:

> I can understand the objection that it i[illegible] opportune at a particular moment and in par[illegible] circumstances but I do not understand how [illegible] Congress can abjure it once for all and for eve[illegible] declare that it shall not resort to it under [illegible] circumstances.

As for the constant wearing of kha[illegible] and regular manual labour, we do not b[illegible] if all members of the Congress really sa[illegible] these requirements. Perhaps even our pens[illegible] have nothing to do by way of manual la[illegible] during some months in the year.

What is most to be valued is the m[illegible] goodwill displayed by both parties.

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ficial Anti-Congress Propaganda

The Leader, a very prominent Liberal organ, tes:

We cannot be accused of being partisans of the Congress and have not hesitated to criticise both the organization and some of its leaders whenever, in our opinion, a proper occasion has arisen. But we must protest in the strongest terms against the Department of Public Information of the Government of India converting itself into an anti-Congress propaganda agency. In the official publication entitled "India in 1933-34" poisonous insinuations have been made regarding the expenditure of funds collected for the Harijan cause and also for Bihar earthquake relief. There are many honest patriots who differ from Mahatma Gandhi and Babu Rajendra Prasad in their political ideals and methods of work; but no one has had the audacity to suggest so far that public funds collected for the purposes mentioned above and disbursed under their direction have been misappropriated. Presumably, after the recent exposure of the Bengal Government by the *Manchester Guardian* the writer of "India in 1933-34" realized the necessity for greater circumspection. But to refer, in relation to the Harijan fund, to 'misgivings as to the manner of its expenditure'; and to suggest that 'Information as to the disbursement of the Congress relief fund of Rs. 24 lakhs (collected for Bihar earthquake relief work) was difficult to obtain' is a far worse offence than that committed by the Bengal Government. We can understand though we may not approve of the Department of Public Information defending the policies and actions of the Government of India against criticisms and attacks. We can even make allowance for interested propaganda in favour of the Ottawa Pact. But to utilize an official publication for the purpose of making such accusations against the Congress is, we feel compelled to observe, both discreditable and mean. Let the writer of these offensive passages produce evidence on which he bases his charges, and make them in such a manner as to be capable of a direct challenge. To make foul suggestion and then to run away from its implications is unworthy of a Government. Is it for carrying on propaganda of this kind, we wonder, that the staff of the D. P. I. at Delhi has been strengthened?

Babu Rajendra Prasad has supplied the allies with a crushing rejoinder through the Associated Press." He has quoted extensively from the report of Mr. W. B. Brett, I.C.S., Relief Commissioner, and at present Chief Secretary to the Bihar and Orissa Government, effectively contradict the remarks in India in 1933-34."

Babu Rajendra Prasad's statement concludes as follows:

I do not propose to say anything against the administration of the Viceroy's Relief Fund beyond stating that if I have not said anything about the Government measure it is not because I am ignorant of what has happened or because I approve of all that has been done. I purposely refrained from the controversy, yet our methods are suspected and the writer of "India in 1933-34" can say nothing better than: "The Congress, as a whole, appreciate the opportunity provided by distress over a large area to rehabilitate their prestige not only by a vigorous show of interest locally in Bihar but also by publishing reports tending to minimise the activities of the Government and exaggerate the activities of the Congress." In the opinion of the writer, we needed the earthquake to rehabilitate the Congress prestige! Well may one retort that the Government waited for another earthquake to rehabilitate their prestige by preventing all non-official philanthropic and humanitarian organisations from entering the area where relief was needed against the great catastrophe of Quetta.—*A. P.*

Bengal Government Withdraws Insinuation Against Pandit Jawaharlal

In the Bengal Administration Report for 1933-34 there was an observation that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to carry on agitation in furtherance of his "militant" political programme "under the guise of anti-untouchability activities and with the money collected for 'Harijan' work." As even those Indians who do not belong to the Congress party know, the Pandit is incapable of such dishonorable conduct. He protested, some British papers supported him, a question was asked in Parliament, and a report was called for from the Bengal Government. That Government has had to express regret and withdraw the charge. But even in doing so it tried to justify the "inference" drawn by the writer of the Report! It also speaks of its "knowledge that ostensibly non-political movements have in the past been exploited for political ends." By what persons and when such things were done, was not stated —perhaps because the Bengal Government has caught one Tatar in Pandit Jawaharlal and do not want to catch more of them.

The Gaekwad's Jubilee

On the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda's rule, forty-six prisoners have been released and sentences of 646 have been reduced. Remission in land revenue and compulsory education cess to the extent of four lakhs of rupees has been granted.

His Highness delivered a message to his subjects at a Durbar held to receive an address from his people on the completion of his 60 years' reign. The message first announces that a crore of rupees will be set apart for the "Diamond Jubilee Trust" the income from which will be spent in village uplift work—specially for the uplift of the depressed classes.

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His Highness then refers to the introduction of compulsory Primary Education with a view to liquidate illiteracy from the State. He also announces that Village Panchayats and District Panchayats are to be established for constructing feeder roads and wells. His Highness next refers to the legislation made for abolition of social evils like Child Marriage, Caste Tyranny and Untouchability.

During the reign of the present Maharaja Baroda has made progress in all directions.

The creation by His Highness of a trust fund of a crore of rupees for village uplift reminds one of the Government of India's allotment of one crore for the whole of British India for similar work. Baroda has a population of a little more than twenty-four lakhs of people, British India has a population of more than twenty-seven crores of people.

China Between Two Fires

It is not the Japanese alone who cause trouble to China. She has her own communists also. So she is between two fires as it were.

SWATOW, Jan. 29.

Two more Japanese destroyers have arrived in consequence of the Sino-Japanese tension. There are now six Japanese warships in the port.—*Reuter.*

CANTON, Jan. 28.

Thirty thousand communists are marching from Hunan province towards the west into South China, sweeping all before them.

They have now captured Wengan, near Kweiyang, capital of Kweichow. The fall of Kweiting, thirty-five miles east of Kweiyang is now expected. Thousands of civilians and soldiers are hastily building block houses and digging trenches round Kweiyang. All available provincial troops are being rushed to the front.—*Reuter.*

CANTON, Jan. 29.

After fierce fighting with the Government troops at Kweichow, the Communists have now captured Kweiting, only 35 miles east of Kweiyang, capital of the province, where martial law has been proclaimed.

The Communists who number 30,000 have been sweeping all before them despite heavy losses.

—*Reuter.*

TIENTSIN, Jan. 30.

A Communist revolt has broken out in South Hopei, where, it is reported, local Soviets have been established in certain districts.—*Reuter.*

PEIPING, Jan. 30.

British and American Nationals have been advised to evacuate Kweiyang and other adjacent cities owing to the advance of the Communist forces in South China.—*Reuter.*

Unrest in Egypt

Egypt continues to be in a disturb dition.

CAIRO, J

Ignoring the counsels of leaders students e are striking in the morning. No conflicts police have occurred hitherto, but studen School of Applied Arts made a bonfire of Students of Giza University are organizing strations and twelve hundred of them are on to Cairo. Large forces of police have bee on the only available bridge whilst a strong Egyptian cavalry are proceeding to Gi rumoured that Ali Maher Pasha will form the ment under his Premiership.

Five students were wounded when the pol at the demonstrators at Damanhur. Three and fifteen of the police were injured at Nahas Pasha will broadcast a national ap calm.

It is expected, that 12,000 will attend to memorial service for King George at which of the Nessim Pasha Cabinet will be prese

In view of the prevailing tension the E infantry will form a cordon round the K Barracks during the ceremony.—*Reuter.*

CAIRO, Ja

Fifty students and several policemen were in the fighting which broke out today and proceeding. The fight originated when the who were drawing a cordon round the students in Sheiks Training College in K district were attacked by students from the re stones and hoses and countered with warn shot-gun volleys. The infantry are still guard educational building and the Egyptian Lanc patrolling the city.—*Reuter.*

CAIRO, Ja

The police employed a novel method of ide riotous students during today's rioting. F special tank they sprinkled the offenders with a less coloured liquid and were thus able to spo later.

Some estimates place today's casualties as as 100. The students finally undertook to home quietly from the Sheik's College wh temporarily closed.

School strikes are spreading to provincial The authorities otherwise report "all is quiet provinces at mid-day."—*Reuter.*

GENEVA, Ja

Mr. Ahmed Hussein, President of the Young Society of Cairo, has sent a memorandum Secretary-General of the League of Nations effect that the entire Egyptian nation ardently that Egypt should become a member of the Leag be invited to take the place which is hers by The memorandum adds that the Society rep young Egyptians several of whom have offered blood for the country and have fallen victi British oppression.—*Reuter.*

CAIRO, Ja

Aly Pasha Maher, the King's Political Advis forming a Neutral Cabinet with friends fro parties, with himself as Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior. This move follow failure of prolonged efforts to form an A

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Government to conduct negotiations for the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty owing to the Wafd refusal to enter a Coalition Government.—*Reuter.*

Clash of British and Egyptian Opinion On Defence of Egypt

It is stated in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 30th January last that its special correspondent at Cairo has sent it the following telegram on the 29th January:

CAIRO, Jan. 29.

The British High Commissioner for Egypt discussed individually the points of the Treaty of 1930 with all the prominent leaders of Egypt. The main point on which the British and the Egyptian opinions collide is that the British Government wishes to change some of the terms of the Treaty but the Egyptians do not wish to change a slight term. The first condition of the Treaty regarding the military station is that the British forces must be transferred to 32 degrees longitude beyond the eastern side of the Suez Canal and the Egyptian forces must be kept there instead.

The British Government maintains that the present forces must be where they are and more should be added because the forces are not sufficient enough to protect that side. The second point is that the total number of the British forces on the northern desert side of Egypt must be only £8000(?), but the British Government insists that the present number must not be lessened because the military will not be able to defend the frontier of Egypt and the reform of the troops will cost £15,000,000 which the expenditure budget of the war department will not be able to bear.

The Egyptians state: "Leave the defence in our hands and see how ably we manage it. When we spent £5,000,000 on Jubbulu-Awlia Dam which cannot be used before 20 years and £4,000,000 on Thana Dam which cannot be utilised for 50 years, why should we not spend £15,000,000 for the defence of our country? We shall spend all that we have in defending our motherland but we want that her defence should be entrusted to us."—(Copyright to 'Patrika' in India).

Mr. Manohar Lal's Presidential Address

By the courtesy of Prof. D. N. Banerjee, the local secretary, Indian Economic Conference, Dacca, we have received not only the presidential address of Mr. Manohar Lal, but also all the printed papers read or meant to be read at the Conference. We thank him for his kindness. It is not possible for a monthly magazine to make proper use of all of them, but we have kept them for future possible use.

In the course of his very able presidential address Mr. Manohar Lal very rightly observed:

> What is being achieved, if not actually achieved in Japan, should be possible for India. We have an immense population and therefore ready demand for manufactured goods. We have an immense market, a market which the whole world is trying to secure, yet in spite of our unbounded resources we continue hapless victims of world's dumping.

The main reason for Japan's economic progress is that Japan has a national government whose business it is to bring about the prosperity of Japan alone.

Mr. Manohar Lal concluded his address by indicating what the deplorable condition of a mainly agricultural country, as India never was in the pre-British period but has come to be under British rule, may be in the not distant future. Said he:

> What will happen if the forecasts of scientific men come true? Professor J. B. S. Haldane recently remarked that "by 1944 prices of food will fall so much that large numbers of agricultural states would go to ruin." The course of events during the past twenty years warrants the general soundness of this prophecy. Do we realize the import of this fast approaching fate on unhappy India maintaining one of world's largest populations on her own agriculture and struggling to buy manufactured goods from abroad at growing disadvantage?
>
> The economist in India today is worthily engaged in the close study of economic fact and theory. But I venture to think that his most urgent task now is more than ever before, to rouse the conscience of both the people and the government to a consciousness of the peril towards which we are drifting and to the necessity of straining every nerve to reconstruct our economic life. Events are marching with such swiftness, the rest of the world with their alert governments is taking such rapid action, that if we are not up and doing now, aware of the possible dangers ahead and determined on the one course of salvation, our doom may be irretrievably sealed. That is the supreme task of the Indian economist—he is faced by a call which if missed today may never come again.

Sir U. N. Brahmachari's Presidential Address

The presidential address of Sir U. N. Brahmachari, General President, Indian Science Congress, Indore (1936), dealt with the role of science in the recent progress of medicine. It had, therefore, to be somewhat encyclopaedic in its range. He gave a review of the important contributions made towards the advancement of medicine by biochemistry, physiology, genetics, chemistry, physics, geology, psychology, and mathematics.

As Dr. Brahmachari has himself successfully carried out researches which have led to the discovery of very valuable remedies for the treatment of the terrible disease of Kala-azar, that part of his address in which he gave a brief summary of his researches possesses an autobiographical interest. An extract from it is given below from the January number of *Science and Culture.*

> Early in 1921, the speaker discovered an urea antimony compound for the treatment of kala-azar. Its introduction and his other researches on anti-

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monial compounds opened up a new vista in the treatment of the disease in India by means of therapeutic organic antimonials . . . This urea compound was named 'urea stibamine.'

I shall not detain you here with the romance of urea stibamine, however interesting it may be. But I recall with joy the memorable night in the Calcutta Campbell Hospital at Sealdah when after a very hard day's work at about 10 p.m. in a little room with a smoky dimly burning kerosine lamp, the speaker found that the experiments in the preparation of this compound were up to his expectations. The room still remains, but the signs of a laboratory in it have completely disappeared.

The first series of cases treated with this compound were published early in 1922. Soon after this, most remarkable results were obtained with it by Shortt in Shillong to whom the compound was sent for trial. The value of this compound was quickly recognized. It was introduced, soon after a preliminary experimental trial, by the Government of Assam for the treatment and prophylaxis of kala-azar.

Today urea stibamine stands pre-eminent in the treatment of kala-azar in India as a powerful prophylactic against the disease, and it is a matter of supreme satisfaction that this treatment has been the means of saving lives of a vast population of suffering humanity.

The following remarks from the Annual Public Health Report of the Province of Assam for the year 1933 dated 23rd July, 1934, are worth quoting: 'It has to be borne in mind that, when no specific remedy was known for this disease, 98 persons at least out of every 100 were doomed to certain death within a comparatively short space of time. Since 1923, when reliable figures for the disease first became available to the end of the year under report, no less than 328,591 persons have been brought under treatment. It is no exaggeration to say that approximately 3.25 lacs of valuable lives have been saved to the Province.'

Unrest in Syria

BEIRUT, Jan. 29.

After riots lasting for a week, in which four persons were killed at Damascus and two at Alleppo in the course of nationalist agitation against the Government, order has been restored throughout Syria. The gendarmes were hampered in the work of restoring order by the demonstrators holding children in front of them.

Alleppo is now normal and the bazars have reopened. Damascus is also quiet but the central bazars are still closed.

A later message says:—

Riots in Damascus, Alleppo and elsewhere are the outcome of the nationalist agitation against the French mandate in Syria. The nationalists recently intensified anti-government campaign and opened a number of so-called people's political clubs all over the country, from where they issued what are described as threatening manifestoes. A nationalist leader has been arrested and sent to seclusion. Thereupon students took up the cudgels and indulged in a series of violent demonstrations in which the police were powerless. Troops were called out. Two Syrian nationalist leaders are reported to have crossed the border to Palestine during the week-end in order to telegraph a protest to the League Syrio-Palestine Committee at Geneva against the conditions under the French mandate in Syria. British military co... in Palestine are now guarding the Syrian ...

—Re...

Sikh "Kripan" Satyagraha

Up till the 30th January last 1,215 Sikh... and women were reported to have been arr... in connection with the Satyagraha started... the Sikhs for removing the ban on we... "kripans" by them in public.

Calcutta University Foundation Day

The Calcutta University Foundation ... was celebrated on the 30th January last ... striking manner. The marches past by ... women students in their colourful saris and ... male students, with all their distinctive co... flags, presented a very imposing spectacle. ... Syamaprasad Mukherji, the Vice-Chanc... said in the course of his address to ... students:

> A spirit of invincibility must animate your act... You must belong to the army of the unconque... whom difficulties do not daunt nor failures disco... to whom all things are possible; and the impo... the most alluring and attractive of all. I long ... the day when a spirit of adventure will animate ... youths of my province. I know the spirit has ... awakened but if it is to live it must be care... fostered.

Ban On Miss Mayo's New Book

The bringing or sending of Miss May... "Face of Mother India" has been prohibi... We do not think this will do any good to Hin... or India, slandered by her. On the contra... it will stand in the way of its lies and h... truth being effectively exposed, as were th... in her "Mother India." If the circulation ... her book outside India could have been stopp... that would have been something.

Bengal Education Week

People interested in education and edu... tional problems in Bengal should take ... advantage of the Bengal Education Week. ... offers much to be seen and much to be hea... that may help in the improvement of educati...

Only the public should never forget that ... Bengal facilities for elementary, seconda... collegiate, university, vocational and technolo... cal education require to be greatly increased ... particularly elementary, vocational and techn... logical education.

No spectacular demonstrations must misle... us to believe that Bengal has got or is g...

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o get what she requires in order that all her hildren may be truly educated and equipped or the work of life.

Fresh Trouble in Manchuria

Moscow, Jan. 29.

The report of another sensational incident comes from the Manchurian frontier, where a tense situation has developed between Japan and Manchukuo on the one hand and the Soviet and the protected outer Mongolian Republic on the other.

A fully armed company of over a hundred Manchukuo troops, according to a Khabarovak telegram, entered the Soviet territory in the Grodekovo district and asked for asylum. Their Commander, a Manchu Lieutenant, stated that the company had mutinied against the Japanese authorities and that four Japanese officers had been killed.

The Soviet authorities disarmed and interned the company.—*Reuter.*

Colliery Disaster at Jharia

On the 30th of January last there was an outbreak of fire and an explosion in a colliery at Jharia. It is already definitely known that some Indian and English employees have died in consequence. The full extent of the loss in life and property is not yet known.

Communal Unity Talks Again

His Highness the Aga Khan and Maulana Shaukat Ali have started unity talks again. The majority of political-minded persons of the Hindu community (*i.e.*, of the majority community) want freedom for their country and want that there should be a joint endeavour for obtaining freedom. Anybody is welcome to take part in this joint endeavour. Whether there be "unity" or not, what prevents the Muslims from carrying on even a separate freedom movement of their own? If they work for freedom—it does not matter whether jointly with the Hindus or separately—that will be a proof that they really want unity. The Hindus do not want anything special for themselves. They want that all should have a common and equal citizenship. So, it is the easiest thing in the world to unite with them.

But if the Muslim leaders want that, as a preliminary to their uniting with the Hindus, the latter should accept the Communal Decision No. I, the Communal Decision No. 2 (that relating to the allotment of a fixed excessive proportion of posts in the public services to Muslims and some other minorities), and the like, let us assume that the Hindus accept these Decisions. Will the Muslims then really take part in the fight for India's freedom? Or will some of them make this Hindu acceptance of the Decisions a starting point for fresh bargaining, covert or overt, with the Government and the Hindu public in order to obtain still greater concessions? Will the Muslims refuse to be bought off by British imperialists by the offer of fresh concessions, as they were bought off by Sir Samuel Hoare's announcement of 33 per cent of seats in the Central Legislature and unconditional separation of Sindh? These questions should be as frankly answered as they are here frankly put.

The possibility of the Hindus' accepting the Decisions has been assumed only for the sake of argument. But there is no such possibility of vast numbers of Hindus accepting the Communal Decisions, as they cut at the very root of the existence of Indians as a nation—not to speak of the joint endeavour of Indians as a nation.

Let Muslims work for national freedom and other national ends even separately, and then there will be time enough for renewed unity *talks.*

International Conference of Women

The joint conference of the International Council of Women and the National Council of Women in India which began its sittings in the Calcutta Town Hall on the 30th January last is a unique event. Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda presided and Lady Ezra, Chairwoman of the National Council of Women in India, welcomed the delegates and visitors. Distinguished delegates and visitors from almost all parts of the civilized world attended the conference and the hall was crowded to capacity. On the second day of the conference competent women delegates discoursed on and discussed problems connected with rural reconstruction, education and industries, village continuation school course, village schools, special curriculum for girls' schools, nursery schools, and the cinema.

Height and Weight of School Children

The current (December) number of the two-monthly *Bulletin of the National Council of Women in India* contains an important paper, with graphs and tables, on the height and weight of school children by Dr. Navajivan Banerji, who is known to have been carrying on researches on the subject for some years past. Says he :

> Our observations show that the average heights of both boys and girls are very near standard European heights but the graph shows a big fall in weight, markedly more noticeable in boys than girls. It is more marked in the adolescent period than in earlier years. The average weight of girls up to the

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11th year shows that they are very near standard European weights. This, I think, is due to the fact that those who come to school belong to a better strata of society as compared with boys of the same age. Beyond the age of 12 years there is a very rapid fall in the weight of the girls. This is probably in part due to the defect in education and routine of work of the girls of this age. The physiological changes brought about in the body at this age should be seriously taken into consideration in judging the effect of work, routine and food on the physico-psychical state of the developing girls.

Mahatma Gandhi's Health

It is a pleasure to note that Gandhiji's health has been improving and, though the blood pressure continues, the doctors say there is no cause for anxiety.

Federation of Indian Chambers on Ottawa Pact

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has issued a carefully written and finely printed note on the Ottawa scheme of preferences. After examining in detail all the different articles of the import and export trade of India, the Federation has come to the following conclusion, which appears to us to be justified by the facts :

> There are thus a number of factors which will have to be taken into consideration if India is to form a part of the economic block within the British Empire. The Committee of the Federation are, therefore, justified in recommending to the Government of India the termination of the present trade agreement between the United Kingdom and India and further suggest that the Government should open up fresh negotiations for a new trade treaty with the United Kingdom in consultation with the representatives of commerce, agriculture and industry in India.

Subhas Bose Coming Back to India

It is pleasing to note that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is coming back to India and left Vienna on January 12 last. He will visit Czechoslovakia and Germany on his way back. At the farewell party given to him at Vienna, great appreciation of his work there was voiced by both Austrians and Indians.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Coming Back

It is encouraging to find that Mrs. K[illegible] Nehru's health was such as to make it po[illegible] for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to leave [illegible] the sanatorium for a visit to London. I[illegible] worthy of both Mr. and Mrs. Nehru th[illegible] former would be prepared to return to I[illegible] for the Congress session even if the la[illegible] health does not definitely improve.

LONDON, Jan. [illegible]

Miss Ellen Wilkinson and Mr. Jagger gave a [illegible] tion yesterday in honour of Pandit Jawaharlal N[illegible] The reception was attended by ladies, Mr. M[illegible] Mr. Cocks and other labour members.

Pandit Nehru in a speech declared that the [illegible] act was the grossest insult to India. "We [illegible] interested in ending and not in mending it," [illegible] added. The causes of the present unrest in [illegible] were economic and were summed up in the [illegible] "hunger." The communal issue had little to do [illegible] religion. It was mainly political, economic [illegible] middle-class.

The "News Chronicle" welcomes Pandit N[illegible] assertion that the object of the Congress is to [illegible] its ideals by peaceful means, "But when he [illegible] on to say that the new constitution is a trivial [illegible] from which no serious good can result, he cert[illegible] is not expressing the opinion of Indians as a w[illegible] and we much doubt if he is expressing the view of [illegible] but the left wing in the Congress itself."—*Reu[illegible]*

LONDON, Jan. [illegible]

Pandit Nehru regarded changes in the Indian [illegible] system as a prime necessity. He favoured ending [illegible] capitalist system by letting India produce for [illegible] sumption and not for profit.

He thought that, while "Khaddar" played [illegible] important part in the present economic system [illegible] would not survive ultimately, as India was una[illegible] isolate herself from the rest of the world.

Pandit Nehru considered that Japan was wea[illegible] ing her power despite her present military aggre[illegible]

He said he regarded Russia as a friend of I[illegible] India had suffered in the past on account of Bri[illegible] fear of Russia but at present, in Russia, there was [illegible] political or economic motive which could be consid[illegible] as a menace to India.—*Reuter.*

The pose of superior knowledge of [illegible] "News Chronicle" is ridiculous.

"The Voice of India"

"The Voice of India" which contains [illegible] English and Japanese account of the Cong[illegible] Jubilee celebrations in Japan, with pictures, [illegible] a very fine production.

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Edmund Candler, in the **Nation and the Athenaeum.**

Referring to the "most wonderful" works of Charles Dickens, the serious motive of which was the remedying of social abuses, the Bishop of Birmingham, speaking at a recent dinner at the Author's Club, said that many social ills "could be better healed by a novel writer than by a Parliamentarian orator. . . . . Books which, while telling a fictional story, expose an actual danger," have again and again led to reforms, otherwise undemanded, through apathy, the fatal offspring of ignorance, and this series will undoubtedly contribute to such desi ends.

"Tales of Bengal" are selections from writings of Santa and Sita Chatterjee, daug of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the gifted ed of *Prabasi*, a Bengali monthly, and of *Modern Review* (in English), which might called the Indian *Review of Reviews*.

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F. R. Scatcherd in the **Asiatic Review**

"Yorkshire Observer" says:—"Mr. E Thompson . . . . . has done the English publ a real service by making easily accessible the examples of contemporary Bengali literatu Apart from the high sociological value wh they possess as accurate pictures of Bengal by natives of Bengal, the works have substant literary merits . . . . . Keen observation, re humour, deep sympathy, and a fierce indi nation against whatever is deplorable in Indi manners and customs characterise these poign little studies of everyday Bengali life . . . "The Ugly Bride" and "The Letter" a perhaps the gems of the collection."

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"**Manchester Guardian**" says:—. . . . speak out the very heart of the great country still so strange and dark to us . . . . His daughters' tales, mostly lively in manner, modern in tone, and showing a close acquaintance with that curious hybrid thing, the student life of India to-day, have a serious and quite definite purpose . . . . the humour and the energy of the narrators, in which one feels the rush of the new spirit . . . . "

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पता—मैनेजर, 'विशाल-भारत', १२०।२, अपर सरकूलर रोड, कलकत्ता

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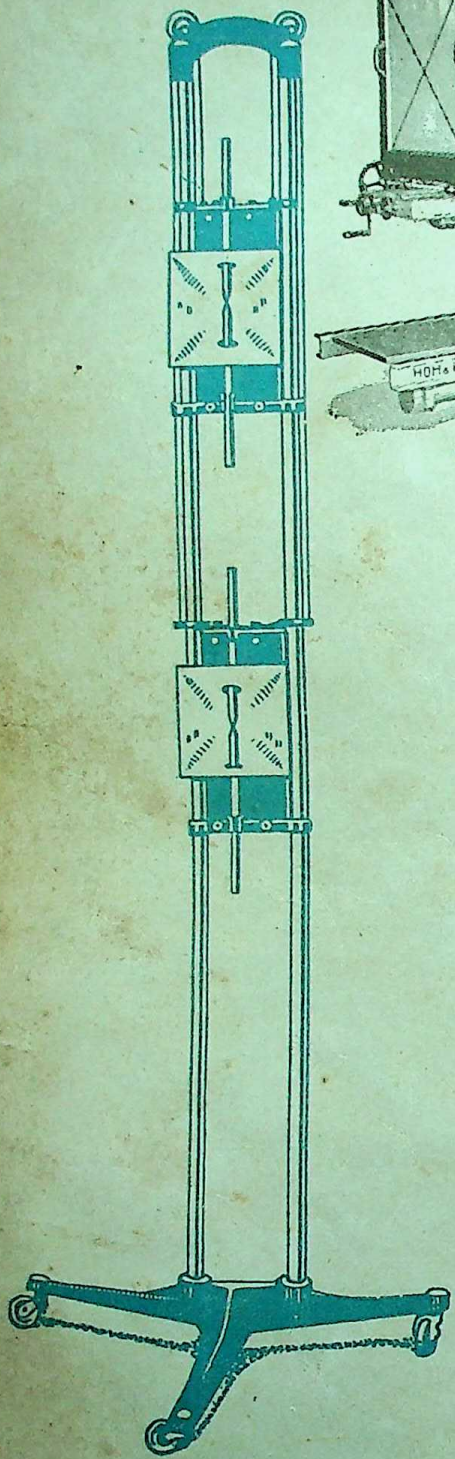

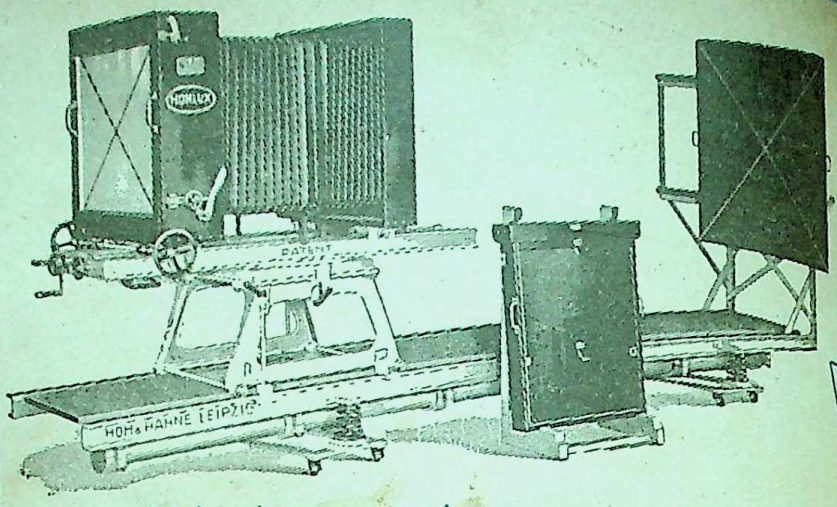

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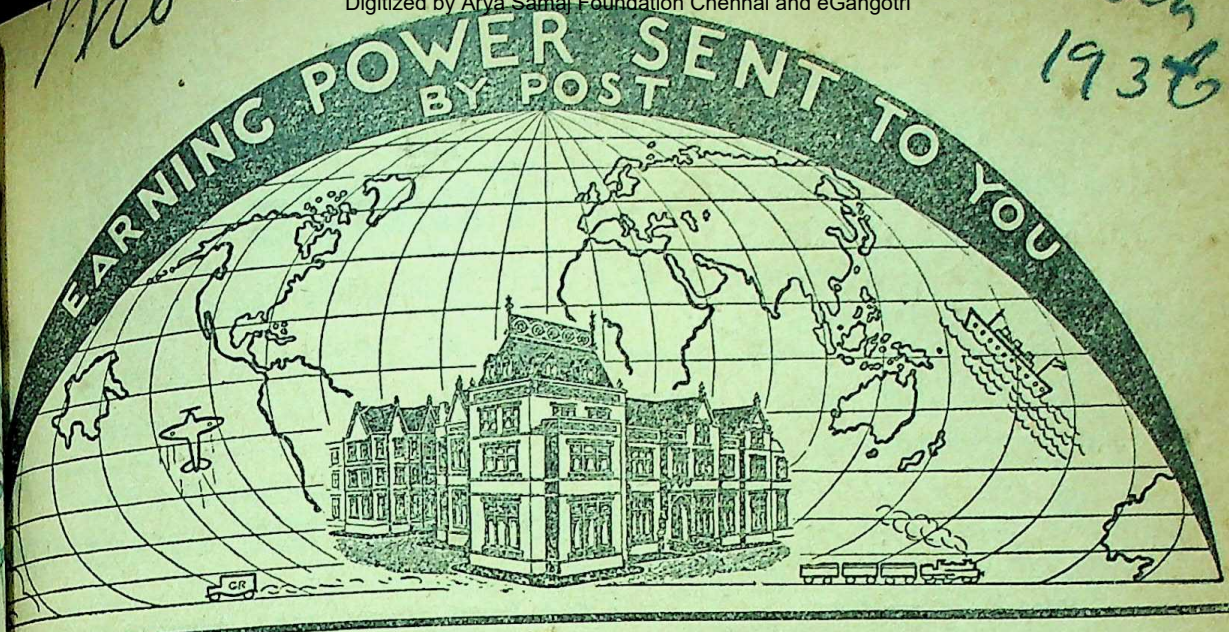

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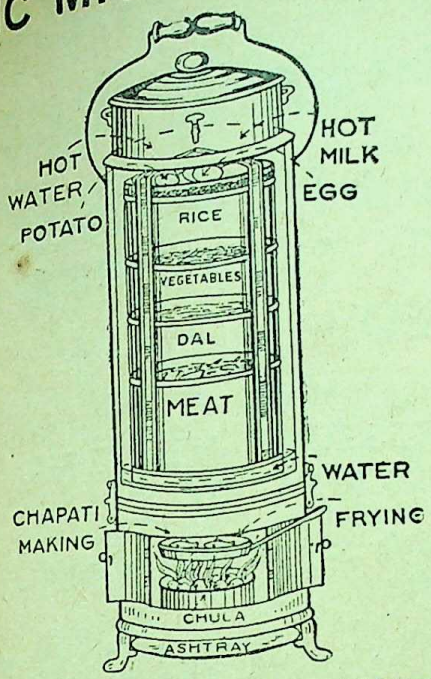

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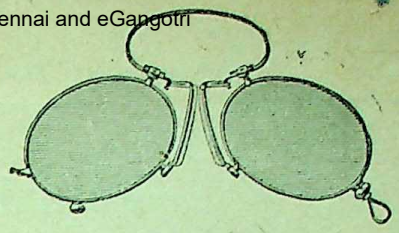

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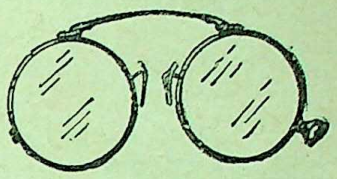

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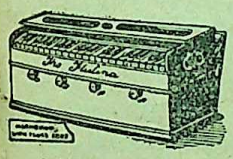

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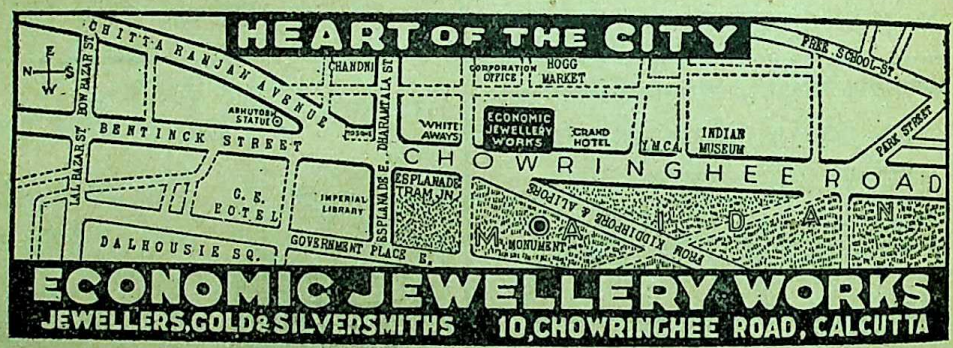

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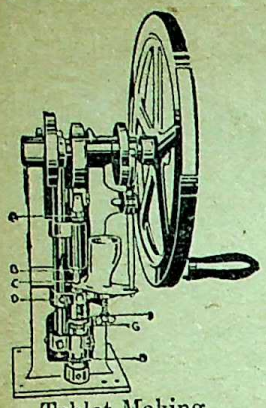

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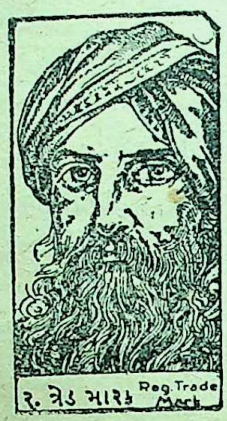

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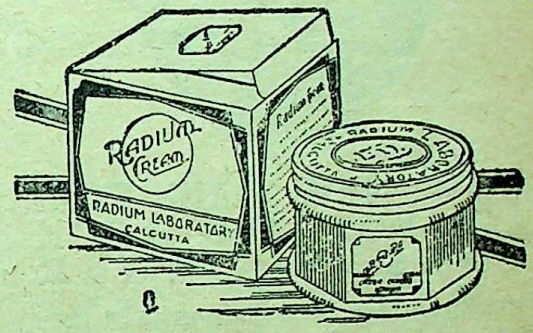

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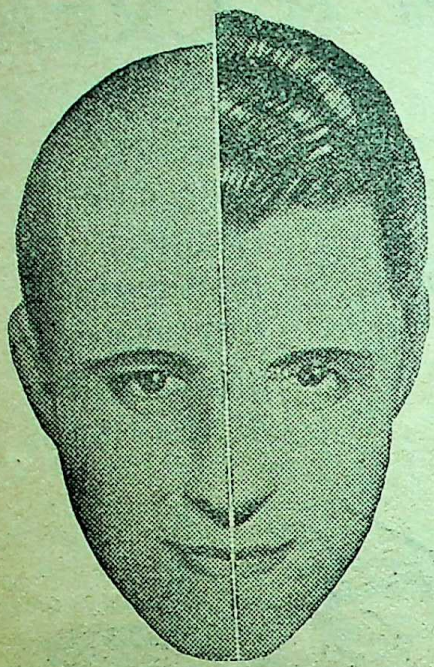

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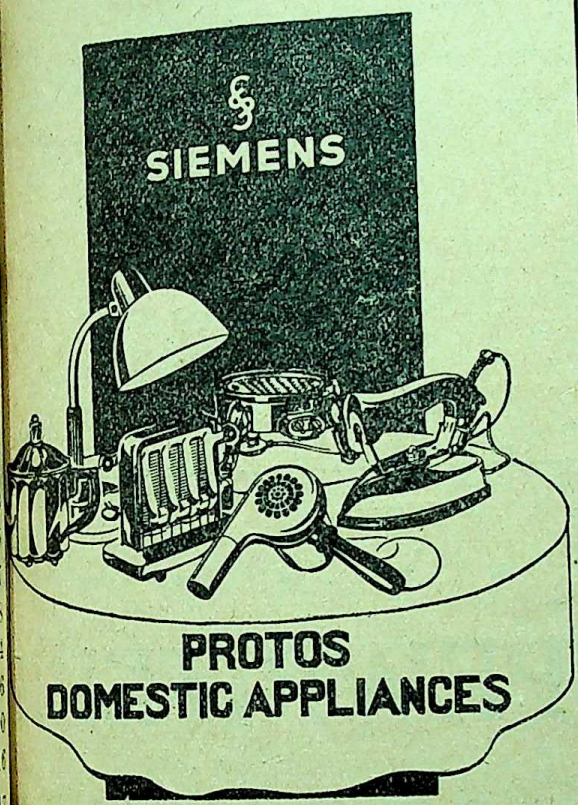

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THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH 1936

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JOHN TYNDALL

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

John Tyndall was born in a village in Ireland in the year 1820. One account makes him a descendent of William Tyndale, the celebrated translator of the Bible into the English tongue in the early part of the Sixteenth Century, who was put to death as a heretic; and another account states that he was descended from Matthew Tindal, the distinguished writer, sometimes called a deist, who was one of the stoutest defenders of religious liberty in the Seventeenth Century. Whichever account is true leaves him the descendent of an ancestor of great independence of thought and heroism of character, from whom these same traits, found so conspicuously in the great scientist of our generation, may have been derived.

John Tyndall's father was poor, but was a man of much independence of thought and integrity. Though surrounded by Catholics, he was a Protestant. The son's early education was somewhat limited. His early intellectual discipline consisted almost wholly of exercises in theological controversy, on the doctrines of purgatory, transubstantiation, the infallibility of the Catholic Church, the invocation of saints, etc.,—doctrines which his Protestant father very strongly opposed. The boy read extensively the works of the great Protestant divines, Chillingworth, Tillotson, Jeremy Taylor and others. He also read the Bible a great deal, and committed large portions of it to memory. Thus the young mind was fed on strong food.

By the time he was nineteen he had acquired considerable mathematical knowledge, including geometry. With this preparation he was able to obtain a place as "civil assistant" on the Ordnance Survey. Taking hold of this work with energy, he became in turn draughtsman, computer, surveyor, and trigonometrical observer.

At the age of twenty-one, a simple circumstance occurred which seems to have changed his whole future. Up to this time he seems not to have made any large plans, or to have been stirred by any large ambitions. But one day an intelligent gentleman with whom he was working in the Ordnance Survey office in Cork, having taken an interest in him, inquired about his plans, his habits, his manner of spending his leisure time, and so forth, and said to him earnestly, "You have a great opportunity before you; you ought to embrace it. You have five hours a day at your disposal, and this time ought to be devoted to systematic study. Had I," he continued, "when I was your age, had a friend to advise me, as I now advise you, instead of being in my present subordinate position, I should be the Director of this Survey."

The advice was not lost upon Tyndall. Next morning at 5 o'clock he was at his books, and he tells us that for twelve years this hour never failed to find him at his task. In later life, addressing a company of students in London, he recalled some of his experiences in these years with the Survey, and said:

> "It might prevent some of you from considering your fate as specially hard, or from being daunted, by having to start at a very low level to climb a very steep hill, if I should tell you that, on leaving the Ordnance Survey in 1843, my salary was a little under 20 shillings a week (less than

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$5.00). I have often wondered since at the amount of genuine happiness which a young fellow, of regular habits, not caring for either pipe or glass, may extract even from pay like that."

After remaining on the Ordnance Survey five years, he changed to the business of railway engineering, which took him over to England. In this work he spent three years. It was now that he had what he tells us was his first and last experience in that kind of gambling known as speculating in railway stocks. The time was one of reckless railroad building. Lines were being projected in all directions, and a perfect mania arose and spread all over England for speculating in shares of the different projected lines. Not only the rich but the poor—all who could get together, even by borrowing, a small amount of money, —bought shares; and everywhere, not only in London and Liverpool and Manchester, but in the smallest village, the prevailing talk was about the state of the stock market. Tyndall was smitten by the craze, and invested what little money he could muster. But at once it took away all his peace of mind. He could not sleep or rest. He was haunted day and night by the Stock Exchange. At last, he says, he became so savage with himself that he went to the broker from whom he had bought, and asked him to take back the shares, without either gain or loss, which he did, and thus the accursed thing was gotten rid of. It was a lesson to last him all his life.

After spending three years in railway engineering, he accepted a position as teacher in Queenwood College, a new institution in Hampshire devoted largely to preliminary technical education of agriculturists and engineers. Here he showed that he was a born teacher. The boys, some of whom had been nearly unmanageable under other instructors, became under him eager and enthusiastic in their work.

But he was not satisfied with his imperfect education. He wanted more knowledge. So at the end of a year at Queenwood, in company with a fellow-teacher who afterward became the eminent chemist, Dr. Frankland, he set out for Germany to study in one of her great universities. The fame of the celebrated chemist and physicist, Bunsen, drew him to Marburg, where the two young men were hospitably received and given all possible advantage of the lectures and laboratories. Tyndall was now 28 years old. He had in his pocket about 250 pounds, which he had been able to save from his nine years of hard work. He resolved to take the advice of Benjamin Franklin, "Empty your purse into your young man, and then you will not lose money."

He remained abroad about four years of the time at Marburg, but the last part in Berlin. It was while in Germany that began his original investigations and wrote first two scientific papers,—one a mathematical essay on "Screw Surfaces," and the second paper embodying extended investigations he had made regarding the "Magneto-Properties of Crystals." The latter of papers attracted some attention, and made known in some measure to the scientific

Returning to England he found no opening for a time, and thought seriously of emigrating to America. Indeed he and Huxley, acquaintance he had just formed, together applied for the chairs of Physics and Natural Science, just then vacant, in the University Toronto, in Canada. But neither succeeded securing the coveted chair, and so America and England gained two of the brightest of science in modern times.

The good work that Tyndall had done Germany and the acquaintance which he formed with scientists in Marburg and Berlin opened the way for him in London to acquaintance with Faraday and other leaders in British scientific circles. He was soon elected a member of the Royal Society. This was 1852, when he was 32 years of age. The February he was invited to give a Friday evening discourse before the Royal Society. This was his opportunity. A success before the most learned scientific association in England, would mean a clear future. a great success he made. We are told some of his friends who had secured opportunity for him, were much troubled they had done something which would result in covering them as well as him disgrace. When they reached the hall found that this young Irishman had actually come there to speak before that august without a scrap of paper, they were in consternation. However, there was nothing to do let him go on. Before he had been speaking five minutes their fear was gone. He went straight into the heart of his subject showed such mastery of everything connected with it, his thought was so crystal clear, illustrations were so fresh and apt, language was so well chosen, his speech fluent, and his enthusiasm so artless genuine, that he won the favor of his audience completely, and closed amidst loud applause

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Congratulations were heaped upon him. Next morning the papers reported his great success to the world.

His future was now secure. In four months he was chosen Professor of Natural Philosophy (Physics) in the Royal Institution, a chair which had already been made famous by Sir Humphry Davy and Professor Faraday, and which he himself was to hold for thirty years, adding new lustre to its fame.

He had found at last exactly the right place—that of an original experimenter and investigator, and at the same time that of a popular expounder of science. His natural gifts of exposition and illustration were extraordinary, and, having the advantage from this time on of speaking from the influential lecture platform of the Royal Society, it was not strange that within a very few years he should become the best known and most popular scientific lecturer in Great Britain.

Meanwhile he devoted himself with untiring energy to original investigation, to writing, and to speaking, varying the monotony of his London life by spending his summers usually in the Alps.

In 1883, he resigned the professorship which he had held so long, turned his back upon the noise, the confusion, the dust and the fog of London,—which he always detested,—and built himself a country home in Surrey, beautiful for situation, absolutely unembarrassed in every direction, from which the eye looks forth upon a surging panorama of fifty miles radius, from the South Downs on the one side to the North Downs on the other."

Henceforth he divided his time almost equally between England and Switzerland, spending his summers at the home which for many years he had owned on the Bel Alp, and his winters in Surrey.

> "Both situations afforded that wide outlook upon external nature which he so greatly enjoyed; for his love of scenery came only second to his love of science, with which, indeed, it was inextricably intermingled."

It was his custom during all the laborious years of his London life to rest himself, when he had become worn and weary, by a few days of tramping, among the mountains of Wales, in the Isle of Wight, in the English Lake Region, in the Highlands of Scotland, or, if his need for rest was great and time permitted, amid his beloved Alps.

In the winter of 1872-3 he visited America on a lecture tour. While in this country he visited only the great cities of the East. Wherever he spoke, the largest halls were crowded with the most distinguished scientific and literary people, and his lectures were generally received with the highest favor. Americans remember these lectures with somewhat increased interest because of Professor Tyndall's generosity in devoting the proceeds from them, which amounted to some $23,000 if I remember correctly, to the endowment of scientific research in American colleges.

Professor Tyndall was the author of many books,—books which have been as widely read as those of perhaps any scientist of his day. Among the most important were his *Heat as a Mode of Motion* (1863), his works on *Radiation,* (1865), *Sound* (1865), *Light* (1870), *Forms of Water* (1872), *Transmission of Sound by the Atmosphere* (1874), *Fermentation* (1877), *Contributions to Molecular Physics in the Domain of Radiant Heat, Lessons in Electricity* (1876), and *Essays on the Floating Matter of the Air* (1881). One of his most popular shorter works is that on *The Scientific Use of the Imagination,*—an exceedingly suggestive paper, and one that throws much light upon the structure of Tyndall's own mind; for while no man was a more careful experimenter or a more severe logician, Tyndall was also possessed of an imagination of rare power and vividness which not only aided him in his experimentation but was perhaps the chief secret of his wonderful brilliancy as a lecturer and popular exponent of science.

One of his most attractive and widely read books is his volume on the scientific discoveries of his great predecessor in the Royal Institution, Professor Faraday. The two men loved each other almost as father and son, and the volume which Tyndall wrote in commemoration of Faraday's noble character and great service to science is a thoroughly appreciative tribute.

Perhaps however none of Tyndall's books is more widely known than his *Fragments of Science,* the first volume of which was published in 1871. It was made up mainly of addresses, occasional lectures, and review articles, here gathered together for the first time in book form. Among the number are several of those papers or addresses on religio-scientific subjects such as *Prayer and Natural Law,* and *Miracles and Special Providences,* which provoked much hostile criticism from a large part of the religious world.

A little aside from the main work of Tyndall's life and yet important contributions to science were his books entitled *Glaciers of the Alps,* and *On the Structure and Motion of*

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Glaciers, the latter written jointly with Huxley. Out of his sojourns in Switzerland came also two most charming books, *Hours of Exercise in the Alps* and *Vacation Tour*. Every Alpine tourist, and also every arm-chair traveller who would like to be transported to the Alps in imagination and have the picturesqueness and grandeur of those incomparable mountains made so real to him that he will forever afterward more than half believe that he has actually been there, should read these delightful vacation volumes by Professor Tyndall.

The question naturally arises, what is Tyndall's place among the scientists of his century? As an original investigator it seems to be admitted by all who are competent to judge that he did thorough, important and extensive work—and some of it of so high a quality in every way, as to entitle it to be called great. As an expounder of science for the people probably no one of his generation was his superior.

Tyndall was a man of sterling truthfulness, integrity, and honor. He was warm in his affections, sincere in his friendships, quick and ardent, but always genuine and noble in his impulses. His father died with the last parting injunction on his lips: "My son, be just and fear nothing." No son ever carried out a father's dying command more faithfully than did John Tyndall. Near the close of his career, looking back over his past, he said, "Duty has ever been the motive force of my life."

He was a great admirer of Emerson, reading his writings much, committing many of his poems to memory, and taking volumes of his essays with him on his trips to the Alps. He recognized Emerson as one of the loftiest of ethical teachers.

With Carlyle he maintained a long and intimate friendship. Many wondered how he could prize associations with a man whose spirit was so dogmatic, and who habitually treated science with so much contempt. Tyndall has told us that he recognized in Carlyle a great moral force in the modern world.

Professor Tyndall's religious views aroused some bitterness of feeling. It was said that he did not show due respect and reverence for the Bible. It is true he did not believe the Bible to be a supernatural and infallible revelation. In this he stands along-side of nearly every unbiassed scholar and thinker of our day. He does not hesitate to point out the fact that the Bible contains scientific errors, historic mistakes and contradictions, and that parts of the Old Testament portray the morality of an early and only pa civilized age. Says he:

> "As an ancient book, claiming the same as other books, the Old Testament is wi rival; but its unnatural exaltation provokes and rejection. Leviticus, for example, when the light of its own age, is full of interes instruction. We see there described the eff the best men then existing to civilize the society around them. Violence is restrai violence medicinally applied. Passion is c truth and justice are extolled, and all in a w suited to a barbarain host. But read in the of our age, its conceptions of deity are seen shockingly mean, and many of its ordinances *Foolishness* is far too weak a word to apply attempt to enforce upon a scientific age the e a Jewish lawgiver. The doom of such an atte sure; and, if the destruction of things really pr should be involved in its failure, the blame justly be ascribed to those who obstinately pe in the attempt."

Another charge made against Prof. Tyndall by the orthodox people of his day that he sought to overthrow belief in mira This charge was doubtless true. But motive he had in mind was very different that which his enemies ascribed to him believed that there is no rational or scien ground for supposing that a miracle happened; he also believed that true rel does not require the support of miracles. the contrary he considered that reliance miracles perpetuates a superstitious elem religion, which prevents it from rising t highest purity and its noblest service to

In 1874, Tyndall gave in Belfast an ad which was bitterly criticized on the ground it presented a purely materialistic conce of the universe. In the light of his writings and utterances, however, it does seem that when he here speaks of matte containing "the promise and potency of form and quality of life", he means to bar from the universe. His purpose was rath enlarge our conception of matter, chang from something inert and dead, to some which in its very nature is charged with pos lities of activity, life, and purpose.

An even more excited controversy that growing out of his Belfast address as a result of what was known as his "P Gage." The circumstances pertaining to were as follows: A gentleman, not perso known to Professor Tyndall, sent him a requesting that he present it to the public his endorsement. Professor Tyndall rea letter; it seemed to him reasonable and

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ted to do good; accordingly he prefaced it h a few words of commendation and for-rded it to the *Contemporary Review* for blication. The letter proposed an experiment, ereby a scientific test could be made of the acy of prayer for the sick. It called ention to the fact that special public times prayer are often appointed for the recovery members of the royal family or other dis-guished persons when they are ill, or for n in times of severe drouth, or for the pping of cholera, smallpox, and other serious demics at times of their serious prevalence. also pointed out that prayers were regularly ered in connection with all services of the urch of England, and more or less in nection with those of most other churches, national supremacy, for preservation from tilence, famine and battles, for fertility of soil, for favorable weather, for recovery of sick, and so on. Now, if prayer is so great power for the securing of physical blessings appears to be generally believed, it would m easy to secure tangible and irrefutable oof of it, and such proof, once obtained, uld be the most powerful evidence in support the truth of that form of Christianity whose ayers had thus been answered. The test oposed was a simple one. The patients of e ward of a hospital should be made special jects of prayer by the Christian world for term of three or five years, their care and eatment remaining otherwise unchanged. If e per cent of recoveries in the ward increased ring the time its inmates were the subjects special prayer, it would seem to prove yond question that the prayers offered in eir behalf were efficacious for curative pur-ses.

How was the proposition met? With most universal condemnation on the part of e Christian world. It was stigmatized as reasonable, irreligious, profane, blasphemous. must confess that I, for one, was never able see why it merited any such criticism. If ayer is efficacious for the curing of those who e sick, men ought to know. It is reasonable suppose that God wants them to know. Now ere is a way of proving it to them so that they all know and cannot doubt. But it was harged upon Professor Tyndall that, by sanc-oning this prayer-test, he showed that he did ot believe in prayer and wished to make light it. This he earnestly denied, affirming that it was not his habit to think otherwise of prayer than solemnly. What he did wish to do was to help men to see that the true province of prayer is the moral and the spiritual, not the physical. The true prayer for checking the spread of cholera is quarantine and sanitation. The true prayer for good crops is good agriculture. The true prayer for any physical thiing is the physical effort necessary to secure that thing. But just as physical good is to be secured by physical effort, so moral and spiritual good is to be obtained by moral and spiritual effort, *i.e.*, by desire, by aspiration, by the earnest reaching of the soul toward the good,—which is true prayer. Though Tyndall was criticized and condemned by a large part of the religious world for his suggested prayer-test, yet it is probable that the general conception of prayer entertained in Engiand and America, is a little less superstitious, and a little more worthy and reasonable because of what he did.

That the doctrine of evolution was, to his thought, compatible with belief in God is clear from many passages,—among others this, taken from his *Scientific use of the Imagination*. He writes concerning Evolution:

> "Trust me, its existence as a hypothesis in the mind is quite compatible with the simultaneous existence of all those virtues to which the term Christian has been applied. It (Evolution) does not solve, it does not profess to solve, the ultimate mystery of this universe. It leaves, in fact, that mystery untouched. For, granting the nebula and its potential life, the question, 'Whence came they?' would still remain to baffle and bewilder us. At bottom the hypothesis (of Evolution) does nothing more than 'transport the conception of life's origin to an indefinitely distant past'."

Tyndall was the life-long foe of religious superstition, bigotry, and intolerance; he compelled his generation to think upon the great problems of religion, and to think of them in the light of reason and science. The religious freedom of the modern world has been purchased by the intelligence, the determination, the bravery, and too often the martyrdom of men of this type, who have seen larger truth than their fellows and have dared to be true to it at any cost. We owe John Tyndall a debt, not only for his contributions to scientific investigation but also for his fearless insistence that in no field must men fail to utilize reason and knowledge, not even in the field of religion.

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SRI RAMKRISHNA AND THE GOSPEL OF SERVICE

By S. N. GUHA ROY, I.C.S.

To those who can approach the study of the many currents and cross-currents of thought that swept over India during the last one hundred years or so, with that historical imagination, breadth of outlook and depth of understanding, born of genuine culture, it is no more than a commonplace that after 1886, the year of the departure of his Master, Sri Ramkrishna, Swami Vivekananda was spiritually but a continuation of his Master's self and that whatever the latter did or said had its inspiration directly or indirectly in the former. Unlike, however, Sri Ramkrishna who had little or no school education and was accordingly out of touch with western ideas, Vivekananda was a keen student of western philosophy even before he came into contact with Sri Ramkrishna and later travelled over America and Europe. While, therefore, Sri Ramkrishna cannot but be regarded as the purest flower of Hindu spirituality by even the most fastidious Sanatanists, some of the ideas of Vivekananda are likely to be open in those quarters to the suspicion of an alien parentage. Although if those ideas have been really beneficial to the country, it hardly matters whether they were eastern or western in their origin, in the peculiar circumstances of Hindu society, the question whether Swamiji's gospel of service was borrowed from the west is not entirely without importance, there being even now a school of thought which, looking on itself as the sole repository of the wisdom of the ancient sages and as the sole trustee for the preservation of the purity of our religion and society, blushes at the very idea of any western influence having crept into and defiled them. The object of these lines is to show these worthy gentlemen who might still be sceptical regarding the credentials of Swami Vivekananda, to speak to the world and to his own country, in the name of all that is really great and holy in Hindu thought and culture, that they might well spare themselves these blushes, for his message of service, of the worship of Shiva in the poor, the diseased and the weak is based directly on Sri Ramkrishna's life and teachings.

Even shortly after the establishment of the Ramkrishna Mission in May, 1897, some of his brother monks began to suspect in Vivekananda's activities a departure from the teachings of Sri Ramk which they interpreted as recommending of contemplative inaction as a prelimi self-realization. One evening one of the nitely accused him of having "introduc the ecstatic teachings of Sri Ramk western ideas of organization, action service, of which Sri Ramkrishna ha approved." Swamiji's reply to this cr is well worth quoting *in extenso*. I am here the translation of the reply in the E translation of M. Romain Rolland's L *Vivekananda*. The incident is describ detail in Satyendranath Mojumdar's V *nanda Charit* as well. Vivekananda sai

> What do you know? You are an i man. . . . . Your study ended like that of P at seeing the first letter in the Bengali alph for it reminded Prahlada of Krishna and he not proceed further because of the tears th into his eyes. . . . . You are sentimental What do you understand of religion? You a good at praying with folded hands, "O Lor beautiful is your nose! How sweet are your and all such nonsense and you think your s is secured and Sri Ramkrishna will come at th hour and take you by the hand to the highest Study, public preaching and doing huma works are according to you, *Maya*, because h to someone, "Seek and find God first; doing the world is a presumption." As if God is s easy thing to be realized? As if he is such as to make himself a plaything in the hands imbecile. You think you have understood Sri krishna better than myself. You think *Jnana* knowledge to be attained by a desert path, out the tenderest faculties of the heart? Your is sentimental nonsense which makes one im You want to preach Ramkrishna as you have stood him, which is mighty little. Hands off cares for your Ramkrishna? Who cares for *Bhakti* and *Mukti?* Who cares what your Sri say? I will go into a thousand hells cheerf I can rouse my countrymen, immersed in *tam* stand on their own feet and be men inspired the spirit of *Karma Yoga*. I am not a serv Ramkrishna or anyone but of him only who and helps others, without caring for his own and *Mukti*.

The criticism as well as the repl Swamiji thereto are both characteristic, th of the narrow interpretation of God and re that has gone with traditional Hinduism the other of the larger and more comprehe

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terpretation with which spiritual rebels like uddha, and even Sankara, Nanak and Kabir, manuja and Chaitanya attempted to redirect e attention of the Hindus to the essentials of e truly religious life, each in his own peculiar y. Tradition, more particularly religious dition, dies hard in India and in spite of ese rebels, there gathered round Hinduism, ry largely as the result of the priestly class ing to maintain its privileged position in ciety, a mass of useless and meaningless remonials, so much so that at the beginning the nineteenth century, the light of western tionalism which failed to penetrate beyond ese forms and rituals into the very heart of ndu philosophy, revealed this popular form Hinduism in all its inadequacy for the isfaction of the spiritual cravings of the nking man. But ratiocination, as we under- nd it, is not one of the points stressed by e men who hold the theory that whatever o be found in the Shastras must be accepted good without question, even though the llowing scriptural verse points to the con- ary:

"केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्त्तव्यो विनिर्णयः ।
युक्तिहीन-विचारे तु धर्म्महानिः प्रजायते ॥"[1]

is some among these men, spiritually d intellectually akin to the monk of the ove incident, who have from time to time nd in the ideal of service which inspired e establishment of the Ramkrishna Mission product of the west or at any rate ybrid product of the eastern and the western stems of thought that met in Swami Viveka- nda. Though it is more than likely that th Sri Ramkrishna and Vivekananda have ce been studied more widely and deeply in dia and have consequently been better under- ood, there must always be in every society, en, for whom, as Rabindranath said as far ck as 1891 in a beautiful passage in his ngali essay, *The Old and the New*, the letter the Scriptures has as much sanctity as the les eaten into them by worms. That there e such men amongst Hindus even now is yond question, but one can confidently say at these wiseacres of Hinduism, for whom dian history has been a blank for nearly two ousand years and who find in their sacred erature, nothing but a reflex of their own nited horizon, no longer represent, far less do ey guide the heart-beats of the New India that has been born in the conflict between the east and the west.

Those who have read the *Life of Sri Ramkrishna* by Devendra Bose are familiar with an incident described[2] therein which throws a flood of light on Sri Ramkrishna's own attitude towards human suffering. Sri Ramkrishna was one of the party accompanying Mathur Babu to Benares. On the way, the party got down at Baidyanath and in a small village close to that, they came across a number of men, reduced to an utter state of misery by hunger, poverty and disease. The sight was too much for Sri Ramkrishna and in tears he asked Mathur Babu to provide each of them with food and clothing. Mathur Babu hesitated and said that if he were to feed and clothe so many men, he would run short of money and would not be able to proceed to Benares. "Then let your Benares be left alone. These men have none to look after them and I shall go and stay with them." With these words, Sri Ramkrishna joined those men and simply refused to leave them till Mathur Babu had made arrangements for feeding and providing each of them with a piece of cloth. This clearly shows how the heart of Sri Ramkrishna bled for the poor and the sick and how when face to face with human suffering, he would deny himself the pleasure of visiting a sacred place, rather than pass by in solemn indifference, as some devout Hindus are apt to do, with philosophical explanations of all evil and suffering being the result of the *karma* of each individual.

Sri Ramkrishna knew fully well that the suffering multitude he saw before him were but symbols of that Divinity, the realization of which is the *summum bonum* of life and one who failed to pay due homage to those manifestations of the Divine, worshipped God in other forms in vain. In this connection, it will not be out of place to quote the following verses of the *Bhagavata-Purana* which exactly echo the sentiments of Sri Ramkrishna:

"अहं सर्व्वेषु भूतेषु भूतात्मावस्थितः सदा ।
तमवज्ञाय मां मर्त्त्यः कुरुतेऽर्चाविड़म्बनम् ॥
यो मां सर्व्वेषु भूतेषु सन्तमात्मानमीश्वरम् ।
हित्वार्चां भजते मौढ्याद्भस्मन्येव जुहोति सः ॥"[3]

1. No decision should be arrived at only on the basis of the scripture (Shastra). Discussion devoid of reasoning entails the loss of virtue.

2. *Paramhansadev* by Devendranath Bose, pp. 135-136.

3. I am in all creatures existent at all times as the Individual Soul. Man goes through the farce of a worship ignoring it. He who through foolishness offers worship leaving Me—the all powerful Individual Soul existent in all creatures—offers oblations into the ashes.

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Looked at in the light of these verses, Sri Ramkrishna's refusal to proceed to Benares without first of all trying to do something for the poor men who stood before him was in consonance not only with the dictates of his own higher self, but also with those of the Scriptures and after all, in matters like these, the dictates of the higher self of man are bound to be at one with scriptural injunctions in every age and country, however much his lower self might try to obscure this unity between the two by a variety of make-believe forms and rituals.

Now, as against the incident given above, may be cited a passage from *Kathamrita*,[4] with which those who claim to have understood Sri Ramkrishna better than Swami Vivekananda but who in fact have read only the words without caring to look into their real meaning with reference to the context, seek to support their theory that Vivekananda's gospel of service had not met with the approval of his master. Sambhu Mallik, a well-known rich man of Calcutta, wanted Sri Ramkrishna's blessings in order that he might be able to make a good use of his money by founding schools, hospitals, etc. Sri Ramkrishna replied: "Let it not be your aim in life to found schools and hospitals. Let the realization of God be the end and aim of your existence. *Niskam karma* is only a preliminary to that realization." The emphasis in this passage is on the word *Niskam*. It is not probably always understood that charities are in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred more for fame and self-aggrandizement than for the sake of charity itself and in the case of Sambhu Mallik, there were reasons to suspect that a thirst for fame was the mainspring of his philanthrophy. Though charities, whatever the motive for them, are better than none at all, the way to self-realization or God does not lie through them, for these are after all, mere attempts to glorify that lower ego[5] which has to disappear before the soul can rise to a full realization of the higher ego[6] or the Divinity. This is all that Sri Ramkrishna said to Sambhu Mallik in the above passage. It must be made clear here that neither Sri Ramkrishna nor Vivekananda said anywhere that activity, whatever its form, was an end in itself. The supreme object of life is self-realization and selfless work is one means to that end. The paths should be confused with the goal they lead to.

If what happened on the way to illustrates quite clearly that the saint Ramkrishna did not seek in his saintliness isolation from the suffering masses of hu which marked generations of holy India in the past, there are other in which show equally clearly that in Vivek he found a properly charged medium which to bring succour to the distress the needy. When Narendranath, as V nanda was named by his parents, in his search for God came to him, he at on cognized in him "that eternal sage, Nar in human form, who had reincarnated for the relief of human suffering." That suffering did not mean to Sri Ramk merely spiritual torments would appear his famous saying that religion is n empty bellies. In Mozumdar's admirabl graphy of Vivekananda[7] is described incident which shows beyond any man doubt what it was for which Sri Ramkr claimed the boundless energy of his di One day he asked Vivekananda what he w and the latter replied he wanted to att *nirbikalpa samadhi* in which he coul immersed in the Ocean of Being, Conscio and Joy (*Satchidananda*). "Don't you ashamed to say this again and again?" Sri Ramkrishna. "You are to bring peace happiness to hundreds of men after h developed yourself to your full stature, here you are speaking of your own spi emancipation. Is your ideal so low?" Sri Ramkrishna merely meant that Vi nanda should minister to the spiritual di of men, it is incomprehensible why he s discourage him from attaining to that spiritual experience which is know *nirbikalpa samadhi;* for it is quite possib one to let others have the benefit of one's spiritual illumination, as Ramkrishna h did, even after the attainment of *nirbi samadhi*. From what he himself said the effect of this supreme spiritual exper on the body[8] it is clear that Sri Ramkr wanted Vivekananda not to be physically fitted for the strenuous work that awaited by even one dip into the Ocean of B Anyone familiar with the inner histor

4. *Sri Sri Ramkrishna Kathamrita* by Sri Ma, Part 1, p. 148.

5. काँचा आमि

6. पाका आमि

7. *Vivekananda Charita* by Satyendranath Ma pp. 119-120.

8. *Sri Sri Ramkrishna Lilaprasanga* by S Saradananda, Vol. V, pp. 61-62.

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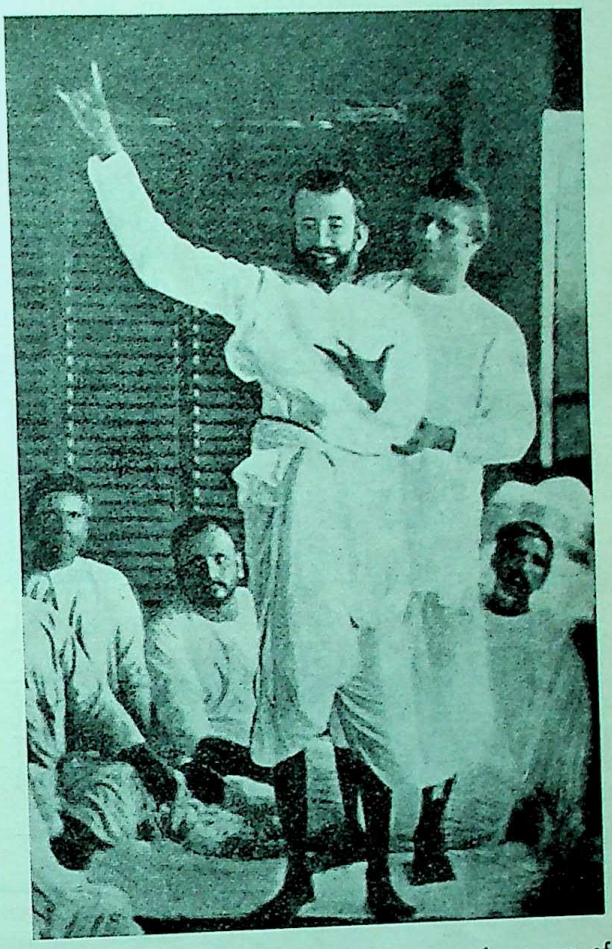
Vivekananda's life knows how, once he could see, as if in a flash, that he was wanted for the regeneration of a people who had forgotten themselves and were for that very reason alone, wallowing in the mire, he continually struggled against the softening influences of *Bhakti*, only in order that the iron will and the tireless energy that were needed for his work, might not leave him. That it was in a flash that Vivekananda saw his life's work figured out for him by a few words of Sri Ramkrishna could appear from the incident described in *Lilaprasanga*.[9] It was in 1884. Sri Ramkrishna was discoursing with his friends and disciples about Vaisnavism, when he happened to say that Vaisnavism asks men to be kind to all creatures in the knowledge that the whole universe belongs to Sri Krishna. He fell into a trance, immediately the words "kindness to all creatures" were uttered by him and a little later, he went on saying to himself in a half-conscious state "kindness to all creatures—kindness to all creatures. Who are you, you fool, you worm of worms, to be kind? No, no—Not kindness to creatures, but service of all created beings in the knowledge that they are Shiva." None of those present realized the meaning of these half-articulated words except Narendranath who came out shortly after and said: "What a light have the words of the teacher thrown today. . . . . If God ever allows, I shall broadcast all over the world the remarkable truth that I have heard today and the learned and the illiterate, the rich and the poor, the Brahmin and the Chandal will hear it with joy." It does not require much imagination to see that in this incident really lies the key to Swamiji's gospel of service. It may be that the sudden gleam of light which showed to Sri Ramkrishna the utter presumptuousness of the feeling that one can do good to others and the necessity of the spirit of service taking the place of kindliness which implies a certain sense of superiority, produced in Vivekananda a reaction such as it could not produce on an ordinary individual, as is clearly exemplified by the fact that the full significance of the words was not realized by any one present except Vivekananda. But this does not mean that Vivekananda was not indebted to his Master for the ennobling conception of service; and, indeed, Vivekananda's own words show that he was, in this as well as the other great things he did, simply the mouthpiece of one far greater than himself, of one who had breathed into him as long as he lived the unquenchable fire of a new life and of one who even after his departure from this world, blazed before his eyes like a beacon and led him on. The seed fell on fertile ground and it is no wonder that in a few years grew up out of it the great institution that bears the



Ramkrishna Paramahansa lost in ecstasy in course of a religious song and dance in the house of Kesab Chandra Sen
[From a picture in *Prabuddha Bharata*]

Master's name. If, in the religion of manliness which Swamiji preached to his degenerate countrymen, the ideal of service, of the worship of the Deity that is in the poor, the oppressed, the sick and the hungry, has played such an all-important part, it is not because he ignored the emotional appeal that the idea of the possibility of communion with the Deity through meditation makes to the ordinary mind, not because he failed to realize that God was the only Truth and the rest mere illusion, but because he felt that in a country where through centuries, the temple of God had been debased to the level of the narrow-minded

9. *Ibid*, Vol. V, pp. 266-269.

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intolerance of a dominating caste and God was reconstructed by men in their own image, where hatred and not love, came to be regarded as the foundation of religion, where the essential divinity of man was completely lost sight of in the degrading ritual of a soulless system of taboos, and where, forgetful of their own essential nature, men grovelled in the dust, suffering physically, mentally, morally and spiritually, the supreme need was to produce, out of the poor specimens of humanity that composed the great bulk of his countrymen, real men and women who would be able to stand before the world with their heads erect in the full consciousness of manhood, to deal a death-blow to that inertia of centuries, the *tamas* which enveloped the country from one end to the other and to stimulate in "a nation of dyspeptics, indulging in antics to the accompaniment of *Khol* and *Kartal* and singing *Kirtanas* of sentimental type," a spirit of action or in short, to energize an inert mass, that was his country. If for achieving this, he had on the one hand to dig out of the accumulated debris of ages, the true religion of the Hindus, the religion of the Upanishads, he had on the other to initiate a clear-cut programme of social service to be carried out by the Order he established under the banner of his Master. How the ideal of service that was brought to him in a lightning flash, as it were, by the apparently disjointed words of his Master germinated and took root in him and how this born leader of men overcame, by the force of his own magnetic personality as well as by the grandeur of his conc of worship of the Deity in man, the oppo of brother monks who found it difficult at to rise above the traditions in the mide which they were brought up, are matter history and it is needless to go into th What I have attempted to show is Vivekananda's ideal of service was ins directly by Sri Ramkrishna and that he self was quite correct when he said:

> If there has been anything, achieved by me my thoughts or words or deeds, if from my lips ever fallen one word that has helped anyone in world I lay no claim to it; it was his. . . . that has been weak has been mine, and all that been life-giving, strengthening, pure and holy, been his inspiration, his word and he himself.

Let those who think they are in a posi to challenge this frank acknowledgment Vivekananda of his own debt to his Ma raise themselves, if they can, to the spiri stature of Swamiji, before claiming to und stand better than himself, Sri Ramkrishna, " embodiment of infinite spiritual ideas cap of development in infinite ways, one glance whose gracious eyes could produce a hund thousand Vivekanandas at any instant." these critics first feel, if they can, with all force of their being, as did Swamiji, "that first of all worship is the worship of *Virat*,—of those all around us," and that intellectual affirmation of God by the Hin has been of little avail to them thro centuries of decadence when they fell so as to deny the God that is in Man.

From highest Brahman to the worm,
Even down to the least atom's core,
All things with Love are interfused:
Friend, offer body, mind and soul
In constant service at their feet!

Thy God is here before thee now
Revealed in all these myriad forms;
Rejecting such, where seekest thou
To find Him? Whoso worships these,
Worships almighty God indeed.

—*Vivekana*

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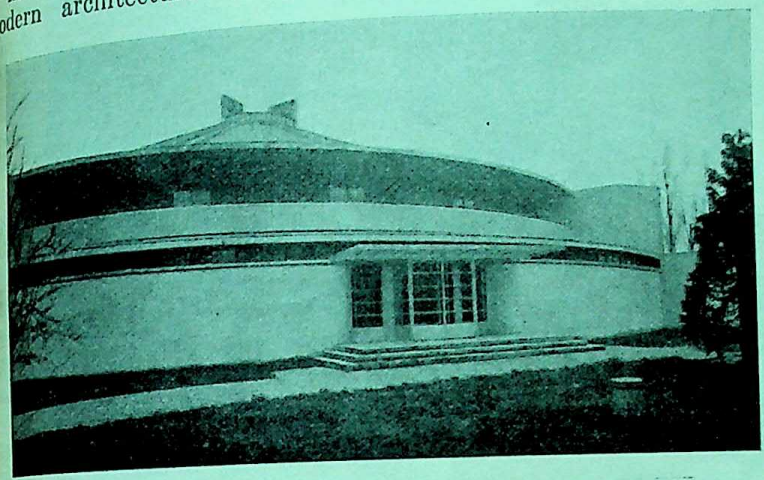
MODERN ARCHITECTURE

By J. A. BRINKMAN, F. I. D. I C.,
Architect and Civil Engineer

Being an architect myself I feel very happy to have an opportunity to bring my ideas on modern architecture under the eyes of the Indian interested reader; especially as to me modern architecture is one of the outcomings of that universal idea which is beginning to bind the whole of humanity more and more together. I hope that, when you will have read these few words of mine, which express perhaps very poorly what I mean to say, you will feel this universal human want which is at the bottom of modern architecture and which must be its only motive power. And everywhere, where a universal human need is felt and worked for its appeasement we are touching that side of our life where all men are really one and it brings universal understanding nearer.



Entrance, Meeting Hall, Amsterdam

It is about this basic principle of modern architecture that I wanted to talk with you for a moment.

First of all let us consider the term "modern architecture." It seems badly chosen, for it is neither recent or contemporary architecture nor is it old or antique architecture. In fact, it has nothing to do with any architecture period nor with any geographical longitude or latitude.

We shall see that its fundamental thought is rooted in a thing which is timeless, because —I mentioned it above already—that thing is an ever-existing human want. The real quality which can make architecture modern architecture depends on the spirit, the attitude of mind, of him (the architect) who realizes the building and on how far this architect has been able to express himself in the building materials and their possible applications in his life time.

I say: "can" make! We will see to that presently. But at any rate it will be clear that if this is true, modern architecture has nothing to do with time or place, for it is spiritual. So the thing that counts is that the architect's spirit or mind is a modern mind. What is a modern mind?

Interior of the Meeting Hall, Amsterdam

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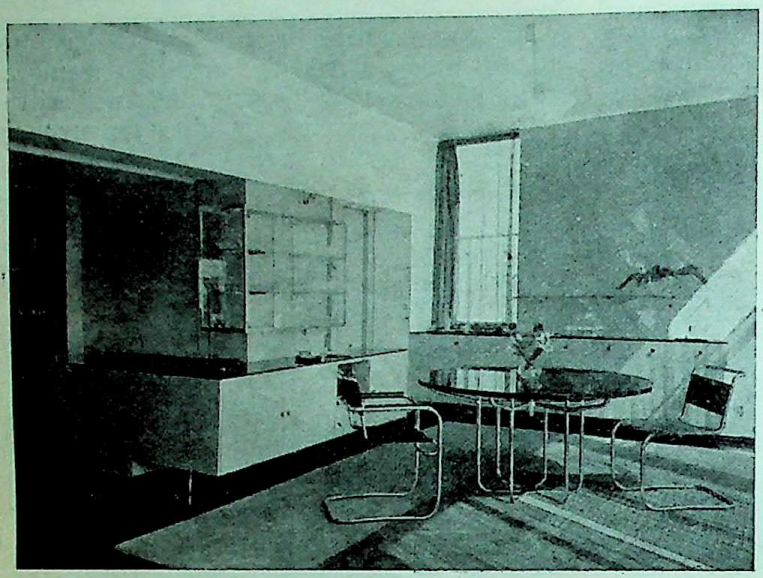
I think he has a modern mind who understands the needs of his own time and perceives a way to appease them; who sees (more or less conscious, for don't forget we are dealing with something as an artist) what is wrong with his time and perceives a way to improve; who knows the feelings of his fellow men and women and has the courage to give his solution for the uplifting and refinement of public taste and who—and this is in my eyes by far the most important quality of a modern mind—always keeps himself at the background is always content to serve and never, not even in the pure aestheical side of his work, forces his person, his self upon others who see his works.



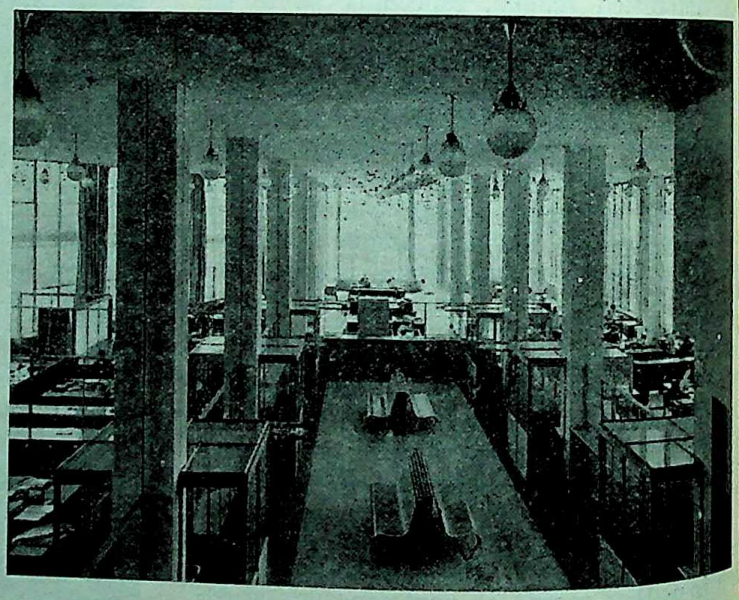
Dining Room in a house, Kral, Plaslaan, Rotterdam

If an architect has this attitude of mind he *can* make, I said, modern architecture. For in all days and countries there have been hundreds of noble men and women who possessed this attitude of mind but only few of them became architects; most of them became doctors, priests, artists, scientific men etc.

There is that other quality which is needed: he must be able to express himself in architectural work. Now we won't consider here what it is that makes a man able to express himself in architectural work. This would lead us far. We therefore will accept that architect has this power and we will see it is that he is doing with it, and more spe what the modern architect who is living in days has to take into account to produ modern building today.

But on closing this part my views I repeat that ar tecture from the old and ol times and most remote pl of the earth can be "mode architecture. Of course it m be seen in its own time and conditions.

But what interests us speci is of course our own t What is the great human w at our time? It is Brotherh The world is getting sick every thing which divides all great or small ambitions well in art and science as economical and political life oppression and pride; the wo is finally beginning to und stand that humanity is fund mentally one, that we are Brothers in one family. Th



Main hall in offices van Nelle's factories, Rotterdam

does not mean that we are all the same an have the same desires; but it means that n one is to be exalted above the other. Now th Brotherhood is the moving power in mode architecture in the above sense.

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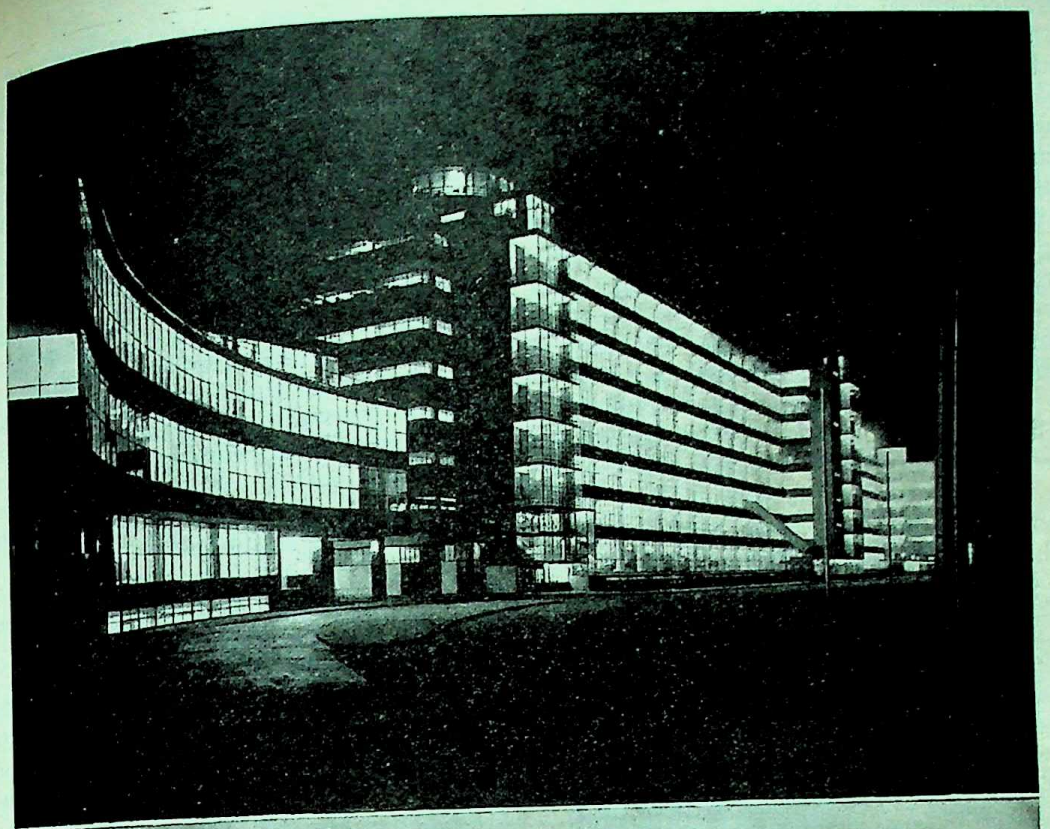

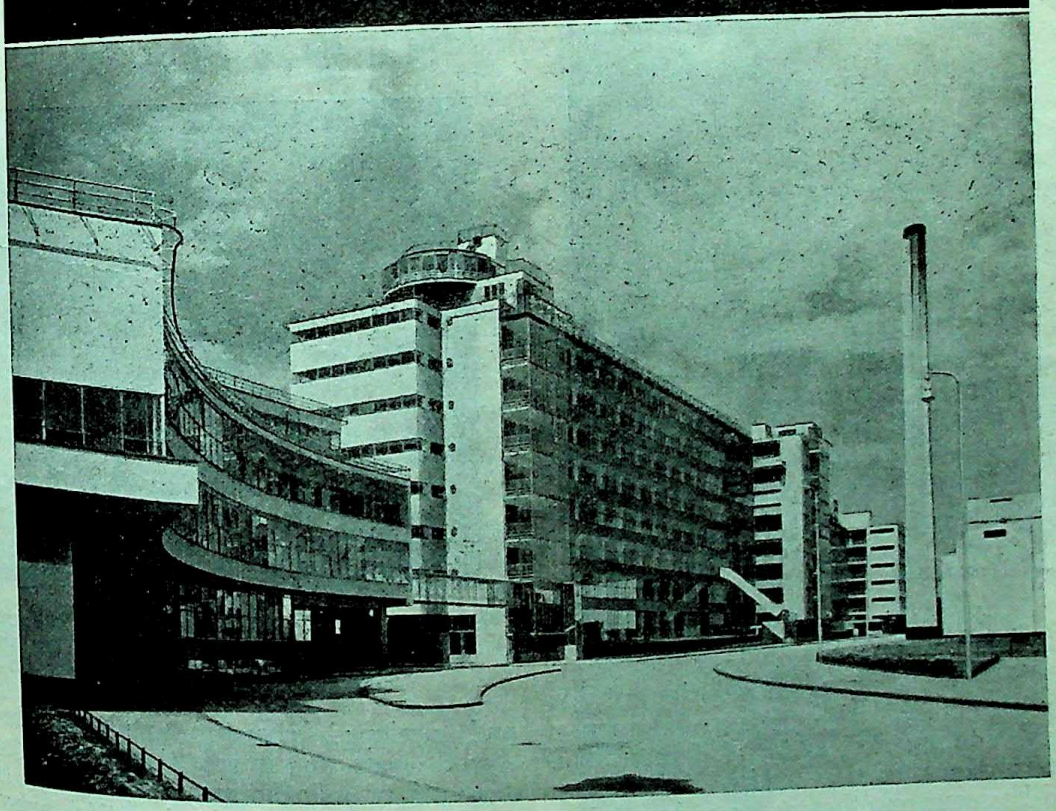

Van Nelle's factories, Rotterdam, seen from the main entrance
Top—at night Bottom—in day

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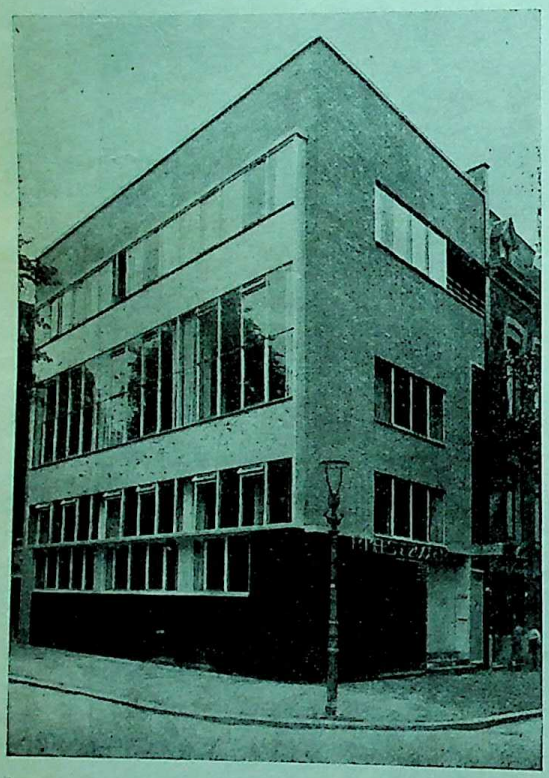
This feeling of Brotherhood moves the modern architect of our days to give as much light and sun as is appropriate in the circumstances; it moves him to make the rooms of good and harmonious proportions, to arrange these rooms in such a manner that the least energy is required to work or live in them, understanding that the liberated energy means a greater freedom and a further step to Brotherhood; it moves him to use all the helps and inventions of science, the tremendous improvements of standardized technique because it makes life as a whole more human; in the lay-outs of towns and villages he provides for enough light and air, he keeps the traffic far from the living quarters so that these are quiet and the inhabitants can, as they will so, turn their thoughts after the day's work is done, on the higher principles of life; it makes him



Bank Office—Rotterdam

look for the most economical solution of his building programme, for if he wastes the money on useless adornments and decorations he throws away money of the Brotherhood, money that could be spent on other needs of humanity, whatever they be: private or social.

We could add a still much longer list but this gives you I hope, an idea of what I mean.

But this is not all. If the architect does all these things he is as yet not a architect; he is a builder, not an artist he is on a very good road to artistry. "b is perfect order with pre-eminent lucidity said a great sage in about 400 A.D.

If ever, after Classic architecture, th become true of architecture it is of architecture of our days. This order con with lucidity, we find them in modern ar ture as the simple and clear rhythm harmonious colours so predominant characteristic of modern buildings (a "modern" in the sense of the above synonymous with recent).

Ornament spoils the lucidity very bably and never adds to order. The can be said of superfluous space: it spoil lucidity of the groundplan.

On the other hand: construction al the favourite hobby of many "modernist seldom leads to Beauty. As a picture is than the canvas, the colours and the pa the construction so to say—so a buildi more than a compound of well calculated structions on a well considered groundplan

In both cases it is the idea, the s behind it that counts.

Those who think that a well calcu

South East Corner of a house in Rotterdam
East Front open to the sun in the morning
South Front closed to hot midday sun

and designed structure must be beau should bear in mind, that every day methods of calculation and designing cha so that what should be beautiful today in very short time will be ugly and the fact there are buildings hundreds and thousands years old which are still monuments of Bea proves that the real Beauty is more than w

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signed construction. One can say the reverse: badly designed structure is never beautiful. at is nearer to the truth. Because then ither perfect order nor lucidity will be there. There has often been said: Modern Archi-ture is truthful. It is.

It gives you a feeling of rest, because you now that what you see is—so to say—the uth of the building; there can be no dis-pointments. It is as with a man who is ain and true in his words and manners; he ves you that joyous feeling of trustfulness d rest. You may more or less like him but cannot give unpleasant surprises. This is part of the psychological side of modern architecture. A friend of mine, a well-known psychologist who is directing an institute for psycho-technic in Holland, once said to me, when we were talking about this psychological side of modern architecture: it nowhere provides a hat-and-coat-stand where I can hang up my thoughts and feelings today to find them there again to-morrow.

This truthfulness will help the world to refind its lost Brotherhood, the greatest human need of the present day.

Oostzeedijk 50, Rotterdam.
Holland.
December 2, 1935.

THE MAKING OF AN INDIAN M. P.

By St. NIHAL SINGH

I

A tap at my study door. By its timidity I recognized the person who had made it. It was the "slavey" employed by the landlady from whom my wife and I rented the apartment in the heart of London and who cooked the victuals we bought and served them. The girl who was thus designated in democratic England even then—January, 1910—was perhaps four-teen or fifteen years of age. She had a thin, stunted figure, pale cheeks and eyes that often looked red, through weeping, we surmised.

"Come in," I called out.

As she opened the door with a hesitant hand and came up to the chair where I was sitting near the fire blazing cheerily in the grate that she kept neatly black-leaded, I wondered at the cause of that disturbance. She had been in only a few moments before to draw the cur-tains, light the gas and put coal on the fire. A murky cloud had prematurely blotted out light and, a little later, it had begun to drizzle, making the evening damp and dismal.

"Two gentlemen to see you, sir," she said, in her whisper of a voice, from the other side of the small table upon which I was writing, fear, no doubt, gripping her heart that I would take it out of her for that interruption to my work.

No cards had been sent up—no names given. I, therefore, concluded that they must be Indians and asked the little maid to bring them up to our sitting room.

Shapurji Saklatvala with his English wife

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II

Only one of the callers—Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal—was known to me and I had met him but a few days before. He forthwith introduced his companion as Mr. Shapurji Saklatvala, who, I was told, had been eager to meet me.

I thanked that gentleman for his wish, helped him and Mr. Pal to divest themselves of their damp outer garments, drew easy chairs for them near the fire and put aside my writing, not without an inward sigh, for the work interested me and was of topical importance, so that I would have to resume it after they left and would no doubt be kept up half the night in consequence.

Who could the stranger be? What did he do? Why did not Mr. Pal say anything about him that would give me a clue to his calling and his interests? Was there anything to say? Did silence mean that the Bengali leader had wished to have company on the way from his flat in Kensington, miles away from any apartment, and had brought one of his admirers along?

Questions of that kind ran through my mind.

Not for long, however. Polite nothings did not interest Saklatvala. After a little time he tired of playing second-fiddle to Mr. Pal, whose personality and eloquence he greatly admired, as he, at the very outset of our conversation, had taken care to inform me. Within a few minutes the conviction was forced upon my mind that he was an ambitious man, determined to make his mark in life.

He was, I judged, in the middle thirties. He had a trick of running his fingers through his black hair, rumpling it. The way it was brushed back gave him an immense forehead, which, in any case, would have been broad and high. Under the black, arched brows his eyes were alive—afire—ever astir. The cheek bones stood out prominently. Between them was a long, firm nose. The way he screwed up his mouth reinforced the impression that his features in general conveyed of strength of character and fixity of intention.

III

In time I discovered that Saklatvala's ambition and avocation were not one as mine, luckily, were. He was in business and wished to be in Parliament.

An accident had placed him in the City—a term that Britons use to indicate the square mile or so of London where the Bank of England, the head offices of other banking institutions and insurance companies, the Exchange and financial organs of v descriptions are huddled together. Cons nity had caused that accident.

His father, who had built up an imp business in Manchester, where Shapurji some of his early years, had a sister. aunt was married to Jamshedji Nusser Tata, who, by innate genius and personal tion, had acquired considerable wealth established mercantile houses in many which he bequeathed to his sons Dorab Ratan. Shapurji was sucked into this orga tion like a piece of paper in an eddy and easily have been carried to the summi financial success had his own weight persons would call it his perversity) not him down.

As we talked I was impressed with Parsi caller's political ambition. His tho revolved round it. It was a wonder to me it did not set his body on fire—consume ashes.

I welcomed his longing to get into Pa ment. I felt that through carefully fra questions put to the Secretary of State for I and statements made in the course of In debates, an Indian in the Commons woul able to draw attention to matters conne with the administration. As matters were was necessary to seek the good offices of sympathetic British M. P. whenever an In difficulty or grievance had to be aired Parliament.

IV

How was Saklatvala to project himself the House of Commons? Had he the means the influence?

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the first Indian get into that chamber, had an easy mind respect of finance. So, at least, I unders During the many decades he was in Eng he had assiduously courted the Liberal Pa but the British constituency he sought to gave him the cold shoulder and he was n able to enter the Commons a second time.

Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, who, several years, sat on the Conservative ben in that House, was, if anything, wealthier certainly no less shrewd than Dadabhai Naor He was believed to be in intimate touch w the men who dominated the Tory Party: it was obvious that they had not exerted the selves, otherwise he, too, would not have b out of Parliament at that time.

I reminded Saklatvala that he himself

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given me to understand that he was not cumbered with a superfluity of this world's goods. I feared, in fact, from what he said, that his means were narrow and he had a growing family.

But the situation did not perplex him at all. He had discovered a ladder by which he could climb into Parliament. Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald had gone up it into the Commons. Why not he?

V

I had my doubts about British Labour permitting an Indian to climb into Parliament over its shoulders. Not so very long before I had come up against the Trades Unions in Canada and found them far from friendly towards our people, whose interests I had been trying to protect.

The trouble our immigrants were having in the Dominion, as also south of the border in the United States of America, had, in fact, been engineered by organized labour in those countries. White workmen looked upon our fellows as intruders.

Our immigrants might have won their title to pin service-medals against their breasts by valour on the battlefields across the Frontier and even beyond the seas. But that title was not recognized when it came to settling in an integral part of the British Empire and obtaining work on the railways or in the timber-yards. It certainly could not secure them free homesteads in the manless wilderness that stretched from almost the margin of the Pacific Ocean to the Great Lakes. Working men of European descent regarded them with hostility and, being closely united, had been able to move the administration to exclude our people all but in name.

VI

Saklatvala was sorry to hear my plaint. He launched into a tirade against the capitalistic system. In the last analysis, he said, that system was responsible for setting one labourer against another. Workers were exploited everywhere—a little more in one country, a little less in another—but exploited everywhere—"even here in England." Their interests were, therefore, the same everywhere. Their objective should be the same. But for the capitalistic machinations, the wage-earners would fraternize, despite differences of race, colour and creed.

These assertions were made with a vehemence that sprang from inner conviction. It displayed to me something of the quality that would endear him to Socialists.

I might, of course, have said that some day the workers in Canada may realize that Indian labourers were in the same boat as themselves and fraternize with them: but, unless I was mistaken, that day was distant. Such a remark would not, however, have carried us any farther. So I contented myself with asking him how matters stood in England, which I was then visiting for the first time.

His experience, he assured me, had been of the pleasantest. He had, for years, been a member of the Independent Labour Party and had come in intimate contact with the leaders of that movement, whom he had found most sympathetic and helpful. He had met the workers and Trades-Union officials in various parts of Britain. They did not know very much about the Indian situation: but he had no doubt that, in their hearts, they were with the common people in India and not with those who lorded over them. Of that he was certain. I could test the accuracy of his statement any day I liked.

VII

Before Saklatvala departed that evening, I gleaned from his talk that he had taken great pains to cultivate the British Labourites. He was, in fact, devoting practically all his leisure—most of the evenings and week-ends—to that purpose. He would travel great distances and, if I remember aright, pay his own expenses, to address Labour audiences.

It was evident from his manner of speech that these perigrinations had done him much good. They had given him confidence in himself and a remarkable ability to marshal facts in a way that, I judged, must have made an irresistible appeal to Britons of the working classes.

Even in my study, he showed an inclination to indulge in monologues. The words poured out of his mouth with the rapidity of shot from a quick-firing Maxim gun. They seemed, moreover, to be charged with fire. They must have scorched any one against whom they were directed.

His propensity for prolixity and "tub-thumping" amused me. So did his inclination to repeat the Socialist catch phrases. I was, however, struck with his earnestness and fixity of purpose. He had an objective to strive for and plenty of grit and industry to enable him to reach it.

For all his international outlook, he was

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at heart an Indian patriot. That fact was plain to me long before Mr. Pal and he bade me goodbye and departed for their respective homes. I hoped that he would soon obtain his heart's desire and, from his seat in the House of Commons, trounce wrong-doers in India and secure redress for their victims.

VIII

In later years, as I got to know Saklatvala better and came in contact with some of the members of his immediate circle, I realized that he was paying a heavy price for his ambition. By concentrating his thoughts upon politics and doing more or less mechanically the work that gave him his living, he was not only sacrificing his future in the City but also was getting into the bad books of his wealthy kinsmen in India and the men whom they had placed in positions of responsibility at Capel House, Old Broad Street—the London headquarters of Messrs. Tata, Limited.

A worldly-wise person would, on the contrary, have considered himself fortunate in having any kind of footing in a powerful commercial concern with connections spread over three continents. By putting his back as well as his brain into the work allotted to him and winning the approbation of the "higher-ups", he would have pushed his way towards—if not to—the top.

I have known persons with no acuter brain and no greater capacity for application than Shapurji Saklatvala possessed to make great commercial careers for themselves and to acquire considerable wealth and even titles of nobility. Few of them had, in fact, been born and brought up in an atmosphere charged with business as he was, or had quite so good a start as he did.

His inclination, however, lay, at least at that time, in a wholly different direction. So much so, indeed, that business actually bored him. But for undeniable necessity he would have gone away from the City and devoted all his time and talents to politics, which engrossed his mind.

IX

I recall a conversation in this connection that we had when, yielding to pressure, I dropped in upon him in his office in Capel House soon after I settled down in London in the summer of 1911, after an eleven months' tour of India. He looked the picture of misery as he sat at his desk in a small room that, if my memory has not played me false, he shared with Mr. Kaiko Mehta, Sir Pherozshah Mehta's son; possibly the latter may have just happened to be there at the time of my visit.

I remember, in any case, making Mehta's acquaintance. He seemed to be the antithesis of Saklatvala—quiet and unobtrusive—not interested in politics, for which his father possessed a genius that elevated him to a dizzy height. There nevertheless seemed to be a perfect understanding between Shapurji and Kaiko and no small degree of affection.

The more I discussed matters with Saklatvala in that office, the more I was convinced that his heart was not in his work there. Instead of dealing with dry-as-dust affairs in that bee-hive of commerce, he would have liked to be out in the open air, addressing workers whom he understood and who understood him.

It appeared to me that he was not doing justice either to the firm that held him in its or to himself. He was not unlike a man who was hacking away with a sharp axe at the very limb upon which he was seated. The only difference was that Saklatvala, in his spare moments, was attacking the capitalistic system which gave him and his family bread and butter and not any particular unit of that system, much less Messrs. Tata, Limited.

He took my chaffing—or was it chiding—quite coolly. Nearly everyone in the Socialist movement, he declared, suffered from a similar disability. He had to live, like every one else. So long as society rested upon a capitalistic basis, he must inevitably draw his—and his family's—support from capitalism. There was no help for it.

I liked Saklatvala's candidness.

X

The hard-headed men who conducted, from Capel House, business operations upon a scale regarded as respectable even in the City of London, must have looked upon Saklatvala as queer. Except on some occasion when, owing to his thoughts being occupied with socialist propaganda instead of with his work, there was a lapse that got him into trouble, as I have reason to believe some times happened, they tolerated him, more for his family's than for his own sake.

I must hasten to add that if, in the eyes of practical men of the world, Saklatvala, in those days, was a species of lunatic, he was, to say the least, a mild one. They thought that the maggot of socialism had burrowed into his head and honey-combed the grey matter in his brain so that it could not function normally

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But they knew that he harmed no one except himself and his dependents by making it impossible for him to get on in the only way that the work-a-day world appreciates.

XI

Even persons who were not in sympathy with Saklatvala found him likable. When his jaw was not set like a trap and he was not chewing red hot steel and letting bits fall as they might upon whomsoever happened to be near him, his rugged, olive-complexioned, clean-shaven face was wreathed in smiles. Possessed of a keen sense of humour, his eyes would beam with delight whenever something tickled his fancy. He had a great capacity for laughter and his laughter set others to laughing.

He was fond of visiting his acquaintances and friends, sometimes to the point of making a nuisance of himself. He was generally "packing" one or another of his children along with him.

I recall my wife remonstrating with him on one occasion. The boy he had brought to our house late in the evening was quite small and fractious with sleepiness. She told Saklatvala that it was long past the hour when a child should be in bed. What sort of love was it, she asked, that made him lose sight of his son's comfort and his future welfare?

"That is just it, Mrs. Singh," was his ready reply, a smile playing upon his lips and his eyes gleaming with mischief. "You have hit the nail square on the head. I am thinking of the child's future, otherwise I should not bring him to your house. Some words from your or your husband's lips might fall upon his ears and prove the making of him. The making of him."

That reply was as clever as it was sincere. It disarmed wrath. Mrs. Singh got out of her chair, carried the child in her arms to the sofa in the corner of the drawing room where we were sitting, and laid him there to sleep until his sire was ready to jump to catch a late (or was it the last?) train for the night that would carry him to his home in Twickenham, several miles distant from our house.

XII

Of Saklatvala's sociability I cannot speak too highly. He was particularly keen upon Indians away from the Motherland meeting other Indians likewise exiled. I have a recollection (rather a dim one) that he had a hand in the establishment of the Indian Social Club, of which Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, who, in politics, was diametrically opposed to Saklatvala, was for years the President. He was, in any case, conspicuous at all the functions of that organization which I was invited to attend.

While he loved to talk in Gujarati whenever he got the opportunity, there was not a trace of sectionalism in him. A Parsi meant no more to him than an Indian who professed Hinduism, Sikhism, Islam or Christianity. He fraternized with all Indians, irrespective of their race, religion or rank.

The hospitable instinct used, in fact, to run away with him. Eating a meal by himself at a restaurant, even during the brief luncheon hour that business men in the City allow themselves, was a misery to him. He would invite friends and even chance acquaintances to meals in town. I doubt if there was ever a Sunday or a holiday when he was not attending or addressing a labour meeting, that he did not insist upon some one having luncheon or tea, usually both, at his home. In this way he frittered away a good deal of money that a less emotional person would have conserved.

He also caused no end of work for his wife—an English girl, nicely brought up, gentle mannered and true as steel. They employed only a general servant—often not a very efficient one, I fear—and entertaining involved back-breaking work for Sehri Saklatvala.

She, too, had very strongly developed social gifts. Whenever my wife or I tried to commiserate with her she made light of the trouble and spoke of the pleasure entertaining gave her. I must say that this was no mere make-believe upon her part.

XIII

Nor did this social socialist lack in æsthetic instinct. That side of his nature was revealed to me on one occasion when he took me from his home in Twickenham, after a hearty luncheon at his home, to Richmond, where his millionaire cousin Sir Ratan Tata, to whom he was deeply attached, had, some years earlier, bought an estate and spent immense sums upon improving the grounds and enlarging, beautifying and furnishing the mansion. As he leisurely conducted me over the house, vacant at the time, his eye lingered over the silk curtains, tapestried chairs and sofas and soft pile carpets. The richness of the stuffs and the exquisite blending of one tone with another delighted him. He spoke in warm terms of Lady Tata's artistic taste, which had found unfettered expression

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there. He also told me of Sir Ratan's interest in archæology and of his quiet but discriminating charities.

Under the hard crust of realism I discovered there was in Saklatvala love of the beautiful. Had he possessed ampler resources, I felt, he might have created a wholly different environment for himself and may even have not been such a "hot-gospeller" of socialism. Such was not meant to be the case, however, by the Fates that control the destinies of men.

XIV

Shapurji must have been born with a combative faculty that, as he grew older, developed and, in time, dominated his whole nature. I recall his once confiding in me that while he was studying, I believe at St. Xavier's College in Bombay, Mrs. Annie Besant visited that city and delivered an address. Something in her manner or message made him wroth. With the aid of some companions bent upon mischief, he tried to raise an uproar in the meeting.

Saklatvala never got over his dislike of Mrs. Besant. He found her socialism "as weak as water"—questioned the genuineness of her interest in Indian workers' welfare—poked fun at her politics. His ideas had become so fixed in his mind that reasoning was of no avail.

He found fault also with Mahatma Gandhi, chiefly because the Mahatma refused to quarrel with mill-owners while seeking to befriend the workers. Still greater hatred was reserved by him for the men who managed Congress affairs in London. He tried more than once to storm the citadel of the British Committee, but without success.

XV

Saklatvala had started an organization of his own. He called it the "Workers' Welfare League of India." It advocated the making of provision in India for the welfare of the working population "equivalent to if not identical with that granted to the working people of Great Britain."

No one with a spark of humanity could help but admire the ideal. It was, however, beyond the realm of practicability. Conditions in India differed from those in Britain so widely that only a visionary could ask factory owners in Bombay, Ahmedabad and other Indian centres to approximate to British standards either in respect of hours or wages.

Our industrial workers came mostly from the countryside and did not stick to the mill or the factory throughout the year, let alone throughout their lives. They sprang from that, for generations, had been under-fed. little physical strength they possessed they entered the city was drained out of by the work to which they were unused by the insanitary conditions in which they compelled to live and the temptations to many of them succumbed. Their minds steeped in ignorance and they lacked disci of any description. How could any one any sense expect these men and women produce as much yarn or fabric as a "he in Britain?

Saklatvala would not see this aspect of case. Whenever it was brought to his no he would merely assert that even with the *per capita* output, the mill-owners in India battening on the toil of the wage-workers that they could well afford to raise conditi to the British level.

XVI

Again and again Saklatvala pressed me join the League he had started. Each time refused to have anything to do with it. He impatient, sometimes to the point of rude He did not part company with me, howe He kept on coming to our house as befor oftener, if anything. At the back of his br he had an idea that one day he would con me to his doctrine and I would cease to reg the political as the dominating factor in In

In the summer of 1919, I remember, he s one of his British colleagues to reinforce h in the campaign to capture my support. O of his "very common man friends," he cal him in the letter (*) that he sent to introd him to me. Always in a hurry, he wished to see his friend "now."

"You," he wrote in this letter, "mi again charge me with attempting to fo Economic Reform before Political Reforms. is not you or I that decide it (that matter The world has decided that the Politi Reforms that are mere Class advances are no value to human happiness." On the co trary, he argued, "the world's progress dema Mass Political Reforms, and these can only achieved through and within Econo Reforms."

XVII

Saklatvala's appeal to the "democrat circles of Great Britain" to see to it that th

(*) Letter from Shapurji Saklatvala, dated 25, 19 written from the London Headquarters of Messrs. T Ltd .

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urs of work in India were scaled down while ges were raised, aroused interest in the minds organized Labour in that Island. This was rticularly the case in Lancashire and other unties that looked with a jealous eye upon e expansion of power industries in Bombay, gpur, Ahmedabad and other Indian centres. e higher the costs of production in these ntres, they argued, the less the Indian com- tition to be feared.

The "general principle that Orientals have laim to human rights similar to those of ccidentals" had, therefore, a dual fascination r the Britons with whom Saklatvala asso- ted. It appealed to their humanitarian in- ncts and at the same time conserved their onomic interests. It provided unction for the ul and cream for the body.

To suggest that this truth had never dawned on Saklatvala would be to underrate his in- ligence. Even persons who regarded him as yward could not take him for a fool.

I will not say, or even imply, however, that adopted that line of agitation merely because knew it would make him solid with the ritish wage-workers who were becoming in- easingly alarmed at India's industrialization. ly contact with him was intimate enough to ake me feel that, in this matter, as in others, e acted from inner conviction. No man— ndian or non-Indian—I have met had the wel- are of Indian labourers—and of Indians in eneral—more at heart than he did.

XVIII

Through the years of our lengthy acquaint- nce Saklatvala was becoming more and more ocal—more and more radical. This was parti- larly the case after the revolution in Russia. he break-down of the capitalistic system in at country he regarded as the beginning of the nd of that system all over the world.

His drift towards Communism might have been tolerated by Messrs. Tata, Limited, had he not been so vocal. The men in command there did not like being associated in the public mind with such doctrines.

The day of parting came. It would have gone hard against Saklatvala and his family had provision for the future not been made. It enabled him to continue to live as he had been doing.

He had hoped that the Labour movement in the land where he had pitched his camp would go communist the way he did. He spoke to me, on more than one occasion, as if his wish were being realized.

He soon found out his mistake. Many of the Britons whom he had regarded as radical proved to be conservative, from his point of view, and refused to plunge into the uncharted ocean of Communism.

Even after his break with life-long associates in the Labour Party, Saklatvala did not lose out with the British workers. To thousands of them he remained the "Good Old Sak" that he was before the great upheaval. They continued to believe in his devotion to the cause of the submerged classes—in his genuine and undying hatred of all economic forms of exploitation.

The Labour element in North Battersea, across the Thames from Westminster, enabled Saklatvala to realize his life's ambition in 1923 by sending him to the Commons. His faith in the British working-man was justified. Re-elected the following year, he remained in that House until the dissolution in 1929.

I cannot speak, from personal knowledge, of the work he did during those years, for they were spent by me away from Britain. I am sure, however, that he used every opportunity he could make to advance India's cause, which, without question, was dear to his heart.

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CASTE : SOME CONTRASTS AND PARALLELS

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The writer does not mean to be presumptuous, instructing Indians on Caste. Rather, he seeks some better understanding of problems, Indian and Western, which have frequently been linked together by various interpreters as one in essence. That is, certain differentiations in the Western social structure are often made analogous to caste in India. And in India herself Moslems and others among non-Hindus are often classified by a caste arrangement. What, in reality, is caste? How general is *real* caste in India? Has caste existed in the West? The answers offered to these questions by this brief article are more suggestive than exhaustive, so wide is the total field of inquiry.

The field truly is wide and the problem baffling, even with India alone the ground of inquiry. The geographical setting and the element of time are great considerations, although they are by no means final. India's comparative isolation between high mountains and extensive seas throughout many generations was favorable toward the maintenance of character and institutions slowly formed from original and acquired materials. Caste may not be understood merely by a survey of the contemporary situation. Its prevalence might seem to be due to custom and common consent, were it not for the fact that the true explanation is, let us say for the moment, historical, not contemporary.

Mere groupings or classes of men are a common aspect of human history, based upon such factors as race, color, conquest, servitude, title, occupation and property. These factors are, of course, not mutually exclusive. Some are complementary and all are interrelated, more or less. But they are alterable in some measure. Black men have been trusted administrators of whites' affairs. Men of slave descent have sat on thrones. Foreigners, having lost the odor of strangeness, have been admitted to familiarity. Barbarians acquiring culture have raised their social status. Races have intermarried without always rejecting the fruits of union as outcastes. Men have changed occupations freely in this or that society. And so on. Every great state or nation has included social and other classes, whether for g for ill at one time or another. The struggle has figured prominently in world tory, and doubtless will ever continue to in some measure, at least. But "class" to be confused with "caste." Even the "W Man-Negro differentiation" illustrates no than a racial or biological basis for caste. cidentally, we are not yet attempting a definition of "caste" (regardless of the et logy of the word itself). We mean to h appear through a historical description of institution.

Whatever the "pre-Aryan" history of I may be, the problem of caste is not depe on it. Caste is without doubt post-V developing somewhere amidst the tran from Brahamanic priestly theology to cr Upanishadic philosophy. We may not detach the problem of caste from pre-A history, regardless of "Sumerian" culture all. We may even disregard, to some de at least, the problem of Aryan "invasions India in contrast with the view that I European culture sprang from *within* I The chief fact is that caste is Indian. possible Indian irruptions upon the world long since ceased before caste appeared. C is an aspect of the situation which devel in her seclusion from the world, save as fo elements may have been absorbed by I There were no culture contacts at the time w diverted or broke the main trend of In development. Disturbances affecting tra and life in Brahamanic-Upanishadic times all internal. All that is needed for an u standing of caste is Indian.

The first ingredient of caste is (*varna*), with its racial and psychological notations. But there was no such groun "color-consciousness" as is found in the N White association. No Indian stock is N The Rig Veda (particularly the *samhita*) d the "color-line." And several centuries Manu uses *varna* in his classification of peoples within the Hindu social order. S *varna* had lost, by Manu's time (not ea than 200 B.C.), any rigid color-connota

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here had been a great intermixture of the oples. But Manu is reminiscent of that velopment by which classes were gradually rmed in Indian society. He represents canoni- legislation regarding what had long existed, law" usually thus confirming custom. And term, *varna*, represents in spite of a changing tent something real in the social conscious- ss. It had a history! But other elements, so, had entered into the development.

Marriage may be taken as a test. What- r early distinctions of tribe, clan or class pre- led, whether on a color basis or on some er, intermarriage was inevitable. It actually urred. In marriage, *varna* was not the sole nsideration. An economic factor, also, was olved, as always in early stages of culture; hough it is not possible always in the Indian ne to distinguish between cause and effect th reference to this element. Manu indicates economic penalty for irregular alliances. The n may not rightfully marry beneath him, the woman, by the same token, above her. either should marry off his proper level, the ildren suffer loss in property inherited. But s Manu indicating a movement aimed to ck irregular marriages, a practice long estab- hed? Do his laws, again, represent a cus- mary situation? In any case, it seems clear at a second major factor has appeared in the rmation of caste.

This second ingredient of caste is birth *ati*). No matter whether *jati* be dependent *varna*, or not, the two elements are in many ys distinct. *Jati* represents a new position, new conception. A person might be high, or w, born. Regularity of birth would insure proper status. One irregularly born would se caste." The brahmans stood squarely on gularity of birth, condemning not only mixed arriages but adultery. Brahmans stressed estige of proper birth, high birth, particularly. e color-line grew less important, for differ- ces of color were by that time less conspicu- s in northern India. There were lighter and rker brahmans, and shades in every caste. nd apparently before the time of Buddha there ere outcastes (although, perhaps, without the gma of "untouchability," which seems to have en a south Indian development).

Soon, in our tracing of the institution, we ust cross a faint but significant line. Obvi- usly there is no clear transition. The situa- on is again vague. But that there is transi- on to be accounted for is proven by develop- ents, at least. From somewhere comes the dea of rebirth (*punarjanman*). This is a third ement. Was it "Aryan?" Was it from the *dasyus* (Dravidians?)? Whatever was the source, rebirth was not metempsychosis from the first. Hindu literature itself discloses differentiations. The ground, of course, was a sort of "animistic" system. Man's soul departed from his body when he died. He actually died, it seems. That is, he did not "keep on going" (*cf.* the Hindi *jata rahta*), as in the later phrase of transmigration. But the soul, reposing for a time in this or that object or locality, might return to some other body by passage through another womb.

In time, here a little and there a little, in fact, there comes a new philosophy, a *priestly* interpretation of birth and death and immortality. Not that this was altogether an imposition. The thinking priests organized the fragments, expounded much of what lay in the people's minds, exhibited the growing mood within the social order. A major element was *karma*. It represented continuity, regularity, inevitability. In a somewhat unscientific fashion men conceived a cosmos not unlike the universe of Newton, and the Darwinian species—men living, and the universe rolling round, "by one fixed Law." Such was one effect of *rita*, order, related by the priests to ritual. By *deeds* could destiny be determined. No, putting it in such phrase, implies some human freedom. Rather, man's life was a part of universal movement, and the universe was one and regular. Each deed entailed a consequence in accordance with the law of *karma*, causation, and even the causative deed was itself determined. Whatever differences existed among the many "schools" of thought, whether Jain, Buddhist, Upanishadic, Brahamanic, and so on, there was for all of them a common ground in *karma*. This doctrine focused the attention to all problems. And when, especially in priestly exposition, the "deed" and "rebirth" were united, caste came to be at last established as a fixed and influential institution in the land. Its ingredients were *varna, jati, punarjanman* and *karma*, mixed into a magic portion in the hot cauldron of uneasy minds and times. Both theory and fact, with reference to one's status here and hereafter, were joined in a mutually causal relationship. But "color" tended to give way to "birth" as the caste-indicator. That caste was rooted in something not merely social may be inferred from Buddha's assumption of the system and his effort to have it spiritualized, or spiritually interpreted. Castes seemed to him a demonstration of the universal round of things, including men and gods and all.

It is thus against a background of this *karmic* repetition of life that social classes must

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be viewed. A man was what he was because of birth. His occupation, for example—and many types are known from Buddhist records alone—, was an illustration of it, and he could not defy *karma* by a change of occupation. He would not *want* to change if he held a high position as a brahman! Only indirectly, therefore, did such a circumstance as occupation determine caste. Ancient China, for example, recognized social classes, such as farmers, artizans, etc., but caste is not a Chinese institution. There was lacking such a religious or metaphysical ingredient as *karma*, whatever other elements were there. And only indirectly, in India, did an economic factor figure. The rich merchant and the powerful chieftain stood lower in the scale than brahmans, even than begging friars.

The history of India for two milleniums has added nothing to caste principles but illustration. Changes which have taken place within the institution—by intermarriage, transfer, change of habitat, promotion, the practice of polygamy, or otherwise—have proved the rule, not broken it. Additions from without to the population of the country, with manners and customs which may have been brought in, have not altered the main structure of the system. On the contrary, as is well known, non-Hindus have felt in time the Indian mood and have allowed themselves to grow caste-conscious, after the manner of caste as an external fact. That is, seeing caste divisions of all sorts, and assuming that they were little more than something practical or hereditary—such as they had known outside India—they offered no resistance and were ultimately caught in the subtle but powerful undercurrent of *karmic* determination. Caste was something more than class.

A comparatively recent, painstaking volume,* illustrates the defective approach to the study of caste. It proceeds from "features" of caste through the "nature" (really descriptive rather than analytical) of caste groups to the story of caste through the ages. A very brief chapter on "origins" fails utterly to account for them on the most important ground, namely, the philosophical. The general method leads the author to include a chapter on "elements of caste outside India," in which false analogies are drawn. This is due to the inadequate approach to Indian caste. The "classes" in ancient Egypt, or among the Sumerians, or the "groups" in mediæval Japan, *etc.*, were not castes merely because they had some of caste's outward forms. In every case the de tive ingredients of caste were lacking. this is not to ignore a *time* factor and the ficance of continuity. Ancient Egyp Sumer were destroyed, not given time interminably fixed institutions. The st India is different. Continuity in China some degree, in Japan, compares favorabl that of India, but time alone did not them what it did for India. And the books of other lands contain no such in tation of social differentiations as may be in the sacred books of the Hindus, esp in the Laws of Manu.

India's attitude today toward Ca worthy of attention. It is related to app ly analogous(?) situations throughout the There is a world interest in human progre "social reform." Perhaps India, however, in caste a more acute and difficult problem any social problem elsewhere in the world evidence of this is the present campaign a untouchability, the width of the gulf be *sanatani* Hindus and outcastes. The latte peculiarly Indian. That there have changes in the Indian social fabric throug centuries has been observed. Changes inevitable over such a vast extent of spac time. One may nowadays appeal to such in a desire for reform. Yet for real re something further must be done. There be a re-examination of caste fundamentals a campaign set afoot to change the very of India. It would seem unwise to t religion for the character of caste and to that irreligion is the cure. Certainly, for to sacrifice religion would mean irreparabl not only to herself but to the whole world. holds treasures new and old which are i pensable. It were unwise to dissociate ethics from the ethics of religion, thus allo the former somehow to lose ultimately vigor and incentive. But Indian religion well become more ethical. Protests by Hi and other Indians against caste might be tained. They have aimed not so much at as a mere social differentiation as at the exorable, fixed form it took, and at the un lying injustice of it. To some extent caste been a Hindu bulwark and has possessed s thing of whatever validity Hinduism has. doctrinal tolerance of indefinite extent, Hi ism might have found it difficult to endure out some system of cohesion. But India never take her highest place among the na without a reconstruction of the pattern of life. And such a reconstruction must of ne sity be a long-drawn-out progression, furthe

Caste and Race in India by G. S. Ghurye. New York, 1932.

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increased education and devotion to things uly spiritual,—true knowledge and wisdom, d sincere and loving devotion. In effect, this eans to say, that whatever aid may come to dia from without, she of her own fine char- ter and spiritual insight must, with broaden- ing outlook and a sense of all men's need, work out her own salvation. The parallels and contrasts elsewhere in all the world may help her on her way as caste becomes transformed by nobler ethics of religion.

TRAVELLERS IN THE NIGHT

By SITA DEVI

(1)

is far more common to see the sons of rich thers reduced to penury than to see the sons poor parents raised to wealth and eminence. aktisaran belonged to the latter group.

His childhood and early youth was passed poverty and distress. Then in an auspi- ous moment, he came to Calcutta with an derly relative in search of a job of some kind. is luck turned from that moment. One turn good fortune followed another in quick suc- ession, finally raising him to the pinnacle of uccess. He was, of course, no longer a young an then, being nearly forty years of age at hat time.

Shaktisaran now set his mind to enjoying is wealth, acquired by so many years of toil. e bought a large house, and a great deal of urniture, also two cars. He had been obliged o live very simply, almost poorly, in his early ife and had never been able to gratify any of e desires of his wife and children. He had enied them everything, except the barest neces- ities. He was determined now to make up or all that. He was not the sort, who want o put money by, and he was not likely to equire the habit so late.

Shaktisaran's wife Susangini came from a oor family and the first part of her married ife was passed in chill penury. For many years she was obliged to live in their village ome, apart from her husband, who worked in Calcutta. She was accustomed to this village ife. Her only desire during these early days had been to pass her days somehow on simple or half rations and with most inadequate cloth- ng. When her husband's income became larger, he came over to Calcutta, but even then they had to practise a good deal of economy. Shaktisaran had taken a vow, never to spend a pice unless it was absolutely necessary, until his position was fully assured. He had seen many rich persons going down all of a sudden on account of wasteful habits; he did not want to join their rank. So he waited and waited, until his fortunes were built on sound foundations, but in the meanwhile his youth was past.

Susangini did not grieve over this. A Bengali woman begins to feel old, whatever her actual age, as soon as she gets a few children. She had given birth to three sons and two daughters, one son dying in infancy. The eldest son Nityasaran was nearly twenty now, and read in the Third Year, in the Presidency College. Then came Saroja, the eldest daughter. She was seventeen and had not yet been given away in marriage. Satyasaran, the second son, had just entered college. Niroja, who came after him, was the youngest child of the family. She was having regular quarrels every day with her parents about her studies. It was not decided yet whether she was to join the Convent School or to have an English governess at home.

So it was quite natural that Susangini had ceased to feel like a young woman. She was the mother of grown-up children and was soon expecting to become a mother-in-law. But her husband was an obstinate sort of a man. He wanted not only to become rich, but also to enjoy every kind of luxury that wealth could give. He preferred the Western mode of living. He adopted English dress, giving up the Bengali one. He dismissed the old servants, who knew only indigenous cooking and manners, and engaged Baburchis, Ayahs and Boys in their places. His wife did not put on a gown, of course, but she had to give up a great deal of her former habits, due to her husband's insistence. The girls became ultra-modern, at least in their

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dresses and manners. Saroja was quite grown up and was past the age of being put to school. She must be given away in marriage pretty soon. So two English governesses were engaged for her to teach her at home. One was to supervise her studies, another was to teach her sewing and music. Shaktisaran wanted his wife to join the daughter in her lessons, but here Susangini became adamant. An old woman, as she thought herself, could not be expected to learn the English alphabet now with a governess. Shaktisaran might have turned mad, but she had not. If he was so keen on the English language, he could easily marry a Mem Sahib and talk English to her, to his heart's content. So Shaktisaran had to give up the idea of educating his wife and turned his attention solely to his children. Nityasaran was sick of the native universities and went off straight to Oxford to finish his education. Shaktisaran had no means of knowing how his studies were progressing. But he soon began to learn to his cost, that the boy was becoming an adept in the art of flinging away money quite in the approved aristocratic style.

Satyasaran, the younger son, was really fond of learning. So instead of rushing off to some foreign University, he continued with his studies in his old college and made up his mind to stick to it till he graduated. But his father fretted over the fact of so little being spent on the boy's education. To satisfy his conscience, he engaged a highly paid private tutor for him, though Satyasaran did not want one. Niroja had all her wishes gratified. She was put into the Convent School and had a governess also, to teach her at home. She tried to cajole her father into engaging a noted German violinist as well, to give her music lessons.

Saroja had completed her eighteenth year and must be given away in marriage without delay. Shaktisaran's relatives began to press him very much. Though he had become rich and a Sahib in his ways and manners, yet he was still one of themselves and could not be permitted to violate the laws of Hindu society. Shaktisaran, too, did not desire to keep his daughter unmarried for long. He had decided to take his family on a foreign tour and then to marry off Saroja to some member of the I. C. S. But his wife made his life miserable with her persistent nagging and he had to look about him in search of a bridegroom. He would start on that Continental tour after the marriage of his daughter, he thought. He would take the newly married couple with him and Niroja. Satyasaran did not want to go now. His mother would look after him in Shaktisaran's absence.

A good bridegroom was soon se though he was not an I. C. S. The young was healthy, good-looking and well-edu His family was high and, though his father not as wealthy as Shaktisaran, yet he was known in Calcutta society. He had lands houses of his own. Shaktisaran liked Akh the boy was called, and decided to accep as a son-in-law.

Shaktisaran's desire to spend money every possible way was fully gratified Saroja's marriage. People understood rich he was and how whimsical, at the same Susangini was too bewildered at first to pro then she began to quarrel with her husband his wastefulness, but failed to check it. week preceding the wedding day was not but a long series of festivals, the house glit all over with festoons of electric lights an band played continually before the h Saroja received everything in the way of d and jewellery that she could name and her father brought in everything else that he in in the market. The bill amounted to amazing figure, which could have easily co the cost of five rich marriages. The b groom received presents, so costly and so m ficent, that even a prince would have been s fied with them. Cars, furniture, mu instruments were bought at random Shaktisaran and presented to the young co Thus at last the marriage of Saroja was sole ized, rendering even the blase townspe thoroughly astonished. On the day after marriage, it is customary for Bengali H parents to send presents to the bridegroo house. Shaktisaran sent over two hun people and two motor buses carrying pres to his son-in-law's house. The people the streets cheered the gay procession, Shaktisaran's new relatives remained o nously silent. They took this to be an in as they had not been able to send half so m men, when it had been their turn to s presents.

But Shaktisaran could not gratify desire of going on a Constinental tour with newly married pair. A sad event followed joyous one. Susangini became seriously Shaktisaran again began to spend money water over her treatment. Allopathic doc nurses, homœopaths and kavirajes drew fortu out of his pocket, but the patient's condi did not seem to improve at all. Saroja c over from her husband's house and Ni

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opped going to school. Susangini wanted to e her eldest son, so a wire was sent to him d also money for his passage back. Nityasaran knowledged receipt of the money and wrote say that he was trying to obtain leave for ming over. But he never arrived to the last. ter a month's illness, Susangini passed away, ving her dear family behind.

This terrible blow seemed to turn aktisaran into stone. He gave up the society human beings and shut himself up for days ether in his dead wife's bedroom. He used drink moderately even before, but now he came an inveterate drinker. There was no e in the family who could raise a voice of otest against this. He had to come out of s seclusion on account of his business, but seemed a thoroughly changed man. He cut f all relations with his family. He was to go supplying money and they were to spend such became the order of things hence-rward.

Saroja came to visit him one day and said, Give Niropa in marriage soon, father. It is ot seemly that she should become so thorough-westernized. Since mother's death, she is coming more and more peculiar."

"What's the hurry?" asked Shaktisaran. Let the boys bring in wives first. If I send er away now, who will look after the establish-ent?"

"*Dada** has not returned yet from England and Satya too would not marry until e finishes his education. Is Niroja to remain nmarried all this while? It would be a good atch, if you marry her to my brother-in-law. is mother is looking for a bride for him."

"No, I won't," said Shaktisaran. "These eople are too old-fashioned."

Saroja did not dare to protest against this ough she felt angry at his remark. So Niroja as going to become a full-fledged Mem Sahib, as she? But she would have to marry into Bengali family after all. Then these teach-gs would do her no good. She would have o weep tears of shame over these fashions before ng. Saroja had received some hard lessons ter her marriage. She had not become such Mem Sahib as Niroja was being turned into, ut even what she was, proved to be too much or her husband's family. They had taken her n hand and after a year's hard schooling, she ad become tolerably purified for her new rela-ives. Even now, she had to bear much un-kind criticism from them for her unorthodox conduct.

But Niroja went on gayly with her training and learning and nothing more was heard about her marriage. Satyasaran passed his I. A. and began to study for his B.A. Nityasaran went on receiving his allowance regularly, but he failed to pass his examination.

Shaktisaran began to feel angry now. He sent his son a letter full of rebuke. He even threatened to stop his allowance.

Nityasaran did not answer this letter. The next post brought no letter too. Shaktisaran became anxious and cabled to the University. The reply came, informing him that his son had left Oxford long ago. Shaktisaran was astonished and sent instructions for seeking him out. But before the search was ended, in fact before it had properly begun, Nityasaran appeared in person, without any previous notice. With him came his newly married English wife. So Shaktisaran must be satisfied, not with an English degree won by his son, nor even with an English diploma of some sort, but with an English daughter-in-law!

As there was no mother-in-law to be tackled, no great row was kicked up over the foreign bride. But she was not very cordially received. Shaktisaran prided himself on being an agnostic. He frowned at the well-furnished rooms in the house lying unoccupied. Nityasaran and his wife appropriated some of these and began to live happily. Niroja turned up her pretty nose at first and made contemptuous remarks; then she struck up a friendship with her brother's wife.

There was great commotion in Saroja's husband's family. Saroja was told over and over that she would not again be permitted to visit her father's house, and began to wipe her eyes in the seclusion of her own room. Still her curiosity drove her on. She persuaded her husband to take her side, and on the pretext of going to the cinema, she paid a visit to her English sister-in-law.

Shaktisaran had many faults, but stinginess was not one of them. So the newly married pair did not suffer from any want of money. They began to increase their demands little by little. Shaktisaran had become rather queer after the death of his wife. He went on signing cheques for his son and drank more and more.

Mrs. Nityasaran suddenly took it into her fair head that she would have some cars matching her dresses. Other fair ladies had jewellery matching their dresses, but she was going to beat them all. Nityasaran thought her demand quite legitimate. So, light blue, green, red,

*Elder brother

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grey and cream-coloured cars rolled in one after another. The garage had to be extended to accommodate so many new cars. Niroja called her brother a "stupid fool" and wrote a long letter to her sister. Saroja was not permitted to come over, so she could only write a long and abusive letter to Nityasaran. Of course, she got no reply. Shaktisaran laughed loudly at his son's behaviour, then went into his room and called for pegs after pegs. The only person who remained undisturbed was Satyasaran. He was busy with his studies and had no time to attend to his sister-in-law's pranks. He passed the B.A. with credit and began studying for the M.A.

Suddenly a sleeping volcano seemed to come to life. Shaktisaran's home was brought down in a crash. Nityasaran, his wife and Niroja had been to a feast and became ill as they returned. Again doctors and nurses rushed about and money flowed like water. But to no purpose. The patients died, one after the other, at short intervals. Niroja passed off last of all. As the relatives and friends were preparing to start for the cremation ground for the third time, a loud report was heard from the first floor. They all rushed upstairs in consternation, only to find Shaktisaran lying dead with a pistol in his hand.

Satyasaran's heart and brain seemed to have become paralysed. He had cried aloud at the time of his mother's death, but now he could only stare like a fool. The terrible disaster made Akhil's relatives relent, they sent over Saroja and Akhil and themselves followed in their wake. Saroja threw herself down on the floor and cried aloud. She tried her utmost to take Satyasaran away from this house that had become like a tomb in one day, but the boy refused to move. As he could not be left all alone in the house, Akhil and Saroja had to stay with him for a few days at least.

(2)

The Goddess of Fortune had been ushered into the Mitra family by Shaktisaran. Now with his death the fickle goddess deserted his house for ever. After Shaktisaran's death, it was discovered that he had not only thoroughly dissipated his vast fortune, but had also left an enormous amount of debt. He had overdrawn to the amount of four and five lakhs from several banks. The family attorney made Satyasaran apply for insolvency without delay. He left all, and with only a few clothes, came out into the street. He did not have to live in the streets of course, as his brother-in-law took him away at once to his own house. But the atmosphere of this house seemed to suffocate Satyasaran. He understood that he would not be able to stand the place for more than a few days.

The city of Calcutta, as well as the whole of Bengal, seemed hateful like poison to him. Everything connected with his past life had become unbearable. He could not even look at Saroja, who was the sole relative left to him. Friends who called to express their sympathy never had the opportunity to meet him.

Akhil became nervous about Satyasaran. "You must go away for two or three months. You would feel much better in a new place."

"I must walk there, if I am to go to a new place," said Satyasaran. "I am penniless as you know very well."

"That can be arranged," said Akhil. "When your father was alive, he had really given thousands to me whenever I had asked for it. I wish, we all had been more considerate then. But it is useless talking about that now. Take whatever you want from me. It is really your sister's money. So you need not feel any delicacy about accepting it. Give me back whenever you can. Even if you never do so, it would not matter a bit. Only tell me where you want to go."

"It is quite easy to tell that," said Satyasaran. "I had long wanted to see Burma. Let me go over there. My father was well known there on account of his business. If I find luck there, many persons have done so. I don't want thousands, give me about five or six hundred rupees, I will manage somehow with that. As I have slight hopes of paying it back, let the debt be as light as possible."

Saroja pressed him to take some more money, but Satyasaran was adamant. He bought some necessaries and caught the next steamer to Rangoon. He was determined to be as economical as possible. So he went on board as a deck passenger. This was his first sea voyage. So he became sick almost at once. This was fortunate in one way, as it made meals unnecessary and saved expense. Once or twice only he bought some "puris" and ate them.

Shaktisaran had many acquaintances, mostly Bengalees, in Rangoon. Satyasaran had written to one of them, a gentleman of the name of Biswanath Maitra, informing him of his own early arrival. He had also intimated his desire of becoming his guest for the few days. If by any chance he did not

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at the wharf, Satyasaran would be in a fix. rich man's son, he had never been accusmed to fend for himself. Where would he find shelter in this strange land? However, Biswanath Babu arrived at the wharf to welcome him, thus putting his fears to rest. They got into a hackney carriage and started for Biswanath's home.

The land appeared strange and new to Satyasaran. The people he saw were not Bengalees, their speech was unknown to him and their dresses too were different. Their manners appeared strange to him. The houses he saw on both sides of the road were not built quite in the Indian style. Satyasaran began to hope that he might be able to forget his terrible misfortune in this land, in time, due to this change in his surroundings. This seemed to be a land where joy reigned supreme. The people looked so cheerful, gay and carefree that it appeared difficult to believe that they had ever known trouble or sorrow. If they had, would the entire nation be able to go about so brightly dressed and looking so glad?

"These people are not as poor as the Indians, are they?" he asked Biswanath Babu. "They seem much better off, at least judging by their dresses."

"They dress rather well," admitted his host. "But otherwise they spend very little. Still on the whole they are better off than the Bengalis."

They reached their destination very soon. Biswanath Babu lived all alone here, his family was at home. He could not bear to live in a mess, which was full of young people. He had rented a small flat, where he lived with his Chittagonian servant.

The house stood within a narrow lane. As the carriage stopped, Biswanath Babu got down and shouted, "Kamini, Kamini." A tall and stout man bounded down the stairs in answer, and throwing all the luggage on his shoulder, carried them up quite easily. Satyasaran felt rather amused at hearing the giant's name. The man who had given him the name of "Kamini,"* must have had some sense of humour.

They got up the dark, creaking stairs and entered a room on the first floor. Biswanath understood that his guest was feeling extremely amazed at the sight of his quarters. "You won't get such bright and smart rooms here, as you have in Calcutta," he said with a smile. "Most of the people live in such cages here, which they call rooms by courtesy."

*Lady

Satyasaran sat down in the small and dark room and thought perhaps this was what he needed. If he really wanted to forget that he was a rich man's son, then this violent change would serve his purpose well.

"I must go away leaving you alone, even on the first day," said his host, rather apologetically. "Please don't mind it. You know we are but slaves. I wonder, how you are going to spend the afternoon."

"I shall stroll about a bit," said Satyasaran.

"Do so," said Biswanath Babu. "But be careful not to pick a quarrel with anyone. These people are terrible, they can stab a man for nothing."

"I can never manage to quarrel, even when it is imperative," said Satyasaran. "So I don't think I shall quarrel here."

Biswanath sent his guest to have his bath first, then he had his own, within a couple of minutes. Kamini spread two newspapers on the floor for the gentlemen and brought the water in two glasses of aluminium. The breakfast was served on chipped plates.

The first mouthful he took nearly made Satyasaran cry out in agony. It was so horribly hot! He had never had the good fortune to taste such cooking before. Why was not the fellow named 'Droupadi,'* instead of Kamini, poor Satyasaran wondered. His host understood his plight and asked sympathetically, "Cann't you eat anything? These fellows have given up the plough and taken to cooking all at once. What more could you expect of them? Even if he simply boiled the things, one could eat them. But the idiot is extremely fond of chillies and other condiments. He is unwilling to learn new dishes too. He always refuses to cook anything new, saying that he does not know. Come here, you fool, and bring more "dal" for the gentleman. Is the fish very hot too? I told him to cook well, as a guest was expected and this is the result."

Satyasaran felt rather sorry for the poor giant. Why was he placed in such an unsuitable post? He could have done very well as a soldier. Both his name and his occupation were most ill chosen. In order to comfort the man, he replied, "No, no, the fish is all right. I can eat it."

Kamini rushed into the kitchen, and brought more fish for him. It was positively red, from the amount of pepper used in it. Satyasaran had to pay the penalty for his overpoliteness and swallow the curry, though

*She was famous for her cooking in ancient India.

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it was as hot as fire and drew tears of agony to his eyes.

Biswanath Babu left for his office after the meal. Satyasaran rested for a while, then went out. He walked very warily, keeping a sharp look-out, lest he might lose his way in this strange land.

Though Rangoon was the capital of Burma, the Burmese did not preponderate here. For one Burmese, dressed in bright rich silk and head tied up in coloured silk handkerchief, he met two dark Madrasis, who were dressed very shabbily. There were Punjabis, with turbans on, Gujratis, with caps and Anglo-Indians in European costumes. Many Burmese sat squatting on the footpaths and ate "Mohinga," which they had bought from the vendor on the street. This seemed quite natural for them. These vendors were either Chinese or Burmese and they carried their entire stock in two pots, which were placed on charcoal stoves. These stoves were slung on two sides of a pole, which the men carried on their shoulders. They had two sticks in their hands which they beat against each other continually, producing a racket. There were many Burmese women walking along with carefree gait, who carried baskets of fruits or flowers on their heads. Their manner clearly evinced that they had never lived in Oriental seclusion. The vehicular traffic consisted mostly of rickshaws. The rickshaw pullers were all South Indians.

Satyasaran had wandered far away from his host's house by this time. He had hitherto kept to the main roads, now he ventured into a small narrow lane. This must be one of the slums of the city, he thought. The lane was full of filth of every description and on either side of it stood rows of dilapidated huts. The footpaths were full of sleeping humanity, even at this time of the day. Only a few men could be seen sitting up here and there, fanning themselves with dirty pieces of cloths. They all appeared to belong to the coolie class. His ears were assailed by a veritable storm of Tamil and Telugu, as he walked into the lane.

A small shop stood at the extreme end of the lane. About a score of people, both men and women, stood in front of it quarrelling furiously. They gesticulated violently and shouted at the top of their voices. People gathered around them gradually, attracted by the noise. Soon there was a pretty big crowd. Satyasaran's curiosity was roused. He approached them and stood by on one side, looking on.

The people who were quarrelling were South Indians. So much Satyasaran understood from their dress and dialect. A girl sat on the ground, weeping. She wore yellow *sari*, with broad red borders and no ornaments on. She was very pretty. complexion too was fair. A fat, elderly stood in front of her. He had a number heavy gold ornaments on and wore a cloth broad borders. He appeared quite opulent seemed to be in a nasty temper for some reason or other. He was abusing a thin old man sat near him. The old man waved his about and spoke in a shrill voice, trying best to explain something. The fat man the girl by the hand every now and then pulled her towards himself. But the girl away his hand every time and wept loud Questions were showered upon her from crowd, but nobody gave any answer to Everyone was too busy talking.

Satyasaran grew more curious. He see a few Bengalis amongst the crowd. approached an elderly gentleman and asked "What's the matter, sir? What is all this about?"

"Quarrels and fights are the only recreations these people have," the gentleman replied turning to Satyasaran. "They work like beasts of burden, drink like fishes and fight like lunatics. Their last destination is the hospital where they go to die."

"But why is that girl crying?" asked Satyasaran. "And why is that fat fellow putting hands on her?"

"That old man has sold the girl to the fat fellow," said the gentleman. "But the girl does not want to go with him. Hence all this trouble."

Satyasaran was thunderstruck. "Sold! What do you mean, sir?" he cried. "Why the police interfere?"

"Oh, the police never bother about these things," said the gentleman. "Thousands such cases take place every day here. The fellow will take her away today, keep her sometime, then he will sell her to someone else, whenever he is short of money. The people regard women as no better than utensils. The girl is heading for trouble. The fat chap will have his revenge on her, for that weeping."

"How horrible!" cried Satyasaran, now thoroughly excited. "I could never dream such things could happen in a civilized country in the twentieth century. Some one should inform the police."

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"What would be the good of that?" asked s new acquaintance. "The police may come d take these two men into custody. But they ould soon obtain their release through judi- ous bribing. But what would happen to the rl? Would anybody give her shelter? Even someone does, he would soon try to sell her ain in his turn."

"But one cannot stand silent, and look on ch a monstrous thing," cried Satyasaran. Isn't there anything that could be done to e her?"

"Of course, there is something," said the ntleman with a laugh. "You can offer a rger sum to the fat fellow and buy the girl om him. But you are making too much of is. These women are accustomed to being d like cattle, they don't think much of that. e is crying so loudly, because the fat man is t to her taste."

Someone cried out from the crowd, "No, , this is the first time she is being sold. She me over only a month ago, she is not even arried."

"I can buy her off," said Satyasaran, pay- g no heed to the crowd. "I don't mind giving way every pice I have. But one cannot look n a fellow mortal, being treated so abomin- bly. But where am I to keep her? I have nded here this very day and have put up at nother's house."

"That can be arranged," said the other. But if you really want to buy her, you must urry up. Things look like coming to a head. hey are going to have recourse to force and nish up quick."

This was true. The fat man suddenly let t a roar and advancing upon the girl, took er by the hair and pulled her up straight. The rowd began to melt away. Nobody paid any tention to the girl's weeping. The old man ho had sold her now took up his bundle and epared to depart.

Satyasaran ran up to the girl and with a iolent push, released her from the clutch of er tormentor. The girl moved away a little nd gazed at him with her large eyes full of ears of gratitude. She appeared a bit sur- rised, too, at being released so unexpectedly. But a storm of words broke out again, which as deafening in its intensity. The elderly entleman rushed to Satyasaran's rescue, and anding by his side, he began to explain some- hing to the crowd in a mixed jargon of Hindi nd Tamil. His efforts seemed to meet with uccess, as the howling around them died down somewhat and the fat man gazed at Satyasaran with a hideous leer on his face.

"What did you say to them?" asked Satyasaran.

"The only argument they will understand," said the gentleman. "I told them that you have liked the girl very much, and want to buy her for yourself. If they give her up, well and good, otherwise the police will be sent for. I have also informed them that you are a relative of the police superintendent."

Satyasaran experienced a shrinking sensation within himself. What a picture of himself was presented to the crowd! But if he could save the girl, everything would be justified. Moreover, he was a stranger here. It did not matter what people thought of him in this strange land.

"How much money does he want?" he asked.

The fat man began waving his arms and shouting again. Satyasaran approached the girl and asked in Hindi "What is your name?"

The girl appeared to know a little bit of Hindi. She looked at Satyasaran and replied, "Kanakamma, Babu."

The gentleman now turned to Satyasaran and said, "He is a greedy thief. He certainly has not paid more than fifty rupees for the girl, but he wants two hundred rupees now."

Satyasaran was in a hurry to finish the ugly affair. "All right," he said. "But I have not got the money with me. I must go back to get it. Will he stop here for me?"

"He may and he may not," said the gentleman. "You cannot be sure of such people. But you may do another thing. I live close-by. I shall take these people with me and make them wait there, while you go and fetch the money. It was a bad day for you. You have got to lose so much money for nothing."

"Well it is something to have saved a human being from such a hideous fate," said Satyasaran.

"You are young and still see the world through rose-coloured glasses," said the gentleman. "But we have become hardened. To us loss of money is loss, pure and simple. The reason does not matter. But come on, the sun is too hot here."

His house was in the next lane and it took them but a minute to reach it. The spectators departed rather disappointed at not being able to see the fun to the end.

The children of the house came out and gazed at the strangers with surprise. The

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ladies, too, peeped at them from behind the shutters. The girl Kanakamma stood in a corner, trying to shrink within herself. Her erstwhile owner crouched on the floor, and looked about him. Satyasaran called a shaw and getting into it, raced back to host's house.

(*To be contin*

CELEBRATION OF GAEKWAR'S JUBILEE IN NEW YORK

For the first time in history, a Hindu ruler's sixty years of sovereignty over a State in India was celebrated by Americans of all faiths. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda is the International President of the World Fellowship of Faiths which held this unprecedented celebration on Thursday evening, the second of January in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel New Yorker, New York City.

Dr. Alban G. Widgery of England, who was in the service of the Maharaja Gaekwar for over seven years in India, described His Highness' tireless labor in behalf of his people and especially emphasized his establishment of compulsory free education for all of his two-and-a-half million subjects.

Sri Deva Ram Sukul, a Brahmin teacher of India, exhibited special pictures of the Maharaja and of Baroda and other Indian States. Mirza Ahmad Sohrab of Persia, discussed India's contributions to world civilization as exemplified in the benevolent and progressive rule of the Maharaja Gaekwar. Rabbi B. Leon Hurwitz, Chairman of the Brooklyn Council of the World Fellowship of Faiths, spoke especially of the fact that His Highness came to Chicago in 1933 to deliver the keynote address, "Religion in a Changing World," which opens the recently published book *World Fellowship*, that contains the 242 addresses delivered by 199 spokesmen of all faiths, races and countries in 83 meetings held by the World Fellowship of Faiths during Chicago's Century of Progress World's Fair.

Kedarnath Das Gupta, General Executive of the World Followship of Faiths, recounted his several interviews with His Highness last summer at the latter's English residence, "Aldsworth," former home of Lord Tennyson. When Mr. Das Gupta was expressing his appreciation of the Maharaja Gaekwar's great achievements, His Highness said, "Don't tell me what I have done. Tell me what I can do now."

The Rev. Jabez T. Sunderland, D.D., who has worked for many years in India and America in behalf of Indian progress, sent a special message which was read to the assembly. Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Chairman of the British National Council of the World Fellowship of Faiths, wrote expressing his appreciation of the great improvement effected in the State of Baroda under the leadership of His Highness since Sir Francis first visited Baroda more than fifty years ago. Lord Lamington, former Governor of Bombay, now a member of the British National Council of the World Fel of Faiths, expressed his appreciation of the M Gaekwar in a message which was also read t assembly.

Bhupesh Guha of India opened the meeting by ing Hindu music on the *esraj* and on the *bansi*. C Frederick Weller, General Executive of the World F ship of Faiths, presided.

The text of the messages read from Sir F Younghusband and Lord Lamington is given below Sunderland's message was published in *The M Review* for February last.

Message from Sir Francis Younghusband, Ch of the British National Council of the World Fell of Faiths, who was born in India and was a high in the service of the India Government:

"His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Ba one of the great Princes of India who have devoted earnest attention to the advancement of the p committed to their charge. For sixty years he has Baroda; and Baroda today is a very different State what it was when I first visited it fifty-three years The people are better educated, they live under b material conditions, and they are happier. And this been accomplished through the Maharaja keeping f the old Hindu traditions, yet being open to effec necessary modern improvements and all the time b sympathetic with the feelings and ideas of adherent other Faiths than his own."

"May his rule extend to many years yet."

Message from the Right Honourable Lord Lami a member of the British National Council of the W Fellowship of Faiths, who was Governor of Bombay many years:

"In reply to the request to send a message ann gatherings to be held in celebration of the Diam Jubilee of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Ba have to say that it is very fitting that a tribute s be paid to one who during his sixty years of rule a great State has done so much to make his Faith active means of doing good not only to those of his Faith but also to those of other beliefs.

"Rigid orthodoxy has done much harm, where recognition that others are seeking to approach Almighty by one of his many ways would bring searchers of Truth into a sympathetic and harmo understanding."

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EDGAR ALLAN POE'S ORIENTALISM

By KURT F. LEIDECKER, M.A. PH.D.

Poe was born near enough the Concord empyrean, but unfortunate circumstances compelled him to stray from such isles of content. His task was to bring forth exquisite flowers from stony and arid environment.

Such flights into rarified atmosphere as the Concord sage would indulge in habitually, were denied Poe. The "transcendental" capacity was innate in him. He demonstrated his ability along these lines not a few times, and he found the quality of "supernal beauty" at the bottom of fine poetry. All this would indicate that Poe was endowed with an idealistic strain. He felt the true intuitively when it assumed the form of poetry, but he failed to see it when it presented itself in a logical garb, buttressed by prosaic argument. He would undervalue a Kant, a Hegel and even the pensive Goethe. Those who approach the problems of so-called transcendentalism conceptually, he would not follow. But the Orientals—those of the Far East, not those of the Near East—are, above all, "conceptualizers." And thus we have indicated broadly the difference in the Orientalism of a Poe and even men of the type of Thoreau.

There is nothing very striking in Poe's allusions to the Orient. He had never come in contact with the Oriental scene except through books. He may not have met any Orientals. The only vital influence that might be noted are the time in which he lived (1809-1849) and in which falls the general awakening to the reality of the Far East, and, more particularly, the period from 1827 to 1829 which saw him in Europe where the interest in the Orient was keener than in the United States, and where the researches of Egyptology held the attention of the public. That Poe should have stood under that influence is, of course, extremely uncertain as we know nothing of his doings during that period. But the fact that he had a decided bias for Egypt brings such an assumption well within the bounds of the problematic, even though he may have kept in touch with the intellectual world only slightly during that period.

By way of introduction it may be said that Poe shares with many of his contemporary writers the use of certain adjectives, phrases and comments with an Oriental background which we will have to mention in detail. This bears testimony, on the one hand, to the poverty of knowledge and information obtainable then, and, on the other, to the fact that these meagre sources were quite generally read. Poe's reading was confined mainly to *belles-lettres*. He was not even an amateur scientist. Life and history he interpreted in those qualities that point to a region beyond the natural and even imaginary, in the milder sense of the term. If ever a poet made the noumenal his realm it was Poe. The allusions and the references to the literature he perused are, therefore, mere dry leaves when culled from their context. They are the spices in narrative and poem, herbarium specimens when collected.

> "That an American should confine himself to American themes, or even prefer them, is rather a political than a literary idea—and at best is a questionable point. We would do well to bear in mind that 'distance lends enchantment to the view.' *Ceteris paribus*, a foreign theme is, in a strictly literary sense, to be preferred. After all, the world at large is the only legitimate stage for the autorial *histrio*."[1]

More than expressing an opinion on a much discussed topic, Poe seems to be apologizing in these words for his own spiritual rambles that carried him as far as Egypt, Arabia and Palestine and even to the Dutch possessions in the East. Had he lived longer he surely would have stopped in India several times and gone into China and Japan. *There* would have been romance and mystery, enough to tax language to the utmost in making it conform to fancy! Unfortunately, Poe lacked the time to work up a background. The bee-like industry of a Thomas Moore he had, but he would produce, if at all, something novel and original in its entirety. The *Lalla Rookh* he deems good in its individual parts, but in the aggregate "the happiest originalities" weary, and he therefore considered Moore as having "comparatively failed" in this romance[2]. In passing we might mention that this criticism reiterates, in different words, the contention in his *Poetic Principle*.

There are enough indications that Poe

[1] *Marginal Note CLVIII.*

[2] *The Literati*, etc., by Edgar Allan Poe, with a Sketch of the author, by Rufus Wilmot Griswold (New York, 1850), pp. 190-196. This collection, including the *Marginalia*, which we cite as such, is here briefly referred to as *Literati*.

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thought of the Orient in terms not dissimilar to the reader of Oriental love and romance stories. The Orient is truly the "Far" East, the out-of-the-way and dark corner of the globe in which the unexpected, the stupefying, the wondrous holds sway. The *MS Found in a Bottle* teems with the portentous. Again, the East breathes voluptuousness and luxury—themes for which our "sex-less" author however cared nothing. It is those subtler forms of sensuality he and the epicure have in common which we meet in his writings. The insinuations of Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*, which he knew, were foreign to him. Stimulating a somewhat identical experience he could, however, acclimatize himself to the opium-heavy atmosphere of the setting of the tales of Scheherazade.

Coming now to the subject-matter of Poe's Orientalism, one treads everywhere on uncertain ground in his names of places and persons. More than any other poet he had the innate tendency to mystify and adapt for the purpose of ridiculing or for the excitement of awe and terror.

At the head of an exposition such as we attempt must stand the reflections of Egypt in Poe's works. Among books we note particularly Stephen's *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petrea*, and *The Holy Land* which, as his unkind literary executor relates, he reviewed in the *New York Review* for October, 1837. Moore's *Alciphron*, dealing mainly with the Egyptian scene, he placed far above his *Lalla Rookh*, for literary and poetic reasons, but, as we suspect, also because the topic appealed to him as such[3].

There is no reason for doubting that Poe read widely, if not deeply, in accounts of Egyptian archaeology, and that he was greatly impressed not so much with what this ancient people achieved as with the results which a comparison of the civilization of his day yields. The distance in time which separates us from the Egyptians should have evolved works of architecture, institutions and traits in human nature that would put us moderns into a favourable light. To show that it did *not* he wrote the half caustic, half humorous *Some words with a Mummy* in which he turned his knowleoge of some phases of Egyptian civilization to good use. It is a sedative for optimism and—though Poe did not intend it for such—a balm for pessimism, and no one would look for accurate or serious material in this outburst of one who was "sick of this life and of the nineteenth century in general." And yet there is a kernel of sound sense in it in that it teaches not to overvalue our own nor belittle the ancient culture which, all, has laboured to give foundation to all n endeavours.

In no other tale did Poe make as cle use of things Egyptian. But the objects of this African country were too good to be looked by him in building up a background the grotesque. The "solemn carvings of Eg the "huge carvings of untutored Egypt gigantic sarcophagi "of black granite, from tombs of the kings over against Luxor, with aged lids full of immemorial sculpture" w remembered as pieces of furniture, or sphinxes of Egypt" as decorations, by reader of *Ligeia* and *The Assignation*. T from Egyptian antiquity are employed sparingly.

The temples and pyramids and obelisks well as the inevitable Nile, Thebes and Ka and a few other sites may be met in Poe's w ings, but never with such frequency as am some other contemporary American auth It would surprise us greatly, however, had cryptogram-solver passed by Champollion's of deciphering the hieroglyphs.

If we can count Libya an Oriental cou at all in virtue of its close association in Po mind with Egypt, we must mention here that thought of it as harboring a sufficiently out-the-way and poorly known region to provide stage-setting for the perhaps weirdest of writings, *Silence—A Fable*. And this leads over into Arabia.

Poe's *The Thousand-and-second Tale Scheherazade* is told in a delightful story-tell style. Not any Western story book, but cycle of the *Arabian Nights* he found suitable a natural medium for relating the truth that stranger than fiction. He purports to give summary of the *Tellmenow Isitsoornot* where the thousand-and-second and last tale of beautiful Scheherazade is laid down and whi details in a mythical way modern discoveries inventions which the stupid king stamps as

Apart from such phrases as he uses, for stance, in describing the beauty of Ligeia being that of the "fabulous Houri of the Turk *i.e.*, the nymph of the Muhammadan paradis or such similes as carrying one's shroud on earth or the "narrow and tottering bridge whi Mussulmans say is the only pathway betwe Time and Eternity"[5] he sees, on a whole, th humorous side of Muhammadan life and thoug or at least employs them for the purpose emphasizing the incongruity of a certain situ

[3]Cf. *Literati*, pp. 374 ff.

[4]See *Morella*.
[5]See *A Descent into the Maelstrom*.

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ion. Cases are not numerous, but we mention the *Heaven gives relief*[6] and the Koran motto: "There is *no* error in this book," adduced twice in the *Marginalia*. It is very characteristic that, to take two examples, the Arabian perfume and the beauty of the Arabian landscape, do not answer his needs for infusing into his descriptions all the subtle qualities which his imagination ascribed to a particular aroma or a particular view. The deep, early poem *Israfel* belongs into this general category of writings with an Eastern motif.

Semitic civilization has been mined by Poe for material of still another sort. The history of antiquity yielded him parallels and illustrations such as he needed on occasion. Babylon and Nineveh, Shalmaneser and Sardanapalus, and a small number of other names could be assembled here. But more important are the tales. *Four Beasts in One* is based on the life and times of Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria, whose "impious, dastardly, cruel, silly and whimsical achievements which make up the sum total of his private life and reputation" were so much food for Poe's mind ever hungry for the horrible and eccentric, especially if some suggestive facts would support, as it were, the natural appearance of the abnormal. In quite a different vein is written *A Tale of Jerusalem*. Simeon, Abel-Phittim and Buzi-Ben-Levi in the beleaguered city lower a basket with treasure from the temple to the enemy in order that they might receive, in return, a lamb for use at the impending ceremony, but find to their horror a hog in the hoisted basket, which they speedily drop.

Of Poe's religious convictions we shall have to speak in another connection. Here we point to his review of J. T. Headley's *The Sacred Mountains*[7] which is devastating because he detested quackery, especially in theologians who talk about the supernatural in familiar language. Similiarly, though in a much more tolerant manner, he criticized the Rev. George Busch.[8] He could not "admit the imaginary axioms" from which his *Anastasis* starts. Then he also ventured into the field of higher textual criticism. In *Marginal Note CXLI* he discusses Isaiah 34.10 and Ezekiel 35.7, both with a view to discrediting the literal interpretation of prophecy. A letter from the *Griswold Collection*[9] by Professor Charles Anthon addressed to him supplied the technical apparatus for the discussion. Poe here evidently undertook something for which he was not qualified. A similar attempt may be seen in *Marginal Note CXXVIII*.

If Poe had much knowledge of Persia and Persian literature he did not divulge it in his writings. Every reference—and they are sparse enough—seems to disclose a knowledge received at second or third hand. About three references to Persepolitan sculpture, insignificant and obscure mentionings of the Magi and the "Ghebers," and an express reference to "the Persian Saadi in his *Gulistan*" is all that need be called to attention in this place. The *Tale of the Ragged Mountains* introduces us to India itself as Poe reconstructed it from his reading. A certain Mr. Bedloe, an addict to the habit of taking morphine and a patient standing *in rapport* with his private physician, Templeton by name and a firm believer in mesmerism, recounts an experience he had while wandering off into the neighborhood of Charlottesville, *Virginia*. On the hills he suddenly realized that the scenery had changed into a sub-tropical one with an "Eastern-looking city" on the margin of the river. He entered the city and, seeing a band of soldiers engaged in battle with the natives he joined them and was killed by an arrow in his temple. But, "all these things," he said, "I felt—not saw." Templeton, who had listened attentively, produced a watercolour, drawing of an old friend of his, Oldeb, an officer in the army of Warren Hastings who fell, in the manner described by Bedloe during the riots at Benares, in 1780. The implication of the story is, that Bedlo(e) was the reincarnation of Oldeb whom the much older Templeton knew intimately and whose resemblance to Bedloe had caused the physician to attach himself so closely to the latter.

Poe realized keenly the possibility of a dramatic story based on the caste conflict in India; yet such a story would have neither been original nor suitable to his own temperament. India, apart from accounts of British complications, was at that period regarded in the light of metaphysics mainly. Thus we understand why Poe has the letter written on board the balloon "Skylark" in *Mellonta Tauta* signed by "Pundita" (Panditā, we would write now), and why "Pundit" (Pandit) figures in this ramble and scramble with Aristotle, Hogg, Bacon and the rest of philosophers. A lyric picture from Indian lore we reproduce from *Al Aaraaf*:

> And the Nelumbo bud that floats forever
> With Indian Cupid down the holy river—

[6]Cf. *Never Bet the Devil Your Head*.
[7]Cf. *Literati*, pp. 249-253.
[8]Ib. p. 24f.
[9]*The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, edited by James A. Harrison, vol. xvii, pp. 42-3.

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Fair flowers, and fairy! to whose care is given
To bear the Goddess' song, in odors, up to Heaven.

Some Indian miscellanies need not detain us here, but inasmuch as we dwelled on Egyptian furniture we might also take note of the "ottomans and candelabra, of Eastern figure" and the "Bridal couch, of an Indian model," "sculptured of solid ebony, with a pall-like canopy above," for the Lady of Tremaine. It is rather uncertain whether Poe ever read original translations from the Sanskrit, as did Emerson and Thoreau. We would expect to be able to gather more material if he had really tapped the sources and if he was as "read in Eastern fable" as he seems to imply in one place. Evidence forces us to believe that Thomas Moore, Simms, Lucretia M. Davidson and others were really his authorities.

From the port of Batavia "in the rich and populous island of Java" we do not follow the author of *MS Found in a Bottle* on his adventures in that region, but sail directly to China and Japan. The latter country he remembered only for its slipper manufacture, and thus we can confine ourselves to China merely.

Quoting Davis and Barrow again does not imply that Poe read at all extensively in Chinese literature. In fact, his satire *How to Write a Blackwood-Article* and Miss Zenobia's article itself* may be taken to indicate the truth of this assertion. For he makes fun of those who cite Chinese works, and he promptly invents two titles of novels, *Ju-Kiao-Li* and *Jo-Go-Slow*. Introducing such words would "evince your intimate acquaintance with the language and literature of the Chinese. With the aid of this you may possibly get along without Arabic, or Sanskrit, or Chichasaw." Unintelligibility to him is synonymous with Chinese.† The soliloquies and "asides" in the modern drama appear to him less rational than the performance of Chinese actors, while romance writers might take "a hint from the Chinese, who, in spite of building their houses downwards, have still sense enough *to begin their books at the end.*"[10] He also was to all appearance in sympathy with the Chinese belief that the abdomen is the seat of the soul.

The Chinese love of opium made them his friends. The beauty of Ligeia he likened to the "radiance of an opium dream, and airy and spirit-lifting vision more wildly divine than the phantasies which hover about the sl ing souls of the daughters of Delos." could describe vividly the experiences in d when "in the shackles of the drug," he k the qualities of the "after-dream of the re upon opium."

Returning, however, to more se matters, he at least once characterized C genially as "the simple and enduring." other characterizations[11] are not as h nevertheless, we bring them here: "Assyria architect," "Egypt, the astrologer," "N more crafty than either, the turbulent m of all Arts."

The purpose of our investigation sh be forfeited were we to apply ourselves criticism of all the allusions which Poe m to things Oriental. What he saw was poe reality, not plain pragmatic fact. There indeed, many inaccuracies even where h serious. To disparage Poe on account of peccadillos would be like reproaching a scie for lack of poetic license. We prefer to upon Poe's Orientalism from the point of of appreciation.

In conclusion we must consider s parallels in Poe's thinking to the distinc attitude of the East as it has been eleva into a philosophical system in India. That Poe such conceptualizations *sich nicht l lassen,* does not preclude his having had s conception that may be called identical these. There is no indication throughout writings that he received a definite influe from the Orient in the ideas which we are discuss briefly. The parallelism, in our vi is revelatory of the possibility of similar e periences or thoughts under widely diffe conditions of time and place.

The general proposition prefixed to an o line of Poe's philosophy in a letter by his o hand,[12] dated February 29, 1849: "Beca Nothing was, *therefore* All Things are" sho be compared with some passages from t ancient *Chandogya Upanishad*:

> "In the beginning, ... this world was just be (*sat*), one only, without a second. To be sure, s people say: 'In the beginning this world was p non-being (*a-sat*) . . . . from that non-being be was produced.' But, verily, ... how from n being could being be produced?"[13]

And,

> "All creatures here . . . . have being at their r

*See *A Predicament*.
†See the beginning of *The Angel of the Odd*.
[10]*Marginalia* CLXIX and LXXXI.

[11]*Cf. The Colloquy of Monos and Una:*
[12]See Harrison's edition of the *Works*, vol. x p. 339.
[13]6.2.1—2.

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have being as their abode, have being as their support."[14]

This is the poet's metaphysics of joyous sent to the reality of all that is and was and ll ever be.

From the universality of the law of gravi- tion Poe, the speculator, derives an "original nity," a "perfect totality" or "*absolute ity*."[15] Compare with this the "one only, thout a second" of the Upanishad and all e mystics. This unity, however, Poe goes on prove to be really nothingness. Matter rings from it, *i.e.*, is created out of it, while ll will eventually return to unity.[16] Now, this pure Vedanta, which, *in nucleo*, is contained the same Upanishad which further proclaims at the finest essence (which is indistinguish- le, perceptually, from nothing) is what this hole world has as its soul, as reality.[17] Moreover, as the rivers all become one in the ean, so all creatures, having come out of eing, shall return to being.[18] Thus, Poe ddenly turned philosopher and in doing so as laid himself open to the charge of being ore abstruse than Hegel even. He is dealing ere with the most recondite problems of metaphysics and epistemology, and we are ratified to know that at heart, though not lways in words, Poe is at one with all great deals of ancient and modern times.

The Word as the fountainhead of all reation Poe speaks of plastically in *The Power of Words*, in the dialogue between Oinos and Agathos. The latter says:

> This wild star . . . . I spoke it—with a few passionate sentences—into birth.

The *logos* idea in this deistic confession is oo much on the surface as to require comment. *Logos* is the Greek counterpart to a very ancient Indian concept, *vac* or speech, which is at the bottom of this created universe. Interdependent with this is the contention that all (motion) is thought whose source is God.[19]

The remainder of this dialogue of the angels is somewhat lacking in depth of reflection, but the definition of God as "The Most Happy" is good—though not for the reason given by Poe—and is in keeping with the Hindu *ananda*, beatitude, as the highest object of realization. The fourth condition of bliss described in the second paragraph of *The Domain of Arnheim* falls again short of the true nature of beatitude. True bliss is not in the acquisition of knowledge, nor is it "the object of unceasing pursuit," however spiritual the object might be. It is in the degree of realization of the oneness of all.

The problem of identity made in such a singular manner the subject-matter of *Morella* has, formulated in this fashion, no exact counterpart in the mystic thought of the East. But it leads us over the sleep-speculation, especially in *Mesmeric Revelation* which again cannot be exactly paralleled, to the problem of rebirth. Poe was, despite himself, an intuitive philosopher who felt the difficulties involved in the rational belief in re-incarnation, and so wavered between this and the belief in a hazy spiritualistic after-existence, as *Marginal Note XCIV* would confirm:

> "It is by no means an irrational fancy that, in a future existence, we shall look upon what we think our present existence, as a dream."

There can be little doubt that Poe, to say the least, had much sympathy with the idea of rebirth. Dr. Snodgrass also made allusion to this inclination of our author. *A Tale of the Ragged Mountains* which raises this problem and portrays it with great clearness, has already been discussed. Different approaches present themselves in *Ligeia*, in *The Colloquy of Monos and Una*, and, in an outspoken form, in *Metzengerstein*. There he quasi offers an apology, justifying his dealing with metempsychosis at all on the ground of precedents. Unmistakable too is this sentence in *Mesmeric Revelation*:

> "What we call 'death' is but the painful metamorphosis. Our present incarnation is progressive, preparatory, temporary. Our future is perfected, ultimate, immortal. The ultimate life is the full design."

This is not re-incarnation as the Hindus teach it. They hold that all those forces which converge to form this present individual will, in due time, after death reassemble themselves to form a new individual, and so on indefinitely. The forces are determined by *karman*, the aggregate of good and evil thoughts and actions during life time. This *karman* will accumulate and thus keep the individual in the round of rebirth until such time as the person realizes to the full his essential and complete oneness with the All. He then merges into it and is liberated. Poe wrestled hard with this problem without arriving at a final

[14] 6.8.4 and 6.
[15] Ib.
[16] P. 340.
[17] 6.8.7, etc.
[18] Cf. 6.10, etc.
[19] Ib.

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conclusion as to the technique of re-incarnation.

One significant item which alines him with the Eastern thinkers we may be allowed to refer to in conclusion. Though put into the mouth of Allemistakeo, it enunciates a working principle of tolerance and makes God the one and only reality to which all re bow:

> "No Nation upon the face of the earth ha acknowledged more than *one god*. The Sera the Ibis, etc., were with us (as similar creatu been with others) the symbols or *media* th which we offered worship to the Creator too to be more directly approached."

UNIVERSITIES AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

By S. G. WARTY, M.A.

Since the outbreak of war in 1914 and especially after its effects began to be keenly felt, thinking minds all over the world have been seriously discussing the place of religious instruction in schools and universities. Secular education by itself, it is being said, has been powerless to develop that idea of the solidarity of mankind which needs cultivation if mankind is to attain its proper goal. World unity has therefore to be attempted through the religious approach, and what more necessary in the endeavour than to introduce religious instruction in schools and colleges as an effective preparation for the world to come?

In India as in other parts of the world, many minds have become restless regarding the present conditions of moral life and feeling among the people and have begun to look to religious instruction as the remedy. Perhaps the most recent protest in this respect was voiced by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the talented editor of the *Leader of* Allahabad, in his Convocation address to the University of Mysore

Mr. Chintamani frankly confesses that for long he was a convinced advocate of secular education, but finding that the home which is the legitimate place for religious instruction has practically ceased to exercise any such influence in present days, Mr. Chintamani has come to hold the view that such instruction should be imparted in schools and colleges, at least in the broad principles of religion, the most important of which are in his opinion common to all religious systems. Mr. Chintamani is perfectly certain that in this manner it should be possible to avoid all sectarian strife or theological contention.

Practical Difficulties

The well-intentioned proposal of Mr. Chintamani, coming as it does from a man of his eminence in the public life of the co deserves full consideration at our hands far as the theoretical aspect goes, none deny its importance; nor need anybody que the urgency of the purpose which it is n to serve. The evil is real and calls for pro relief, but as Sir Mirza Ismail, the My Dewan, remarked in his recent Convoca address to the Annamalai University, it is idea that is admirable until one seeks to it practical shape". According to Sir M it is definitely impossible to teach religio universities, while the religion of all is not same. At the same time, it is his belief th the teachers are animated each by his own ligion, the students too will find this cur entering into them and their lives.

We may recall at this place that the Ind University Commission of 1882 had devo some pages to the consideration of this ques and the Commission as such proposed compilation of a text book and recommen regular courses of lectures on the duty of m Indian opinion, however, was best represen by the late Mr. Telang's minute of diss which has since come to be quoted as a clas

"There are only two possible mode observed Mr. Telang, "which can be adop in justice and fairness, of practically impart religious instruction. Either you must te the principles common to all religions under name of Natural Religion, or you must te the principles of each religious creed to students whose parents adopt their creed."

"The difficulties of these alternati appear to me to be so great", continued M Telang, "that we must be content to take refu in the remote haven of refuge for educationis the secular system". It was Mr. Telang's firm conviction that meddling with religious instruc tion, would among other mischiefs, yield resu which on the religious side will satisfy nobod

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nd on the secular side will be distinctly etrograde.

Influence of Intellectual Pursuits

If religious instruction as such is out of the uestion, how is the religious spirit to be maintained in the universities and how is the religious nature to be cultivated among the tudents? "It must come from the strengthening of the will and the emotions," replied Mr. Telang, "by the actual details of academic life, by the elevating contact with good professors and fellow students, by the constant engagement of the attention on the ennobling pursuits of literature, science and philosophy." He strengthened this view by aptly quoting Matthew Arnold's dictum that "conduct was three-fourths of life."

Cardinal Newman, a religious man if ever there was one, has told us that, religious instruction apart, the university studies in themselves have got the power to bring the heart "half-way to Heaven," because they serve to expel the excitements of sense by the introduction of those of the intellect.

"Relgion seems too high or unearthly to be able to exert a continued influence upon us: its effect to rouse the soul and the soul's effort to cooperate, are too violent to last." What we need then, said Dr. Newman, is some expedient or instrument, which at least will obstruct and stave off the approach of our spiritual enemy, and which is sufficiently congenial to maintain a firm hold upon us as against the inducements of sensual gratification.

Personal Example

But the vital thing is that the contact with the professors must be of an elevating character, for which reason the greatest care must be taken to bring into the colleges and the universities, only such professors as are distinguished for their noble lives and high endeavours. Dr. Newman, in an Oxford sermon, once again maintained and illustrated the truth of the proposition that the flow of religious current was in fact dependent upon the personal influence, direct and indirect, of those who are commissioned to preach it.

A high modern British authority, Sir Charles Grant Robertson, writing on *Religion in the Universities*, is no less emphatic on the point. "There is no force so infectious or so enduring as personality," he says, "particularly in the universities and amongst youth." And he further frankly states that the future of religion in the universities depends upon the persons who are active Christians.

His warning, too, is no less pertinent here. He says:—Above all, let us keep clear of "stunts" and "missions," and of organizing a religious renascence as if it were a "Carnival" for the hospitals. The rising tide must come "from below," not from Councils, Senates, Faculties or Vice-Chancellors. The duty of authority today is to know what is going on, to be full of sympathy, to encourage when it can be done personally and efficiently, to give help but only when it is asked for."

Religious Studies

If therefore we are anxious to inculcate the spirit of religion among the university students, not only should the studies be truly liberal and diligently and lovingly pursued, but the University must encourage the employment of such professors in the colleges as have devoted themselves to the pursuit of truth for its own sake and are living a noble and selfless life, and must absolutely prohibit and discontinue the employment of those who are not scrupulously honest and whose conduct is not above reproach. Much of the demoralization that is evident in our universities, has been due to the student's contact with the lesser breed.

In another direction also, the universities may progress. Religious studies as such, pursued on a scientific basis, find no place in the curricula of our universities. Comparative studies of this type must broaden the mind and develop the spirit of toleration. In the London University, Professor Waterhouse writes to me, philosophy and religion are studied separately and together, the former falls under the Faculty of Arts and the latter under the Faculty of Theology. At the same time, theology can be taken as one of the subjects in the B.A. degree, and the philosophy of religion as well as the comparative study of religion is taken in the B.D. degree. Some such grouping of studies should prove acceptable to our universities also.

Lastly, outside the university, the possibilities of a Students' Religious Movement in India on broad lines, may be explored, making it perfectly clear to ourselves that what we have to look to is the growth of the "religious temper" and not the renascence of formal religion "with a parade of church-going."

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HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

Platitudes and its Realities

By DHIRES CHAKRAVRATI, M.A.

Politics has often been condemned as a game of bluff and bluster. This is the attitude not of the disgruntled alone. Mahatma Gandhi can in no way be counted as such. Still his has been the noble mission of spiritualising politics. Chicanery and sophistry and all that generally passes for diplomacy Gandhiji wants to replace by the observance of truth and self-purification. Nevertheless the prevailing notions of morality in public life have hitherto managed successfully to brave Gandhiji's repeated onslaughts. Camouflage still holds its sway there. How else can one possibly account for communalist leaders waxing eloquent on questions of national unity and furthering communal ends all the while. Do we not, in fact, come across prophets of the Islamization *en masse* of the Harijans appearing unabashed in public as messengers of communal peace and amity?

We feel, therefore, not a little amused to find H. H. the Aga Khan and Maulana Shaukut Ali appearing again in the role of peace-makers, preaching anew the gospel of Hindu-Muslim Unity. On the occasion of his recent visit to Calcutta in connection with the Khilafat Conference there, the Maulana is reported to have expressed himself in the course of a press interview on January 4, in the following terms:

> "A humble worker in the cause of peace and good-will, I beg every individual and community to make earnest efforts to come to an understanding honourable to all."

Similarly the Aga Khan, immediately on his return to India, is said to have stated in an interview with the *Associated Press* that "he had always tried for communal settlement and would continue to do so."

Correct Perspective of Unity Efforts

What are after all these periodic talks on unity? Promotion of communal unity at this stage of our political group is no mere sentimentalism but is generally believed to be the *sine qua non* for the attainment of Swaraj. Whether one subscribes to this view or not, there is no gainsaying the fact that in the field of practical politics unity, be it of parties or of communities, is meaningless unless it has in view the attainment of a well-defined goa case communal unity had been an end in the Islamization of the Hindus or the Hind tion of the Mussalmans would then have gested itself as a possible solution. But the existing circumstances a free united can only be a comity of free and non-ag sive races and communities bound togethe common rights and duties of citizenship. plete Independence, again, has been defin India's political goal. The soundness or wise of all unity talks has, therefore, got assessed from this, the only standpoint, whether the proposed solution would acce or retard our national struggle for free Political emancipation is the primary and fu mental issue before us; all other questions their value only in relation to the same.

Congress Attitude

Now that we hear so much from Mu leaders about communal unity and the need organizing a 'united front,' it is worth noticing their attitude in the past towards Congress ideal of national unity. The buil up of a united India has ever been the ob of the Congress. Even at its first session of its objects was defined as the "eradicat by direct friendly personal intercourse, of possible race, creed or provincial prejud amongst all lovers of our country and the fu development and consolidation of . . . . se ments of national unity." Although at the session Mr. Sayani was the single delegate longing to the Muhammadan community, the time of the fourth session the number Muhammadan delegates rose to 221. Bengal, as well, Muhammadans freely joi in public movements. It was under Syed A Ali that his Muhammadan followers helped inauguration of the Indian National Con ence in Calcutta.

But unfortunately a reaction was not l in coming. Such great Muhammadan lead as Sir Syed Ahmed began by urging his religionists to keep out of the Congress It was to counteract this move that M Budruddin Tyabji was made the President

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Madras session of the Congress in 1888. In appeal for joint action the President

ared:—

"I, at least, not merely in my individual capacity, but as representing the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay, do not consider that there is anything whatever in the position or the relations of the different communities in India . . . . which should induce the leaders of any one community to stand aloof from others in their efforts to obtain those great general reforms, those great general rights which are for the common benefit of us all. . . . . I for one am utterly at a loss to understand why Mussalmans should not work shoulder to shoulder with their fellow countrymen of other races and creeds, for the common benefit of all."

Muslim "Volte-Face"

Nevertheless, as the anti-Congress attitude the Government began manifesting itself, the hammadans preferred since 1890 to remain tically outside of the Congress and for a engaged themselves in promoting the cause ducation among their own community for purpose of consolidating their position under ernment patronage. To this Muslim atti- Sir Samuel Baker thus alluded in the mns of the *Fortnightly Review*.

"If these (Muhammadans) are faithful to our Government there will be no internal danger to shake our rule in India. For some time past special attention has been shown to the wants and aspirations of the Muhammadan community. Educational encouragements have been held out to them and facilities afforded for their employment in public services, and their leaders have loyally met the Government half-way by holding themselves aloof from the so-called National Congress."

Thus ended the first phase of Hindu- slim entente giving rise to Muslim League safeguarding Muslim interests in particular. policy of *divide et impera* had, no doubt, share in undermining the united front. In words of Sir Samuel, this policy was neces- ted lest "Irish feeling of discontent appear- in India in the form of the Indian National ngress . . . . will develop into a National ague."

All-India Muslim Deputation

The communal outlook did, henceforth, come among the Muslim leaders more and re marked till at last in 1906 the ultra- mmunal claims of the All-India Muslim putation made the chances of joint action ween the communities recede farther and ther. This deputation under the leadership the Aga Khan waiting upon His Excellency e Viceroy, Lord Minto, was fittingly char- terized by the late Maulana Mohamed Ali as a 'Command performance,' because it was the Viceroy himself who was believed to have 'started the Muhammadan hare.' The time was particularly chosen because a Committee of the Viceregal Executive Council was then considering the question of constitutional reforms including representation in the legislatures, central as well as provincial.

The Deputation among other things demanded: (*i*) communal electorate for Muslims in the legislatures, in Municipalities and District Boards and the number of Muslims seats being determined by the 'numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements' of the community; (*ii*) reservation of Muslim seats in the Senates and Syndicates of Indian Universities. The Viceroy was not slow to take advantage of the situation. His reply to the Deputation was characteristic of him:

"I am fully convinced, as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the populations of this continent."

Beginning of Separate Electorates

Nevertheless, speaking at the House of Lords, the Secretary of State, Lord Morley, could not cite the instances of any advanced country but of Cyprus and Bohemia alone for a 'precedent and a parallel for the idea of a separate register.' And the following was Mr. Asquith's half-hearted defence in the House of Commons:

"Undoubtedly, there will be a separate register for Muslims. To us here at first sight it looks an objectionable thing because it discriminates between people and segregates them into classes on basis of religious creeds."

In the Imperial Legislative Council in 1907, Mr. Gokhale raised the voice of protest against this separatist measure on the ground that 'the idea of two water-tight compartments for Hindus and Muslims separately will not promote the best interests of the country . . . . .' The Congress in its Allahabad session in 1910 also condemned this system of representation in legislatures and its extension to self-governing bodies. Speaking in support of the resolution, what Nawab Sadiq Ali said on that occasion holds good even today. 'For the sake of certain paltry gains in the services or in the Councils, do not sacrifice the larger hopes of an ampler day'—was the Nawab's appeal to his community. The Morley-Minto reforms, how-

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ever, introduced not only communal electorates, but also secured for the Muslims in their representation to the provincial legislatures (*i*) a franchise lower than that of the non-Muslims; and (*ii*) a few territorial constituencies for their direct representation, over and above their right of indirect voting in the general constituencies.

Communalism and Concessions forming a Vicious Circle

We make no apology for discussing at length the circumstances that led to the introduction of separate electorates. Because it was this form of electorate that constantly loomed large in the communalists' demands; although inevitably, too, did it lead to communalism corrupting our body-politic more and more. For a time this anti-national system of representation made the rupture complete between the communities. In view of 'paltry gains in services or in Councils' the Muhammadan communalists lent themselves readily in driving deep the wedge between communities to the negation of any united front or conjoint action. The importation of religion into the realm of politics, particularly among the half-educated or uneducated masses, can only end by making political interests subserve those of religion, so as to check the growth of common civic consciousness. Nationalism has its growth upon the decay of religious fanaticism. Its undue pampering can only arrest the growth of nationhood.

This made itself apparent by the time the next instalment of reforms became due. Imperialist designs had in the meantime succeeded to perfection. Communalism had raised its hydra-head to the deep dismay of the nationalists. This had come to stay and could no longer be ignored. Hence there began from now the rivalry between the contending nationalist and imperialist forces for winning over the communalists. In wooing them our leaders overlooked the fact that the canker of communalism rather than waning only thrives upon concessions. In their eagerness for unity generous-minded Congress leaders took to the easy path of buying off Muslim opposition by the grant of concessions. As a result of this, Muslim communalism and Hindu concessions together formed a vicious circle to the more and more undoing of the growing nationalism. Indeed, the negotiations for united front furnish a dismal record of ever-inflating Muslim communal claims, every concession gained being made the starting-point for fresh demands.

Lucknow Pact

The Congress was, however, out to the impossible, and the Lucknow Pact was the result. Therein the Muslim L agreed to the acceptance of the Ni Members' Memorandum as the future s of constitutional reforms, provided Mus terests were safeguarded by the grant of heavy weightage to Muslim representati some of the provincial councils. The Fra Committee's (1919) recommendations practically based on this Pact. The foll table shows how excessive had been the w age proposed in the Pact:

Provinces	Muslim Percentage of population	Number of Members in Council in 1917	Number & percentage of sitting Muslim Members in 1917	Percentage of Muslim
Bengal ..	52.6	48	5 or 10.4%	
Bihar & Orissa	10.5	40	4 or 10%	
Bombay ..	20.4	42	4 or 9.5%	
C. P. ..	4.3	24	Nil	
Madras ..	6.5	41	2 or 4.8%	
Punjab ..	54.8	28	No Muslim reservation	
U. P. ..	14.0	47	4 or 8%	

Such extremely liberal measure of we age only showed how far the Congress prepared to go to enlist Muhammadan operation. For that community, however, really mattered was not so much the pol advance of the nation, as a whole, as the re tion of communal representation. That is at the opening of the Imperial Legisl Council in September, 1918, Lord Chelms by way of allaying Muhammadan appre sions stated :

> "We wished indeed to make it clear that in opinion communal electorates were to be depr for the reasons set out in our Report. But i in the main to the method of securing com representation by communal electorates that we exception, and not to communal representation i

Congress Espouses Khilafat

Be that as it may, the Hindu-Muslim u of Lucknow Pact days later on gathered c derable strength from the Indian Nat Congress espousing the Khilafat cause. U Gandhiji's lead the Congress, the Mu League and the Khilafat Conference, for a began moving practically in complete uni Congress Resolutions and Programme fo ready acceptance in the League as well as the Khilafat Conference. Henceforth entente became more and more mar Presiding over the session of the All-I

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Muslim League in December, 1920, Dr. Ansari said in his concluding speech:

"The way in which the Hindus had come forward to help the Mussalmans in their struggle for the Khilafat could not be sufficiently expressed and it was the duty of the Mussalmans to always remember this help. Looked at from every point of view, religious, political, economic and national, it was necessary that they must consolidate Hindu-Muslim unity."

Equally fervent was the appeal of Maulana Hasrat Mohani for a fresh Congress-League Pact. From the Presidential Chair of the Muslim League in 1921 the Maulana declared:

"In my opinion the pressing necessity of Hindusthan is the immediate conclusion of a definite compact between the Congress and League. The Congress should not enter into any negotiations with the Government concerning Swaraj (*i*) until the minimum Muslim demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied; (*ii*) on the other hand, the Muslims should definitely bind themselves that even when their demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied, the Mussalmans of India will stand to the last by the side of their Hindu brethren for the attainment and preservation of Indian Independence."

Commendable though the Maulana's remarks be, it is significant that in so many words he characterized 'Indian Independence' as an exclusively Hindu cause, as much as 'Khilafat' was that of the Muhammadans. That the Maulana's analysis was too true, soon became manifest at the collapse of the Hindu-Muslim entente, as soon as there came the reversal of the Treaty of Sevres and Kemal Pasha's triumph in Angora.

Bengal Pact and Unity Efforts

The year 1923 saw a definite breakdown of the Hindu-Muslim unity. There set in a definite reaction, the Congress gradually losing its hold upon the Muhammadan mass mind. In no time there also began the orgy of communal riots, throwing the communities more and more apart. Desperate, however, were the efforts made by the leaders to stem the tide of communal conflagration, till at last there began anew Hindu-Muslim negotiations not so much for national, as for communal, purposes. Deshabandhu Das's 'Bengal Pact' was the first of its kind. It provided for communal representation on population basis in the provincial legislature; and in the local bodies in Bengal in the proportion of 60:40 according as either of the communities be in a majority or minority in the districts. It also stipulated for a grant of 55 per cent of Government services to Muhammadans. In this division of spoils there was no mention of any obligation on the part of the Muhammadans to make common cause with the Hindus in enforcing the National Demands.

Communal strifes, however, continued in full swing, assuming serious proportions by 1926 in Calcutta. Separate electorates came to be regarded by the nationalists as the root-cause of this sort of communalism. There began, in consequence, a movement for the introduction of joint electorate in its stead. But the panicky Muslim League in its successive sessions from 1924 onwards went on demanding the retention of communal electorates. In 1926 Mr. Jinnah declared in the Muslim League:

> "There is no escaping from the fact that communalism does exist in the country. By mere time and sentiment it could not be removed. Nationalism could not be created by having mixed electorates."

His Excellency Lord Irwin also stated in reply to an address by the Muhammadans at Poona that "communal representation in some form is likely to be necessary and it is probable that a substantial modification of it must largely depend upon the general consent of all communities." The agreed settlement plea, grown so familiar in connection with the present-day "Communal Award" controversy has, therefore, no newness in it.

Jinnah's Fourteen Points

In March, 1927, Mr. Jinnah sponsored the Delhi proposals relating to communal unity, otherwise known as his "fourteen points." It was proposed that the Muhammadans would consent to the introduction of joint electorate provided the Hindus conceded to the Muhammadans their 13 points of demand, *viz.*, the separation of Sind; N.-W. Frontier Provinces and British Baluchistan being made into Governor's Provinces; one-third representation of the Muhammadans in the Central Legislature; and representation on population basis in the legislatures in Bengal and the Punjab; and the like. It was quite in keeping with its traditions that the Hindu-Muslim unity resolution of the Madras session of the Congress that year decided in favour of joint electorate with reservation of seats on population basis as a temporary measure. The Nehru Committee's Report also urged the very same thing. But the Muslim League at its Calcutta session declared that the "representation of Muslims in the legislatures by separate electorates is inevitable." At Lahore the League, again, characterized joint electorate as being "unacceptable to Indian Muslims on the ground of its being a fruitful source of discord and

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disunion, etc." The All-India Hindu Mahasabha, on the contrary, at its Delhi session in 1928, condemned communal representation as being fundamentally opposed to nationalism.

Muslims at the so-called R. T. C.

So far about the views of the League regarding the crucial question, *viz.*, separate electorates. At the so-called Round Table Conferences also the Muslim attitude remained equally communal. The late Maulana Mohamed Ali was by far the foremost among the accredited Nationalist Muhammadan leaders. Yet in a letter to the Prime Minister in January, 1931, which was circulated to the Minorities Sub-Committee, the Maulana remarked:

> "Freedom for India is not separate electorates, though, being one of the authors of the separate electorates in 1906, I shall be the last to surrender them."

Regarding his attitude towards the Congress fight for freedom, the Maulana had been equally outspoken. For in another part of the letter he wrote:

> "Today some Mussalmans are still taking part in the Congress movement but they are men who are doing it more out of the habit of freedom that we ourselves helped to create ten years ago or out of fashion than otherwise. . . . . It is we, who had to fight the battle practically in every province and to a very large extent indeed we succeeded in keeping the Mussalmans out, because we showed to them that the last movement (Non-co-operation, 1921) was a truly national movement, while in the present movement (Satyagraha, 1931) I regret to have to say in their absence, Gandhiji and Pandit Motilal Nehru have both surrendered for the sake of their popularity to the Hindu Mahasabha."

It is an undeniable fact that the Muhammadans were lukewarm in their support towards the Civil Disobedience movement. It may be due to the activities of the Maulana, as he claimed, or to other contributory causes. But what made two of his illustrious co-workers appear to him no better than Hindu-Sabhaites is more than we can account for. Be that as it may, the fact remains that none of the Muslim Round Tablers could ever rise above the communal outlook. Heroic efforts were made at the Second R. T. C. in London by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sreemati Sarojini Naidu to come to a settlement on this vaxed question. Muhammadan leaders responded by entering into the infamous "Minorities Pact" at the instance of British die-hards. It is also well-known how the Second R. T. C. practically ended in a deadlock, due to Muhammadan delegates' refusal to participate in discussions on constitutional questions till the satisfaction of their co[illegible] claims.

Communal "Award" Controve[illegible]

The few Muslim Round Tablers' [illegible] however, is by no means an exceptio[illegible] recent Communal "Award" controve[illegible] established beyond a shadow of doubt [illegible] of the Muhammadan leaders can ever [illegible] of the same communal bias. It is, no [illegible] true that not a few of them did at the [illegible] individually condemn the 'Award.' Bu[illegible] on hardly any Muslim, organization or [illegible] dual, could make bold to join the ag[illegible] Hindus in voting for its rejection. W[illegible] unfortunate still, the Nationalist Muham[illegible] leaders did, on the contrary, take full adv[illegible] of their position in the Congress effectiv[illegible] waive any opposition towards the Com[illegible] Decision on the part, either of that [illegible] national institution, or its Parliamentari[illegible] the Legislative Assembly.

This is not, however, the place for [illegible] show how the Congress by its non-pos[illegible] attitude towards the so-called "Award" p[illegible] cally sacrificed the gospel of nationalism [illegible] altar not, as was supposed, of Hindu-M[illegible] unity but of the ogre of communalism. [illegible] ever queer, this attitude had its root i[illegible] newfangled obsession of Hindu-Muslim [illegible] inspiring the Congress leadership in recent [illegible] to the gallant surrender of nationalis[illegible] communalism all along the line. Any way [illegible] Congress has thus been made a party, if [illegible] accepting, at least to acquiescing in the i[illegible] tous and anti-national Communal Dec[illegible] thanks, to the efforts of our Nationalist M[illegible] friends.

What they did not foresee was the Con[illegible] Nationalists' revolt in this regard. [illegible] Nationalists have justified their rebellio[illegible] success at the polls in connection with the [illegible] Assembly election. This does, indeed, look [illegible] a patch of clouds, although no bigger th[illegible] man's hand, threatening to mar the prospect [illegible] glorious day. The much-looked for Comm[illegible] Decision is, no doubt, there with all its pos[illegible] lities. But for the Muslim revivalists full[illegible] enjoy the boon the whining Hindus must [illegible] up their spirit of intransigence and made [illegible] plaisant. The assurance of the Decision, [illegible] that it is a settled fact, must be made do[illegible] sure by enlisting Hindu support to the sam[illegible]

Unity in Fellowship of Suffering

The present-day unity talks of Mus[illegible] leaders seem to originate from no other o[illegible]

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derations. The Muslim cry for "united front" had, no doubt, been, in the past, full of appeal to the Hindu heart. But the question arises, the constitutional Reforms being accepted by the Muhammadans—and no more than repelled by the Congress,—what can be the objective of this much-talked-of united front? Unless, of course, it be to make the future reformed government stable. The Hindu mind bears no love towards these sham reforms and makes no secret of the fact of not caring so much as to touch the same with a pair of tongs. His has generally been the pride and privilege to strive for "Independence." In the cause of freedom Hindus have hitherto fought, considering not favour or frown,—and often fought hard with their backs to the wall. Let our Muslim friends make up their minds to give up opportunism and the striving for loaves and fishes—basking in authorities' favour; but take up the Cross in the interests of the nation, as a whole. In the service of the nation and the fellowship of sacrifice lies the sure way to unity. If for this we are unprepared, appeals for "united front" are no more than meaningless "cant" and empty catch-phrases.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR IN OUR POLITICS

By D. D. PINGLAY

It is unfortunate that the number of political parties in India should be ever on the increase. The Congress should be the only political organization in India voicing the political sentiments of the Indians. It would not be out of place here to appeal to the Liberals and others representing various other shades of Indian political opinion to join the Congress, for it is as much open to them as to the present Congressmen to capture the Congress. It is poor statesmanship to keep away from the premier political organization of India, simply because we cannot subscribe to the political principles of one of its parties. The secessionist policy savours not of farsightedness but of a spirit of despondency resulting from the inability of the supporters of the policy to carry conviction to the hearts of Congress members regarding the wisdom of its own political policy and programme. It is idle to grumble that a particular party is monopolising power. The fact is not that the party is monopolising power but that it finds itself in the happy position to continue in power by dint of its superior organizational capacity. Everyone who wants India to be raised to the honourable status of a free nation can and must be a Congressman (a member of the Congress), no matter whether he is a Liberal or a Socialist.

In recent years, the influence of Socialism is noticeable in the Congress. Socialism is becoming more and more popular day by day with the people of India, because of its anti-capitalist idealism which at once casts a spell on the imagination of the poverty-stricken people of India. So long as India is exposed to the rigours of capitalist yoke, everything anti-capitalist or anti-imperialist is bound to find favour with the exploited masses of India. But in our unbounded enthusiasm at having found in Socialism a panacea for our economic ills, we must not let ourselves be deluded into the belief that Socialism is going to solve our economic problem even if we do not achieve complete independence. To my mind, this is the greatest delusion everyone of us must guard himself against, for not until we reach the goal of complete independence, can we destroy the existing economic system based upon an unequal distribution of our national wealth and replace it by a new economic order best suited to the political genius of India. All that the Socialist programme now bids fair to bring about more than any other programme is a nation-wide awakening among the Indian masses which might at some future time stand the country in good stead to set afoot a formidable movement strong enough to get the better of the capitalist forces. Such a movement must come to pass in the near future, because the Socialist appeal is irresistible.

In conclusion, I should like to appeal to all to sink their differences, to stand united and then to declare with one thundering voice to the British Government that nothing short of complete political and economic freedom is going to satisfy the political aspirations of India. The salvation of India lies not in a multiplicity of political parties and the consequent division of our national strength, but in their fusion into one compact and most formidable party, potent enough to bring the national struggle for freedom to a successful conclusion even in the teeth of the strongest opposition by the British Government.

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"BITTER-SWEET"

Lover's Poems

By MAUD MacCARTHY

"Tandra Devi"

[Note:—The poems of Maud MacCarthy previously published in *The Modern Review* were written in what is commonly called free verse, that is, verse without specific stanza-structure or rhyme. In the group of short poems published in this number, some are in rhymed and stanzaic form. A dissertation could here be written on the characteristics and usages of strict and free verse, and as to whether the latter gives more pliability to the expression of inner experiences than the former. But this would take us beyond the object of these notes. It is sufficient here to indicate that Maud MacCarthy conveys the same sense of reality of experience by both modes of expression.

The present poems reflect the emotional admixture in human experience; but the spirit of the Bhagavad Gita governs them. The poetess recognises that liberation from the frustrating tests of life can only be achieved through mastery of them—not by futile opposition, or by lazy acquiescence, but by separating the pure gold from the dross in the fire of experience—by spiritual understanding, in which one can "suffer them without a sigh." Some of the shorter pieces might have been sung in Hindi by Rani Mirabai, so congenial are they in their Vaisnavite spirit. "The Lonely Garden" recalls "*Main-ne Chakar Rakhoji.*"

The love-symbolism which pervades these poems is of the same nature, too, as that in the lyrical poetry of Rabindranath. It has no relationship, save by an unavoidable parallelism, with physical desire. It is a human code of super-physical experience, translatable out of transciencies of speech into psychological and spiritual realities. It is not just a thing of passing emotions and fancy. It is as real to the poetess as anything in life can be—more real, indeed, because "nearer than hands and feet" to the degree of inner life on which her consciousness functions when she touches, or is touched by, "that serene and blessed mood," known to Wordsworth, in which poetry is born. Above all, it is real to her because it is the quintessence of her own personal living and loving, sufferings and joys. She refuses to differentiate between human and divine. When the human is touched, instantly it goes out to the divine, sending "its smoke into infinite." Yet, very human is "Pearls Upon Your Feet"—the helplessness of love in face of old age and death. In "Blue Smoke" the poetess sings for a myriad Indian lovers whom the evening fires awaken sacred memories.

Love of country she counts among her "Bitter-Sweet." In "A Solemn Song: England" this Irish-woman identifies herself with England in lines as English in feeling as these others are Indian. She writes: "These lines, together with a song in old English, were received by me from a *deva* of England. It is significant to note that the song and words were published at that time in the magazine of the Headquarters Y. M. C. A. London, together with a detailed account of the manner in which it was received, and of the visitation by the *deva* ('angel'). This is widely read."

The second part of "The Land of Mystery" is in the same mood as a poem of the late Bharati, in Tamil, that I paraphrased into English some eighteen years ago—"A Song," in which Shri Krishna is seen in aspects of nature, and yet not only as a personification, but as a reality, even as the Irish Gods and Goddesses that A. E. felt were real to him.

I mention these affinities in Maud MacCarthy's poetry with the poetry of our Indians, not to suggest any derivativeness in her's (though she is aware, as a footnote shows, of the characteristics of Indian poetry) but to indicate the identity of her experience with theirs, from which identity proceeds a natural similarity of expression though in a different language.

James H. Cousins, D. Litt.]

PEARLS UPON YOUR FEET

Pearls lay upon your feet
And you moved them about;
Yet I would not kiss them, Sweet,
Lest my secret should out!

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O I would not take your hand
Though you moved it to mine;
Round my heart lay a soft band
But my head was hot with Wine!
O I sighed for a breeze
From the far-off mount to blow,
And I cried, because all these,
Beloved! should pain me so!
Because your loveliness
Must fade away from me,
And death and parting's stress
Must drown us in their sea.
Pearls lay upon your feet,
And pain upon my heart.
Ah! keep your jewels, Sweet,
For remembrance, when we part!

THE DIVINE LOVER

"Brahm, the Singer of Songs"

my Blessedness
ome into my heart!
hat is the song without the singer?—
nd what is the singer, without Thee?
my Blessedness
ome into my heart
nd set its music free!

have wandered too long away from Thee,
y grief and joy!
moment is eternity away from Thee:
ow many eternities? Ah count them not!
ut let them melt in Thee.
my Blessedness
ome into my heart!

hese waves, they say, are singing praise of Thee,
ut seemeth me they moan, away from Thee.
hat bird anigh me singeth sweetly, too;
et in mine ears, O Dearest
he chants of dawn and even
re but as sighs upon Thy lotus feet.

'en tho' I hear the starry melody—
salming of *devas*, saints, all nature's minstrelsy
teeping my sense in deepest ecstasy—
ord! Break these echoes! Come into my heart,
nd *Thou* its music be!

Would that I might not reach Thee in this dream,
But in the living day instead,
My dear, my only One!
Say'st Thou I cannot find Thee so—not yet?—
Then let me sleep, or let me die,
So that I may dream on!
O my Blessedness
Stay within my heart!

THE CASTLE OF ILLUSION

Here charméd sense and mind enspelled
Acquainted are with Beauty's rarest flowers,
Inwrought in tracery of patterned light,
And dulcet tender shades of fancy's bowers.

Here, through the passage of enchanted years,
The lover sits amazéd in his dream,
'Mid echoing laughter and amid soft tears,
Hymning the feet of Beauty where they gleam.

And here Phantasm's opalescent shower—
Ambition blind, and passion's haunting sway;
Glamour of riches, lusts of place and power—
Dazzle and draw and hold him in their play.

Here dragon-forms of horrible intent,
With dull red eyes that will nor close nor die,
Torture the fearful—nor shall they be spent
Until he suffer them without a sigh.

Dim shadow-wings of other worlds, more blest,
Surround the weary soul upon its way;
Happy is he who toiling, yet shall rest,
And find within their folds his hope and stay.

Here shall the hornéd moon
Raise up her peaks in night's pale solitude;
And here deceits assail the 'wildered soul—
Till, conquering by might of God within,
He shall, triumphant, cross the moony beams
To solitudes of peace and not of pain.

THE LONELY GARDEN

My heart is on fire with the love that has stolen into it.
If my Beloved does not speak, I shall endure bitter grief.
I await in my garden the sound of his footsteps—
But the night passes on, and I am alone, alone.

BLUE SMOKE

It is a blue colour, twisting up in a curl of smoke from an unseen fire—
Blue light on black, as the light which shimmered on your hair,

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When the fire of love flamed up in our hearts,
To send its smoke into the Infinite.

HUNGER

The crystal stream of love flows down from heaven.
It is caught in the strands of your hair and breaks over your form in a divine effulgence.
O let me lie upon your feet and catch this radiance as it showers from you,
For I am naked, hungry and forlorn.

Bend your face, so that your tresses touch my lips—
Even the touch of one hair thrills my weary limbs.
I am thinking on that!
I will not raise my eyes to meet your eyes,
But will shrink into the shadows, remembering!

THE CRYSTAL LAND

I cannot sing to you—
For at your coming,
My voice is drowned in songs of many voices
From a quiet crystal land—
A far-off shore—
Where lovers reign forever, whole and joyous,
And shadows are no more.

I cannot weep for you—
For all my tears
Long since have spilled their salt into an ocean,
Where cold glittering waves
Stifle and rend.
You are not there, my sweetest! I have found you
Where tears and laughter end.

I cannot hold you, dear—
For I should lose you,
In the dim mist and stressing of a passion—
In the hot, searing blast
Of a desire!—
And so I leave you free, and ask for nothing
But Love's redeeming fire.

In tearless, silent bliss,
Love! I have tasted—
In prayer have held—embraced you—made you mine!
At the slow tender birth
Of a Vision,
Have seen your soul and worshipped at your shrine!

THE LAND OF MISTS

The woman receives a poem from, or questions her friend about, her lover[1]:

Tell me, darling, is he mocking me?
I have followed him into the Land of Mists,
Whence there is no return.
He sang to me, and I lost my heart;
He looked into my eyes, and I became blind.
Tell me, darling, is he mocking me,
And shall I lose him in the Land of Mists?

The friend answers the woman:

Thou hast not followed Love into the Land of Mists;
'Twas Death beckoned thee and blinded Thy
Thy Love hath never called thee—
Nor sung, nor glanced.
The ripple of the hollow footfall of Death
Resounds in the valley!

Fly from the Land of Mists!
Thy Love is coming to thee on the petal of a blown rose.
His hair is Morning!
His glance, the Evening Star!
He will not speak, nor touch thy hand—
But thou shalt sing for all time in the strength of His Presence,

Whose soft footfall o'ertakes the early dawn
In the sweetness of the ravishing of dawn.
Thine is thy Beloved—
Unknown! Unsought! Unfound!

SWEET DEATH

Glad am I, Death, to hear thy soft speech—
Musical-sounding like tinkling of waters,
Rushing through small beds to ocean's wide reaches.

Grey-white thy garments, like splash of the foaming;
Grey-blue thine eyes are and full of sweet teardrops;
Beautiful rise their soft beams in the gloaming;
Swiftly come, swiftly, with calm measured pacing;
Pass me not by where I, panting, entreat thee—
Press to my heart, Death, and stop its wild racing!

1. The woman friend and confidant (*sakhi*, "darling") pervades Indian love poetry.

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rgid my brain is, life's fevers oppress me;
thou Beloved! No more shall I wrong thee;
w let thine icy-cold fingers possess me!

eathe thy cold breath on my life that is
going;
own deep the darts of its ache and its
stressing;
eeze and annul my heart-blood in its flowing.

nd are thy ways, Death! Thy kind day is
dawning!
rds of my spirit toward thee are flying,
ating their wings 'neath thy dark spangled
awning.

Death, sweet Death!
Take thou my breath!
Take thou my life!
Take all its strife!
Lay it to God,
Deep in the sod!
Rest—rest—
His behest!
Dark—dark—
The body stark—
The spirit free—
Ecstasy!

A SOLEMN SONG OF ENGLAND

(*These lines were made during the darkest days of the Great War in 1917*)

A solemn song of England
My voice shall make today;
A solemn song of England—
A song made from alway—
The song of seas and lands unknown
And brave hearts setting forth—
Of sons no father could disown,
From South, East, West and North.

Praise for these sons of England
Shall fill my heart today;
These quiet sons of England,
Who serve her from alway—
They serve her now in trench and ship,
They serve from shadow land,
Their spirits from the vasty deep
Are speaking through the land.

Dear England, Mother England,
Forget not these today—
The children of thy body,
Who serve thee from alway—
And standing in the Light of Death,
Look out, and say to thee:
"*Our England, Mother England!*
Set all thy children free!"

EDUCATION *VERSUS* BRITH-CONTROL

By Professor C. N. MENON, M.A., Ph.D.

The essential preliminary to the solution of the population problem in India is universal education. Anybody who has had anything to do with vital statistics or economic surveys will agree how hard it is to get reliable figures from the illiterate. It is unsafe to build on such data and propose birth-control as a remedy. The very classes whose multiplication has given rise to alarm will be untouched, while the cultured classes whose birth-rate is already low will readily take to birth-control. Unless education is made free[1] and the knowledge of birth-control treated like a dangerous drug to be dispensed only on medical advice, the interests of the individual will clash with those of the community; and, once race degeneration sets in, nothing will stem the tide. Dr. R. B. Cottell recently suggested that birth-control should be prohibited to the intelligent classes and Professor Bartlett blamed them for not doing their duty in the breeding of the race.[2] In some countries rewards and threats have both failed to persuade parents to beget children. Let us not rashly adopt what is likely to be convenient to the individual and costly to the race.

Education is more than a preliminary. It delivers a frontal attack on the problem itself by increasing the means of subsistence and

1. The Nazi Income-Tax Act of 1934 provides for the remission of income-tax and the payment of allowances for every 'child' at school up to the 25th year.

2. Conference of Educational Associations, University College, London.

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reducing the birth-rate. 'The habitual acceptance of untrue notions'[3] is the chief cause of the present poverty in plenty, and education is the only remedy. As regards the birth-rate, 'all available evidence goes to support this conclusion, namely, that the higher the social status the lower is the fertility.'[4] Carr Saunders explains this by saying that when education is prolonged marriage is postponed. Compulsory education will emancipate women and put an end to child-labour which, among the poorer classes, is the chief incentive to early marriage. Physical causes like delayed marriage or the practice of birth-control do not, however, account for the declining birth-rate which has affected various countries and classes.[5] A study of the intellectual classes in U. P. and Bihar will illustrate the point. The studies made by Sydenstricker and Perrot for the Milbank Memorial Fund and the researches of James H. Bossard of Pennsylvania revealed that high fertility was associated with inability to find employment and consequent mental stagnation. Mr. Hutton has hit the mark, 'It seems definitely established that intellectual activity acts as a check upon fertility.'[6] Malthus and Darwin studied plants and animals and fancied that war and shortage of food were the only checks; but life in its progress has always shown a capacity for automatic adjustment. Creative energy directed to its legitimate channels—intellectual, aesthetic and ethical effort—sets up what MacDougall calls 'an inhibition through drainage.' Brahmacharya is an ideal to be revived. Birth-control, on the other hand, is an escape from the demand of life.

The current belief that the optimum population is that which yields the highest *per capita* income is wrong. An increase of income does not necessarily mean a higher standard of life. The money-maker, who is himself the product of a Mammon-worshipping society, m money to grab still more money by methods like cut-throat competition, a net result is the destruction of we theory of population which rationalizes will, instead of raising the standard destroy life itself. On a highly mec Saskatchewan farm, according to Sy Russel, there need be only one work square mile of cultivated land. He can the products. If *per capita* income be t test, two per square mile will be overpop But when education substitutes a se values for that of prices, the calculation be based on the needs of men and the pos of supplying them. Two discoveries w be made: firstly that food production is industry and secondly that the true rai standards does not increase the press land. It does not increase the pressure soil to form healthy habits, to build s houses, to learn the civic duties, to p virtue, to hold discussions, to attend pl to compose songs. When the energies are brought into play, the present a towards the growth of population will because 'in order that there may be at there must be several men.'[7] Communic society enables man to grow to his full s

The life-giving property of such munion is generally ignored; but En Economics, and geographical determinism not explain the rise and fall of nations. education which fires the imagination creates life. Education attacks the quant as well as the qualitative problems of p tion by strengthening the will to live and the power to transform environment; but control is a counsel of despair and w mankind be strangled by the python's which has been causing wheet-restrictio starvation to progress side by side.

3. J. A. Hobson, *Poverty in Plenty*, p. 6.
4. Carr Saunders, *Population Problem*, p. 317.
5. G. Udney Yule, *The Fall of the Birth-rate*.
6. Census of India Vol. I, Part I, p. 32.

7. Spann cited by Benoy Kumar Sarkar presidential Address at the Sociological section Population Conference.

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A CLAY HEAD FROM KALINJAR (BOGRA)

By SARASI KUMAR SARASWATI, M.A.

magnificent head in clay was discovered Kalinjar, a village in the district of Bogra orth Bengal, which roughly corresponds to ndri of ancient times. A tradition recorded ama Taranatha,[1] a claim put forward by Sandhyakara Nandi, a patriotic poet of Varendri,[2] and a verse in the Deopara *prasasti* of king Vijayasena[3] supply unmistakable evidences of a glorious period of art history in North Bengal prior to the Muhammedan occupation of the land. The most convincing proofs of this artistic efflorescence are furnished by the fine sculptures discovered and collected by the

Clay head—Front
(*By Courtesy of the Rajshahi Museum authorities*)

1. A passage in Taranatha's *History of Buddhism dia*, as translated by W. L. Heely from Schiefner's an translation of the Tibetan text, contains reference school of art headed by two famous artists, Dhiman Bitapala—father and son—who flourished in Varendra g the reign of Dharmapala and Devapala (*Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 102). Another Tibetan work, *Pag-Sam-Zon-*, gives a similar account but substitutes 'Nalendra' Taranatha's 'Varendra.' This and the comparative city of early Pala sculptures from Varendra have to some doubts as to whether there was any such tic upheaval in Varendra in the early Pala period iod of Dharmapala and Devapala). But though gible as compared to the abundance of relics in the land of Buddhism, which is receiving the attention archæologists ever since the time of Cunningham, the specimens of the early period are not at all rare in th Bengal. The reason for the comparative scarcity early Bengal sculpture is to be sought for in the fact that our collections consist chiefly of what we may call chance finds from tanks and ditches of the latest period and from the upper stratum of the ground and not in a paucity of artists or of art products in North Bengal, the homeland of the Pala kings, who were responsible for such an artistic regeneration.

2. सुकन्नापायितकुन्तलरुचिमाविललाटकान्तिमवनमदङ्गाम् ।
अधरितकर्णाटेक्षणलीलां धृतमध्यदेशतनिमानमपि ॥
Ramacharitam, III, 24, M. A. S. B., Vol. III.

3. चखानवारेन्द्रकशिल्पि गोष्ठीचूडामणिवाणकशूलपाणिः ॥
Verse 36.
Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III. p. 49.

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Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. They are mostly in stone. Metal specimens too are not rare. Clay is particularly the art medium of Bengal and we have found a fair number of terracotta or burnt clay specimens of art from North Bengal. Unburnt clay specimens are however exceedingly rare, perhaps because of the extreme fragility of the material. As such, the present specimen is worth noticing as perhaps the only remnant of a branch of art current, as now, in the pre-Muhammedan period.[4] Art critics should agree that it does not deserve oblivion.

Clay head—Profile
(*By Courtesy of the Rajshahi Museum authorities*)

The head has been modelled, rather hollow, in clay, finished and then coat with a compound (*vajralepa*), whi rendered it quite watertight. A plain nimbus (*prabhamandala*) frames the which is capped by a flat-topped (*kirita*). The soft and delightful curves eyebrows, indicated only lines melting on the fr itself, meet at the root nose and they are balanced by the wide eyelids, which, curiously are not drooping—a cha istic of almost every sculpture. This feature fact that they are not along the full breadth face endow the eyes fresh and bold outlook, free from the brooding prehension of mediæval art. The eyeballs as the pupils are sharply by deep incised lines, mar a little the smoothn the modelling of the whol and are not sunk benea planes of the lids. The pointed with the nostrils gliding to the modelling cheeks. The mouth is with accentuated lips. Th upper lip, curved like a bow, balances beautiful curves of the eyebrows the thick and fleshy lowe with the drooping curve of the chin. The lips, of the deep curves, gradually into the soft bu modelling of the cheeks. ears are long and decorat a pair of earrings (*Kund* The whole face forms a re oval and contrasting wi smoothness the *mukuta* with its scrollwork string tassels produces a highly decorative Seen in profile, it is an almost unbroke from the top of the crown to the tip of the

The soft but sensitive modelling is s There is no sharpness of the contour or outline. Every feature passes naturally the adjoining one. Soft shadows follow planes as they flow imperceptively one int other. With the utmost delicacy this hea been finished and the delicacy is enhance

4. Dr. Kramrisch, who, so far as I am aware, is the only scholar to notice it (*Grundzuge der Indischen Kunst*, Tafel, 47) ascribes it to the 15th century A. D. I should however think that it belongs to a much earlier period. It is perhaps one of the best creations of Pala art.

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the contrastingly carved *mukuta*. But while ease and charm are predominant it is not lacking in vigour. It is masculine but serene in dignity, possessing, so to say, much inner determination. It has got great vitality, but at the same time poise and restraint.

AN INDIAN ZOOLOGIST IN PORTUGAL

At the 12th International Zoological Congress, held quite recently at Lisbon (Portugal), the researches of Dr. B. K. Das, D.Sc. (London), a delegate from H. E. H. the Nizam's Government and a Professor of the Osmania University, have been appreciated. Of all the Universities in India Osmania University was the only one which was represented at this Congress, which is held once in every five years. His latest scientific paper on the intestinal respiration of a very interesting Hyderabad fish together with the account of the Hyderabad Fauna in general that was read by him before the International Congress is a piece of work that has won for him much distinction. He also presented to the Museu Bocage (*i.e.*, the Zoological Museum of the Lisbon University) some peculiar living fishes that he carried with great difficulty all the way from Hyderabad and a series of very interesting Hyderabad Zoological specimens, beautiful dissections and skeleton preparations which were accomplished with the help of his colleagues of the Zoology Department here, and these gifts were highly appreciated.

The President of the International Congress, well-known as one of the greatest living master-minds in Zoology, Professor Dr. Arthur Ricardo Jorge, paid a high tribute to Dr. Das's work. Besides, Professor Das also gave an account of the noble work of H. E. H. the Nizam, the aims and objects of the Osmania University and the great success attained in teaching through the medium of Urdu, as well as regarding the Hyderabad State at several evening discourses at many educational centres in Portugal, illustrating his lectures by over a hundred lantern slides. Dr. Das has been given receptions and entertainments all over Portugal, especially at the three University centres, viz., Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto, and also at other places, such as Setubal, Palmela, Mafra, Sintra, Pena, Estoril, Braga, Curia, Pavoa de Varzim, Alcobaca, Batalha, etc. He has been offered certain valuable presents by the members of the staff of the Faculty of Science of the Lisbon University, including the President himself, Professor and Madam Frade and many others; and many of his friends of the University came to see him off at the Lisbon quay with flowers and a variety of souvenirs. Several Portuguese scientific newspapers, viz., Diario de Noticias, A Avoz, Diario da Manha, Quartafeira O Seculo, Novidades, etc., have made reference to Dr. Das's work in high terms.

What impressed Professor Das most about Portugal was the picturesque nature and the natural beauty of the country, with an assemblage of undulating hills and dales, valleys and the very pretty winding rivers, simulating our hill stations, the big heart and genuineness of the great Portuguese nation, and especially their village folks and village life which present a picture very much Indian-like. Another thing which struck him very much was their gigantic, old, beautiful monasteries and the libraries which have been so well kept and preserved for all these years.

Dr. Basanta Kumar Das

Having finished his work in Lisbon Dr. Das turned out some very useful work at the British Museum. He

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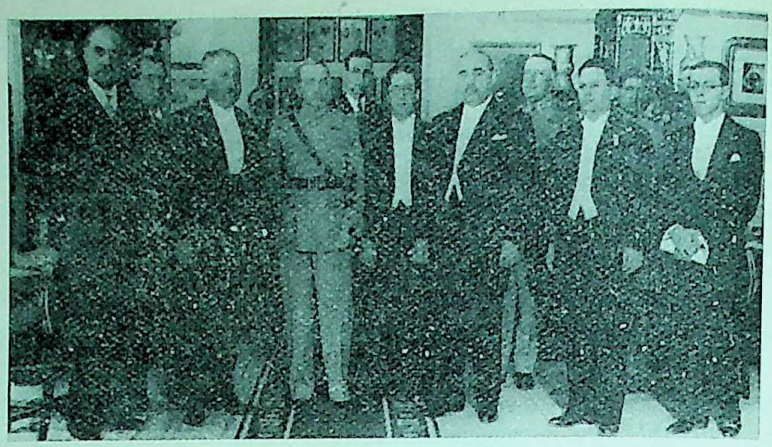

President of the Republic of Portugal (*in Military Uniform*), *to his right* Professor Dr. Arthur Ricardo Jorge, President of the International Congress of Zoology

prepared a series of important and delicate anatomical dissections which will now be exhibited in a special show-case being prepared for that purpose.

Professor Das, with the co-operation of the members of his staff, has succeeded in organising one of the best Zoological laboratories in India today.

A PHASE OF VILLAGE UPLIFT WORK

By SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

For the past decade Atrai has been the centre of the village uplift work of the Bengal Relief Committee. Hitherto the activities were confined mainly to medical relief and Khadi. Khadi work was being conducted by Khadi Pratisthan. Spinning was adding a little to the meagre income of the village women. But spinning was not creating the atmosphere we desired. There was remoteness, rather want of cordiality between us and the villagers. The spinners thought that they were not getting enough return, whereas Khadi manufactured out of their yarn did not pay its way. The urge at this stage was for making the spinners spin for themselves. It was difficult to induce spinners to receive Khadi in return for their spinning wages. Sm. Hemprobha Devi made special efforts last year in this direction and in the end succeeded in inducing a group of women to spin not for wages but for meeting their own family requirements of clothing. The experiment caught the imagination of spinners; for they soon found that, while they spun for wages the money went to the male members on whom they had to depend for supply of cloth, under the altered conditions some families began to be clothed exclusively from their spinning labour. Khadi was being given them in exchange for yarn. Now there is a great eagerness to spin and get their clothes free and more charkhas are in demand in this area.

This one measure brought us in closer and healthier contact with the villages. Besides, it opened up other avenues for serving the villages which hitherto remained unexplored. There were only 8 villages in which self-spinning was introduced. With growing demand for charkha more villages have been taken up.

We now needed more information about the condition of villagers. We got workers from these villages and through them collected statistics. The workers filled in forms which contained information on the following heads,—name of the head of family, caste, number of men, women and children separately, occupation of male and female earning members, land rent, income from land, other income, total income, indebtedness, cattle, cows, bulls, oxen and buffaloes, and calves separately, charkha, dhenki, cotton plants, etc. From these we totalled the figures for each village.

Ordinarily it is difficult to elicit correct answers to queries like above particularly those about income and indebtedness. But the

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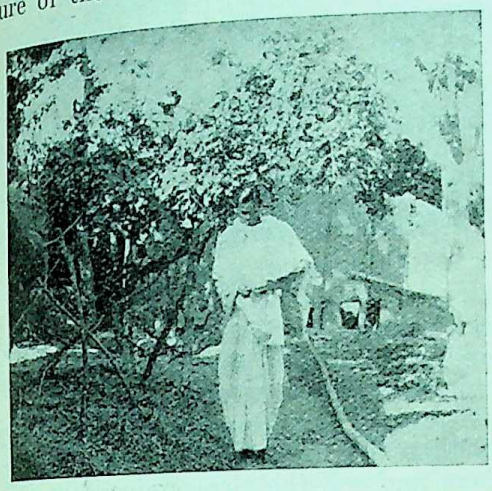
workers being intimate with the villagers it was possible to get dependable information. Totals of different villages were compared and checked. We were amazed at the revelations made by the statistics. Neither we nor the workers themselves had any idea of the local conditions as revealed by the statistics. We shall take a single village in order to get a picture of the condition of the people.



A Cotton Plant at Tilabaduri, Rajshahi

Bansberia is a village near Raghurampur which is 5 miles to the north of Atrai and 8 miles to the south of Santahar on the E. B. Ry.

Population: There are 70 families in Bansberia of which 34 are Mussalman and 36 Hindu. There are in all 359 persons of whom children under 10 are 96.

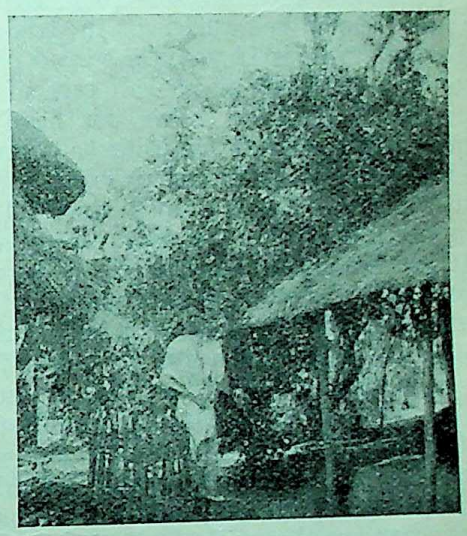
Land: These families own 1121 bighas of agricultural land. Out of this three well-to-do Hindu families own 280 bighas. The Mussalmans on the average own $1\frac{3}{4}$ bighas per head and the Hindus own $2\frac{1}{2}$ bighas. One bigha is about one-third of an acre.

Income: The total income of the village from land and other sources is 9,144 rupees. The Mussalmans have an average annual income of Rs. 15 per head while the Hindus have an annual income of Rs. 28 per head. This is gross income. Out of this the cultivators have to pay rent, tax, etc., and meet all agricultural expenses.

Spinning: Out of 34 Mussalman families 13 own as many charkhas, and of 36 Hindu families 31 own 52 charkhas. Thus out of a total of 70 families 44 families are on the way to self-sufficiency in cloth.

Cotton: Some cotton seeds were distributed in this village years ago. There are 112 tree-cotton plants now. There is a possibility of getting plenty of cotton from this variety of cotton known as Dev or Buri Kapas. Series of experiments were carried on in this area to grow Wardha, Cambodia and other varieties of cotton. But these experiments were hitherto unsuccessful. Only this year we have discovered from experimental fields that good yield may be obtained from Wardha cotton if the plants are allowed to remain on soil and watered and made perennial. The annual varieties get leafy and yield little cotton in the first season. Here in Bansberia the indigenous variety of Kapas is found to be very satisfactory. These plants grow to a good height and individuals covering an area of 9 feet in diameter are not rare. 4,000 pods on one such plant was counted. 40 of these pods yield three tolas of kapas which give one tola of cotton. On this calculation 4,000 pods will yield a hundred tolas or $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers of cotton. This is not a solitary record. From other villages similar figures have been obtained about yield of cotton from well-developed plants.

7 such cotton plants may be grown on a cottah and 140 per bigha, fetching Rs. 140 from



A Cotton Plant at Deula

the ginned cotton. Even if about a third of this yield is obtained in regular cultivation still the income per bigha will come up to, say, Rs. 50 per year, an income which is difficult to obtain from land on any other crop in this locality. This area may produce cotton sufficient for its own needs and leave a surplus for the market. This particular variety of cotton grows everywhere in Bengal. But yield of cotton per plant or per cottah in different districts is not known. If it is as prolific all over Bengal as in this area,

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An old woman at the Spinning wheel at Bansberia, Rajshahi

A Palm Avenue at Atrai

then Bengal can meet all her needs from this very superior variety of cotton. The fibres of this cotton are long, smooth and particularly strong. Finest yarn can be spun out of them.

It has been ascertained from those families who are wholly self-sufficient in Khadi that their requirement is 12 yards per head per year. 12 yards require one-and-a-half seer of cotton. Therefore 1½ seers of cotton per head is the estimate. For Bansberia with a population under 400 the consumption of cotton would be about 600 seers, to be obtained from 300 plants. There are already 112 plants in the village and if 200 more plants are grown, the village ought to be independent of outside supply of cotton. Roughly one plant per head of population would be about enough. For a family of 6 or 7 members as many plants will be required and these may be grown on one cottah of raised land.

Other villages which have been surveyed do not have so many cotton plants. But all have several plants. Seed distribution work has been taken in hand so that with the beginning of rains all the villages within the scheme may raise sufficient cotton plants.

Paddy Husking: Of the 70 families of Bansberia 67 have dhenkies. Every family husks paddy for its own needs. Some earn by husking for the market. But the local demand is not much, outside demand is for paddy and not for rice. Then again earning from husking is very uncertain. It often happens that the price of rice is such as to leave no margin for the huskers. It may so happen that rice is sold at a loss, the cost of paddy even not being covered. The reason is that the price of rice is regulated from Calcutta. If there is a large impor cheap Rangoon rice, the price falls and aff the interior markets.

Attempts are being made by the Ki Pratisthan to have paddy husked by regist huskers and sell the rice produced at Calcu In this way the people may be given ano occupation besides spinning. Dhenki-poun rice is costlier than mill rice. The cost of hu ing one maund of paddy in a mill is less t four annas whereas in hand-pounding the is not less than eight annas. Then there is cost of distribution of paddy and of collecti Dhenki-pounded rice is costlier than mill r But such rice has superior food value. If peo will discard the use of mill rice then towns w be healthier and the villages less poor.

In the new scheme of self-sufficiency of Kh the spinners are to wear Khadi obtained in retu for their spinning wages. The spinner does n supply cotton or pay for the weaver. She pa for these by her spinning labour so that she g more yarn in exchange. As a matter of fact, every three yards of cloth one yard goes to t spinner and two yards have to be sold to oth in order to meet the cost of cotton and weav charges for that one yard. So for every spinn family there must be two buying families. B if cotton is grown by the spinners themsel then for every single yard of cloth taken by spinner in exchange of yarn another yard has be sold to others. Thus in a village growing own cotton, only half the families need be spin ing in order to clothe the whole village, the oth half using the surplus. But this other half s will have to be given some occupation to enab them to buy cloth produced by the self-spinne

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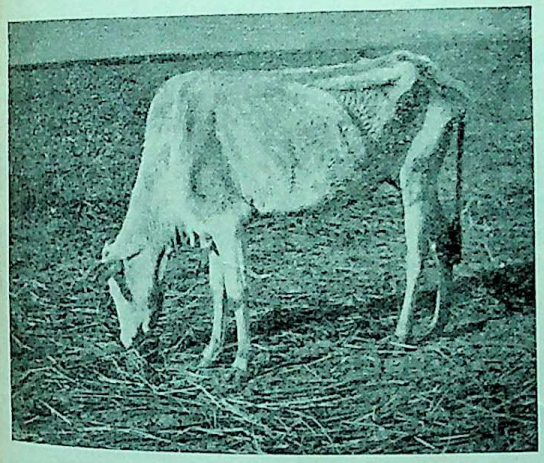
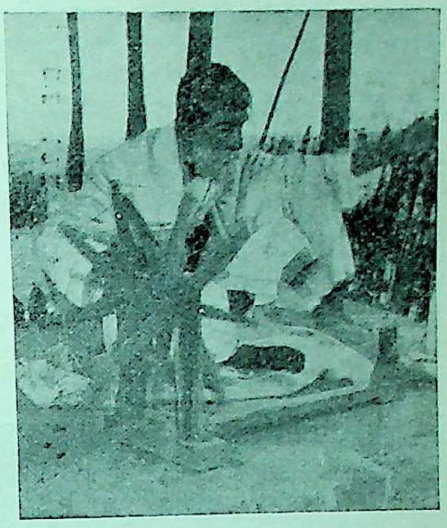
Here paddy-husking fits in nicely. If this non-spinning half will husk paddy then they may be given wages in the form of cloth produced in another section of the village so that only rice has got to be found a market for. Khadi Pratisthan has begun to do exactly this thing in this area. As the spinners are given no wages but simply Khadi, similarly the huskers are given no wages in cash, but are supplied with Khadi and food materials. Shops are being opened in villages which will be mere places of barter, the huskers and spinners obtaining cloth and food materials in exchange for their labour. A small beginning has already been made in this direction.

Crop: Only one crop either paddy or jute is grown in Bansberia and in the neighbouring villages. The villagers do not grow ravi crop. It is not that they do not know its cultivation. They do not grow this second crop because they all let their cattle loose after the paddy is harvested. To grow another crop by single individuals in fields where cattle let loose are roaming about is an impossibility. By united action it might be possible, all agreeing not to let loose the cattle. But such united effort and united action are lacking. Ravi crop fetches higher value than paddy so by growing a second or ravi crop the cultivators' income may be doubled.



A Sickly cow sells at Rs. 2 or Rs. 3

It is possible to grow ravi crop even by individual effort but it will be expensive. In order to demonstrate how their income may be doubled some plots of land have been taken by the Khadi Pratisthan in one of the villages. The condition is that we pay all expenses for growing the crop. On harvesting if there is loss we bear it, if there is profit it goes to the landowner. Any number of fields were available for cultivation under this condition but we took only a few bighas for demonstration. We had to cultivate with hired labour and plough, but the cultivator does not consider this as an expense when he cultivates for himself—his wages being his profit. Wheat was sown and the plants were growing and we were able to protect them from stray cattle roaming about. The cultivators heartened up.



A Scientist at the Spinning Wheel
Sir P. C. Ray at Atrai

We expect a good return in spite of the expenses and hope that this demonstration will have far-reaching effects. Some paddy fields are comparatively lower and after harvesting paddy not much time is left to plough and sow wheat. But then 'Til' or sesamum can be sown much later and yet can be harvested so as to free the land for next sowing of paddy. It has been abundantly clear by these few months' work that by concerted action much can be achieved. We are hopeful that the income of the villagers in this area will be doubled.

There are difficulties to be overcome. The ravi crop is very much dependant upon timely showers as indeed all crops. There are many tanks in the fields in this area, the use of which the cultivators may have without payment of any rent. Probably they were excavated at some remote time for irrigation but are not used. The cultivators here use a form of lift which is cheap and efficient, and provided a source of water is available, labour for irrigation is not much. But there is one difficulty. The fields surrounding a tank have different levels, one is 6 inches high and another 10 inches low, so that water cannot be taken across from field to field. Something cheap has to be devised for providing

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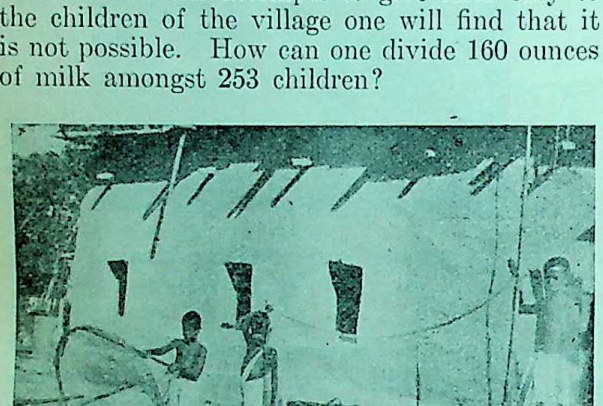
temporary water channels. Devotion and ingenuity may solve the problem. We have something in hand by way of experiment. If irrigation facilities are secured then it will be a second step forward.

Cattle: There are 250 heads of cattle in Bansberia of which 80 are cows. Some Mussalman cultivators use cows for the plough and these then become no good for milking. Out of these 80 cows only very few give any milk. Full figures have not been collected for this village. But figures from a neighbouring village Tilabaduri are available. Tilabaduri is a big village having a mixed Mahishya and Mussalman population of 955. Children under ten number 253, and there are 170 cows. In November there were 15 cows out of this 170 in lactation. The sum total of their milk comes to 10 lbs. If one attempts to give milk only to the children of the village one will find that it is not possible. How can one divide 160 ounces of milk amongst 253 children?



Villagers with accessories for catching fish

This area is low lying. Quite close to this is the 'Barind' tract of older alluvium. This low lying area is submerged under 10 to 12 feet of water during the rains. The houses therefore are built on mounds out of excavations. Raised land is scarce. All the raised land is full of houses or bamboos and other useful and useless plants. There is hardly any land for growing vegetables. The cows rarely know what green fodder is. During six months of rain the cattle are confined to the yard in the house without any place even to walk about. During the rains the cattle are a useless burden to the cultivator. He cannot take any work out of them, he cannot feed them, and he cannot even use the dung for fuel for during rains dung cannot be d and caked. Fortunately the 'Barind' pe want cattle for the plough at a time w the ploughing season is over in the 'Bhar' a The Barind cultivators take these cattle on l feed them well, utilise them and then re them to the owner after the rains. Some c vators sell off their bullocks with the end ploughing season and buy again in time for next season just for saving the trouble of ke ing them during the rainy months. On acco of these practices that attachment has not gr here for the cattle which is normal in culti tors. The cows are neglected. In their sh sighted economics the cultivators do not seem care much about the bullocks being weak. T soil is very hard and flintlike when dried with a shower of rain all hardness vanish, c become clay and a weak pair can pull the plo through. But cattle are degrading and cruelty inflicted on them here is appalli They are kept continually on starvation. W have found householders who have stacks straw for fodder, the surplus of previous seas On being questioned they say that the ca are always like that, weak and useless and e if they are fed they do not improve. But t fact is that they regularly keep the cattle starvation and what they call enough food not enough.

We brought a cow a mere skeleton to t Atrai centre. It belonged to one of our work We call her Lakshmi. When she came s could hardly walk straight and had a grow up calf which still attempted to suck somethi out of the stone-dry udders. She could n eat—so weak and starved was she. But aft three months of care she began to eat well, a put some flesh on and now is in calf. There no question of improving the breed here present. The problem is to feed them and ke them alive. Bullocks are not used here f pulling carts. Buffalo bullocks are impor from Behar for carts. They do not breed he This is another loss to the locality of which t cultivators seem not to be conscious. If second crop is grown, it will not only doub the income of cultivators, it will provide mo fodder for the cattle and thereby benefit t cultivators twice.

How do they live? Where the ann income is Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 it is a proble requiring solution as to how they manage t live. There is no doubt that there is a goo deal of poverty and suffering yet men are n so starved as the cattle. Men are struggli on but cattle are in a desperate condition.

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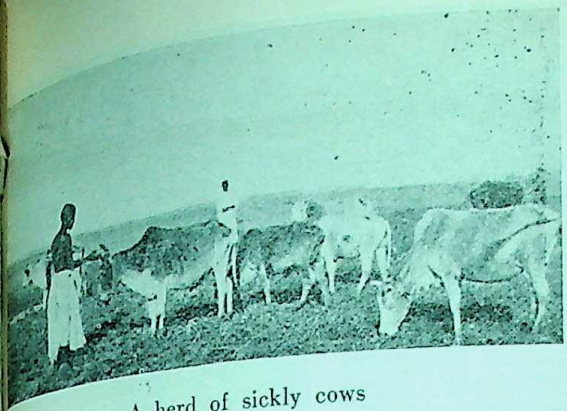


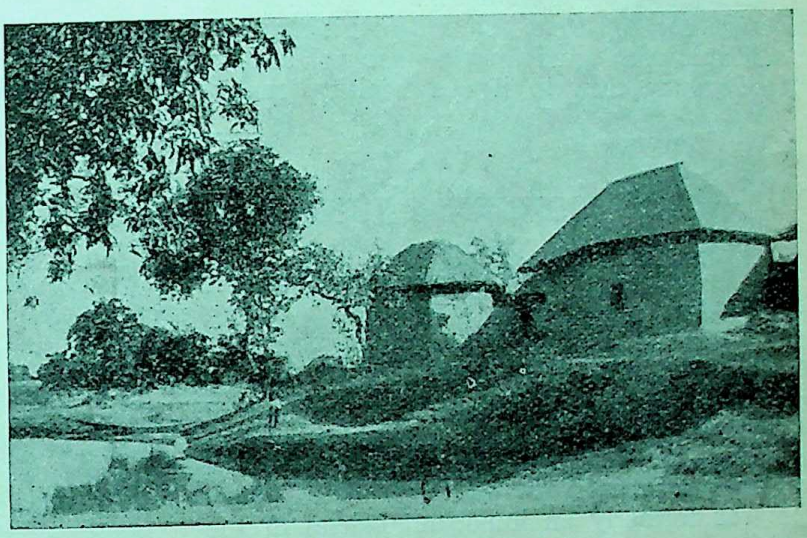
A herd of sickly cows

out of 170 cows only 15 are in lactation at any time it proves that the cows are so starved that a considerable number have lost their power of procreation. Men are not in such bad straits. How then do they manage with two or three rupees per month?

Their principal food is rice from which they derive all their fuel for energy. The grown-up people take 1½ pounds of rice daily. Dal they take rarely, not more than 8 meals a month include dal. Rice costs them Re. 1 per head per month. Salt, oil, spices, and other things may cost Re. 1 per month. To complete a food some protein is necessary over and above this. The villagers obtain protein from fishes which they catch and have rarely to pay for. During the rains and a few months after they catch fish anywhere. Fishes grow quickly and in abundance in the rice-fields. With the subsidence of water from fields the fishes take shelter in the ponds, tanks and excavations, and are caught from there. Some families have deep tanks and fishes are obtained in dry season from them. Others who have only shallow tanks catch the fishes and keep them alive in small dug-outs filled with water on their yards. These fishes of the hardy variety have tenacious life. The villagers starve them even more than they do the cows. They seem to think that the fishes need nothing but water to live on. They are given no food, simply the water is changed once or twice a week. When I pointed out to some of them how they have been cruel to the fishes and starving them, they realized and agreed that the fishes after some weeks remain living but they become only skin and bone. Anyway the poorest here may get some fish and add the necessary protein to their daily meals.

But some vegetables are necessary otherwise they are likely to suffer from vitamin C deficiency. Those who take dried fish exhibit a remarkable hankering for green vegetables. They pluck small leaves of weeds and satisfy the call. Vegetable is costly here. Those who cannot procure enough vegetables from their own compounds or collect them from other compounds, have to buy them.

They have no fuel expenses. Cowdung, twigs, leaves, and straw serve their fuel needs. So from the two rupees per month supplemented by fishes and vegetables they get their necessary nutrition. But they require at least Rs. 4 worth of clothing per year. We could not fill up this gap from their income. Either they have to borrow or to curtail food to clothe themselves.



Village huts on mounds

The survey has presented to us clues which we have to follow up to serve them. Atrai has a tradition behind and some selfless workers are sticking to the work these fourteen years. With the orientation brought in by the introduction of self-spinning and paddy-husking Atrai centre has a vaster field of service before it. The medical section may be expanded. Villagers may be supplied with cheap medicines and village youth may be trained to obtain some knowledge of physiology, nutrition, diseases and their treatment. This means an elementary medical school at Atrai. Without giving the endeavour an exalted name attempts are being made to train some students in sanitation and medicine.

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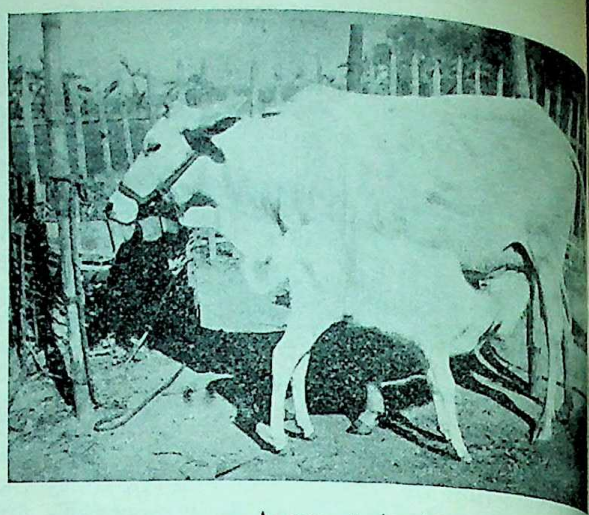
The young men of the villages have to be kept attracted to the village. The Atrai base proposes to facilitate this work by drawing them in to learn some technical arts. Spinning, weaving, cow-keeping, agriculture, village carpentary, village smithy, tanning, disposal of carcasses are some of the items already taken up or to be taken up in the future. The scheme for training provides for feeding the students free from their own income. There are a few bighas of land attached to the centre. The students are expected to become good cultivators first and then be proficient in any one or more of the subjects mentioned. Agriculture will keep the students busy during the greater part of the year. During slack seasons students will have more time to give to their books or lectures.



A cow at Atrai
She gives three *seers* of milk

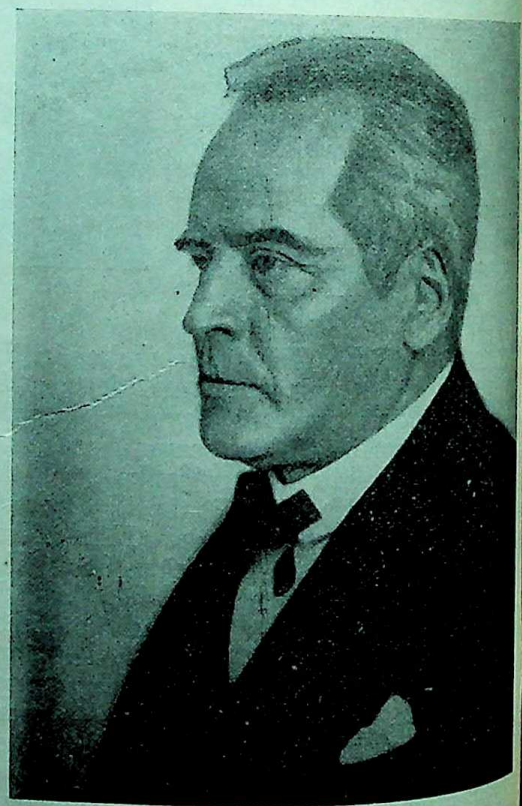
Everything is in embryonic stage. It may in future hold up some solution of the problem of unemployment in its widest ranges; it may attract young men to live a healthy, sunny, blissful life and with whatever useful they have learnt before, Atrai may mould them utilizing such knowledge for benefiting villages and not allure them to towns in attempts at seeking service.

CONGRESS JUBILEE CELEBRATION IN VIENNA

The Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress was celebrated in Vienna among some other foreign cities. The function was presided over by His Magnificence the Rector (Chancellor) of the Vienna University. We publish here a group photograph taken on the occasion. Among those who took active part in the proceedings was Dr. Adolf Vetter, who was formerly an important official of the Austrian government and, latterly, president of the State theatres. He is a man of wide culture with deep interest in India and India's culture. At the Congress Jubilee Celebration he spoke on behalf of the Austrian guests in reply to the welcome of the Hindusthan Academical Association. In the course of his speech he referred to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's departure from Vienna on the way to India in the following terms:

Ladies and gentlemen, may I be permitted to say a few words on behalf of the many friends Mr. Bose has won and leaves now in Vienna.

The personality of Mr. Bose has made a deep impression on them. Although many of them have had already before the arrival of Mr. Bose a lively interest in Indian affairs, this interest has been deepened and enriched wonder-



President Dr. Adolf Vetter

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ly by the personal acquaintance with this n who in our eyes represents all that is ple, and, at the same time, progressive in dia. . . . . In Mr. Bose we made the quaintance of an Indian leader in the prime his life, who is one of the hopes of his ple, and who knows how to combine all the nity of India's ancient culture with the rgy and freshness of youth. . . . . These

Golden Jubilee of the Indian National Congress at Vienna

re years of momentous change for India, for ienna, for many of us, in our public lives as ell as in our private ones, these years between 933 and 1936 that Mr. Bose spent in our idst. They were the years of the Round able, of the making of the New Constitution s regards India, they were the years of the olitical upturn in Austria, they were the years in which Mr. Bose lost his dear father and regained his health and in which we Viennese saw the perdition of many men whom we were dearly fond of. Rich years, rich in sorrow, during which Mr. Bose shared our fate as we were sharing with him what he and what India experienced. So we have become really true friends with each other. . . . . Mr Bose is returning now to his country. I imagine that his return has been expected with eagerness already since a long time. And our sincerest wishes accompany him. May he find his dear mother and his family in good health, may he feel satisfaction in what he may contribute to the realization of his ideals, and may he not forget Vienna! . . . . . May the winds be fair to him!

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INDO-BUDDHIST ART IN CHINA

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L.

Buddhism entered China overland by the Central Asiatic caravan routes, and by the sea-route through the Straits of Malacca. The overland Buddhist missonaries of Northern India carried with them the influence of Gandhara art, which is said to have reached its maximum development in the second century A. D. And the Sino-Buddhist art must have drawn its inspiration from this branch of Indian art. The missionaries who followed the sea-route came chiefly from Southern India and carried with them an art little affected by that of Gandhara "but reflecting rather that of the great Maurya dynasty of the third century B. C."

Here are a few examples of Buddhist art in China, executed no doubt by the local Chinese artists, but under Indian art influences. It will be seen from them that even after centuries of acclimitization how little sinicization of art-forms has taken place. It may be due to religious causes or direct contact with India.

[The pictures are from photographs kindly supplied by a Chinese scholar friend of mine.]

Nan-Shin-Ku Sculptures.—One of the Bodhisattvas that accompany the great Buddha at Nan-shin-Ku, is a slim figure, 10 ft. in height with distinct mantle folds that serve to accentuate the reposeful harmony of the whole conception.

The Lung Men Grottoes.—The Great Buddha at Lungmen is the most eloquent example of the very rich and manysided Tang art. The figure must have been over 60 feet in height, but the lower part of the pedestal is now covered with mud. The dais is over 32 feet wide.

The Bronze Lion at Yun-Ho-Kung, Peiping. The pair of stone lions on marble stand, placed in front of Yun-Ho-Kung, Peiping, are marvellous examples of bronze chiselling. They look so vivid that a casual observer would think they'd jump down any minute.

Budhisattva at Nan-Shin-Ku

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The Great Buddha at Lung-men

The Bronze Lion at Yun-Ho-Kung, Peiping

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The Sitting Buddha, Lo-Han-Cave

The Guardian of the Road, Yen Chow

Stone Relief in Lo-Han Cave.—The stone relief found on the pillar of the Lo-Han Cave of Kansu is the sculptural work of the Wei Dynasty. The sitting Buddhist figure as shown here illustrates the predominance of linear rhythm. Note the treatment of drapery.

Carvings on the Yen-Chow "Pailo."—A close-up view of the stone pillar that supports the "pailou." The warrior is supposed to be the guardian of the road. The pedest which he sits is decorated with stiles of a dramas.

Yun Kang Sculptures.—The gr manifestations of early Buddhist art in C are the cave temples at Yun Kang in N Shansi which were begun about the mid the fifth century. They are a success caves carved out of the limestone cliff,

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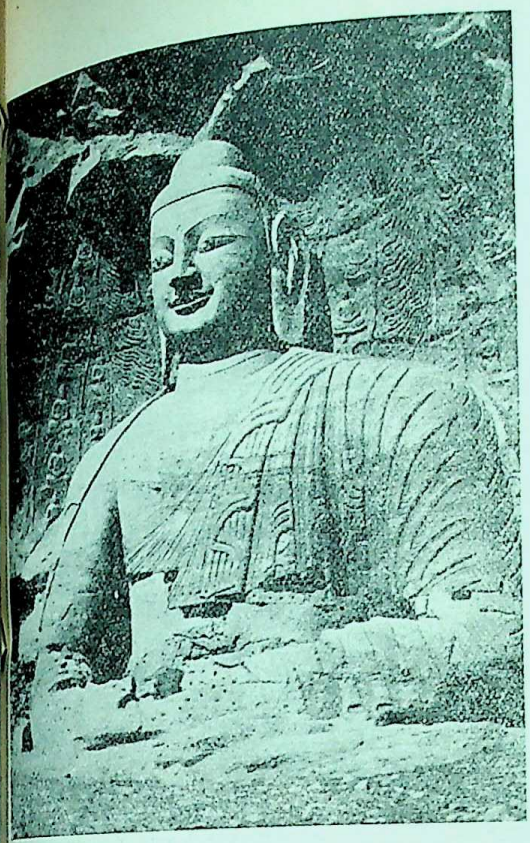
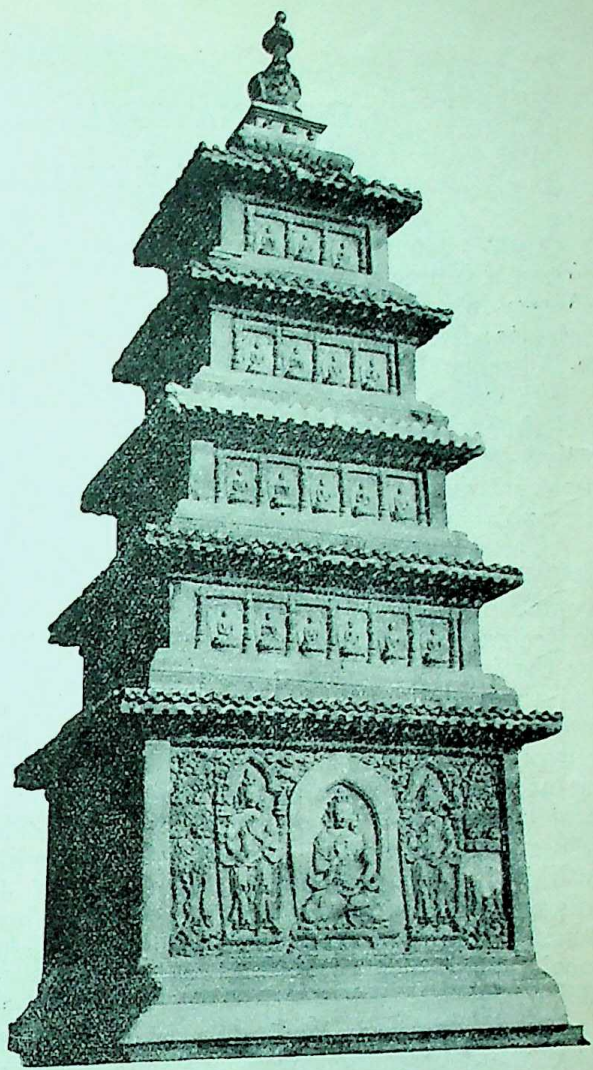


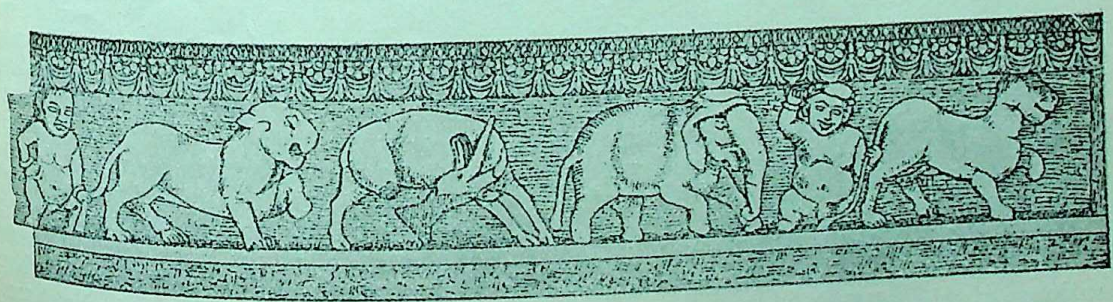
The Colossal Buddha
Cave Temple, Yun Kang
C. 450 A.D.



Wu-Ta Temple, Kweihua, Suiyuan

mile long. In many of them would be found olossal Buddhist statues like the one shown ere which is over fifty feet high.

Wu-Ta Temple. Wu-Ta (five towered emple) is situated in Kweihua, Suiyuan. On e body of the temple which is about fifty feet igh are five pagodas each carved with Buddhas seated in niches. Picture gives a close view of one of the pagodas.



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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF WOMEN

By Mrs. KAMALA CHATTERJEE, B.A. (Oxon.)

A JOINT Conference of the International Women's Council and the National Council of Women in India was held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, from the 30th of January to the 5th of February last.

It was a unique occasion, as this was the first time when a Conference so widely representative had met in India. Delegates from all parts of the world attended the sessions and the subjects discussed were wide in choice.

The International Council was founded in 1888 in the United States with the aim of strengthening and co-ordinating feminist activity by federating the various associations working for the improvement of the position of women and for social progress. It is a federation of women's organizations all over the world and represents women of all races and faiths, working according to their several ideals along the most varied lines of life and thought. The influence of this little group spread steadily until it is now a federation, composed of 40 different National Councils of Women which are themselves composed of National Societies and Local Councils or Branches, to which are again affiliated local associations and institutions. Today the International Council represents more than 40 million women bound together by their desire for peace and social progress. Every five years the Council holds its Quinquennial Meeting when reports are presented, detailing the results obtained in all the various fields of interest and when programmes of work are drawn up. Many organizations which are now working for acknowledged ideals of social progress have originated in these council meetings.

Thus, at the meeting held in Berlin in 1904, the Committee for Equal Moral Standard and against the traffic in women and children was formed and has ever since taken a very active part in the campaign against this evil. The same meeting in Berlin saw the beginning of that International organization now known as the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship.

The main object of the Council is to establish a permanent link between the women's organizations of the different countries, thus making it possible for them to work together for the improvement of the material and position of women. The chief strength Council lies in the fact that it does not to any particular movement. It is becau work of the Council has not been restrict any particular propaganda and becau women, of whatever creed, party, secti class, have been welcomed as members th International Council of Women has strong enough to help forward all that te the good of humanity.

The National Council of Women in In affiliated to the I. C. W., holding the voting privileges as the other countries provincial councils including that of Burm affiliated to the N. C. W. I. These provi councils in their turn are in touch innumerable women's organizations all the country. Hence we find that the w of all organizations affiliated to the nati councils of their countries have an opport for discussing their special problems ultim at the council meetings of the I. C. W.

The meetings of the International Co have been held in the different capitals o world and this year Calcutta was selected the Joint Conference.

The Calcutta Conference was atte by 24 Overseas, 19 Indian and 30 Br delegates, besides many visitors. Of th overseas delegates, Ireland sent 1, Great Br 8, Belgium 1, Roumania 4, Switzerland France 2, Denmark 1, Greece 1, Holland (The Secretary to the I. C. W.), Australia 2, New Zealand 1. China sent one visitor Australia sent two.

On the 30th January the Maharanee Baroda presided over the inaugural meeti the Conference. Before a representative large gathering the Maharanee delivered inaugural speech. She laid special emphasis women's education and their political pos in the new constitution and said, "It is duty to see that they (women) are given training which will fit them to play their in National affairs and at the same time them more efficient mothers." Discuss women's status in Indian politics, the Mahara explained that women's claims had not recei full recognition but the privileges that had

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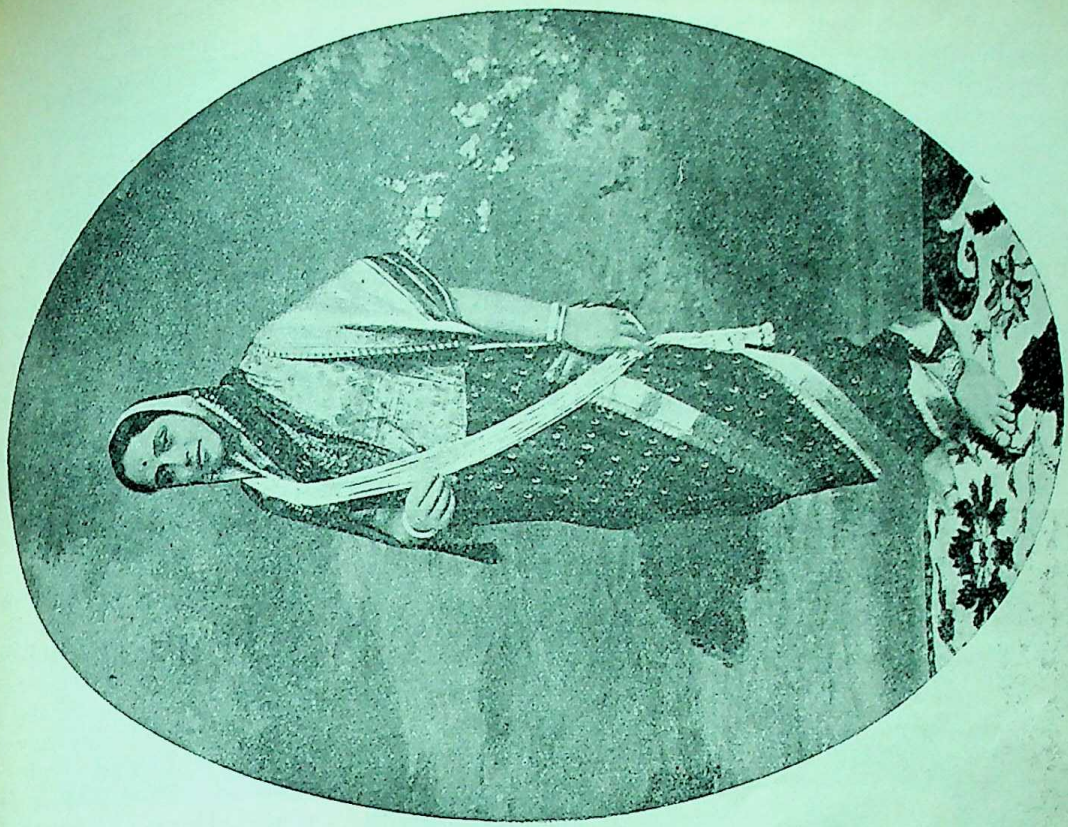
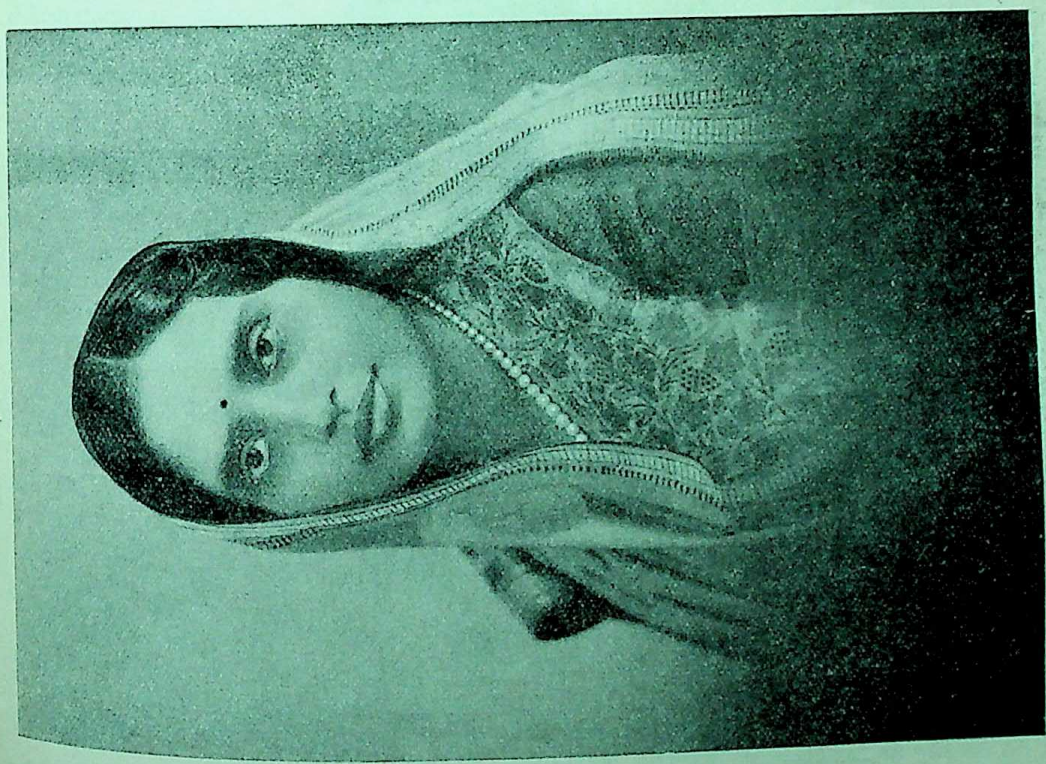


H. H. The Maharani of Baroda
President—National Council of Women in India



Mrs. Maneklal Premchand
Vice-President—National Council of Women in India

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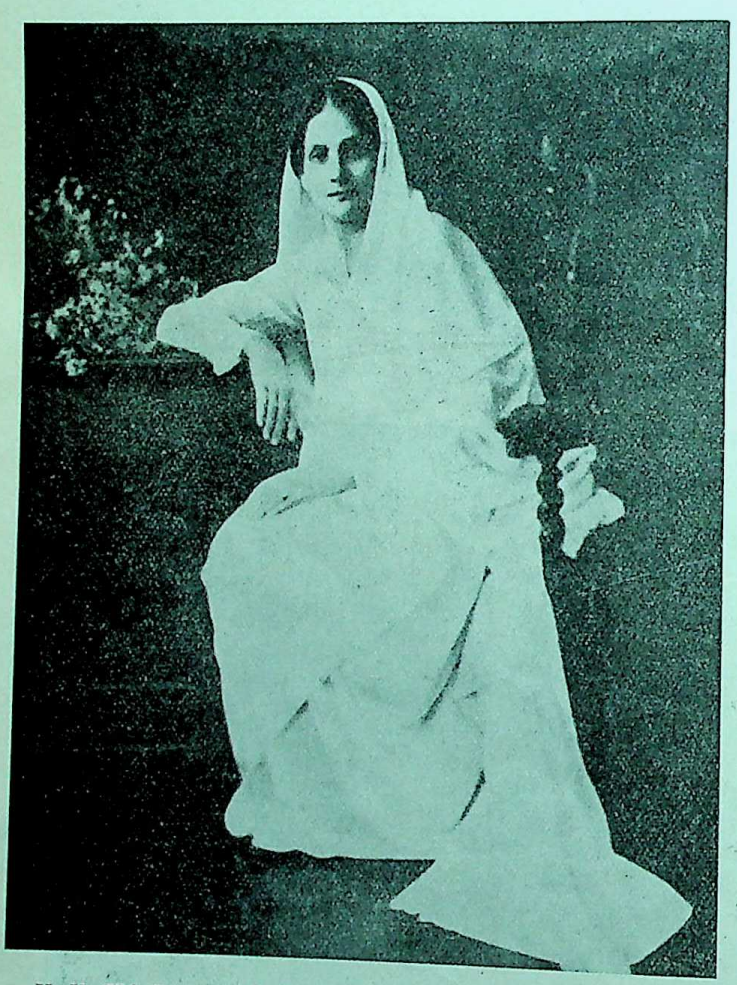
earned by women would make a good beginning and, properly utilized, should ultimately achieve their ideals.

A detailed account of all the sessions of the Conference will be too lengthy for these pages, but the comprehensive nature of the Council's work will be realised fully when we consider the character of the resolutions passed and recommendations made at these meetings. The Conference has framed resolutions in connection with Rural Reconstruction, Girl's Education, Training of the Social Worker, Nursery Schools, Cinema, Medical Inspection of Schools, Food and Health, Legal Disabilities, Franchise, Maternal Mortality and the Traffic in Women and Children.



H. H. The Dowager Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj
Vice-Chairman—National Council of Women in India
Chairman of the Reception Committee

The work based on these resolutions will be carried on as far as practicable by the National Council of Women in India.

Speaking on Rural Reconstruction Pentland gave a description of the Women's Associations in England which prised 64 active societies and suggested similar rural organization, if set up would be able to achieve much in improving life and position of women in India. Nilkanth described the plight of Indian and ascribed their misery to lack of above everything else. This ignorance removed, said Lady Nilkanth, only help of the State.

The N. C. W. I. should see that was more alive to its duty.

Lady Bose spoke on rural education industries in Bengal. She suggested the tion of village societies training of women teachers the villages. She also there was great need for vival of village industries.

Mrs. K. Chattopadhyay phasised the extreme poverty the villagers and the bility of achieving any improvement while the people 80% to 85% of their income rent. Dame Elizabeth who led the British delegation was of opinion that in all for rural reconstruction, the larising of music should important item, as it would village life more attractive England they had for some been stimulating the taste music among school children village folk through the of gramophones and radio now this method is being by forming choirs of which are already in existence. In nection with girl's education P. K. Ray suggested the tion of a special Board for education under the Education Department. This board have the decision of syllabus text-books for girls' schools well as the power to effect provements and to conduct aminations. She also demanded equal expenditure for girls' tion as for boys and the appointment of a special woman officer to be in of girls' education.

The training of the social worker was

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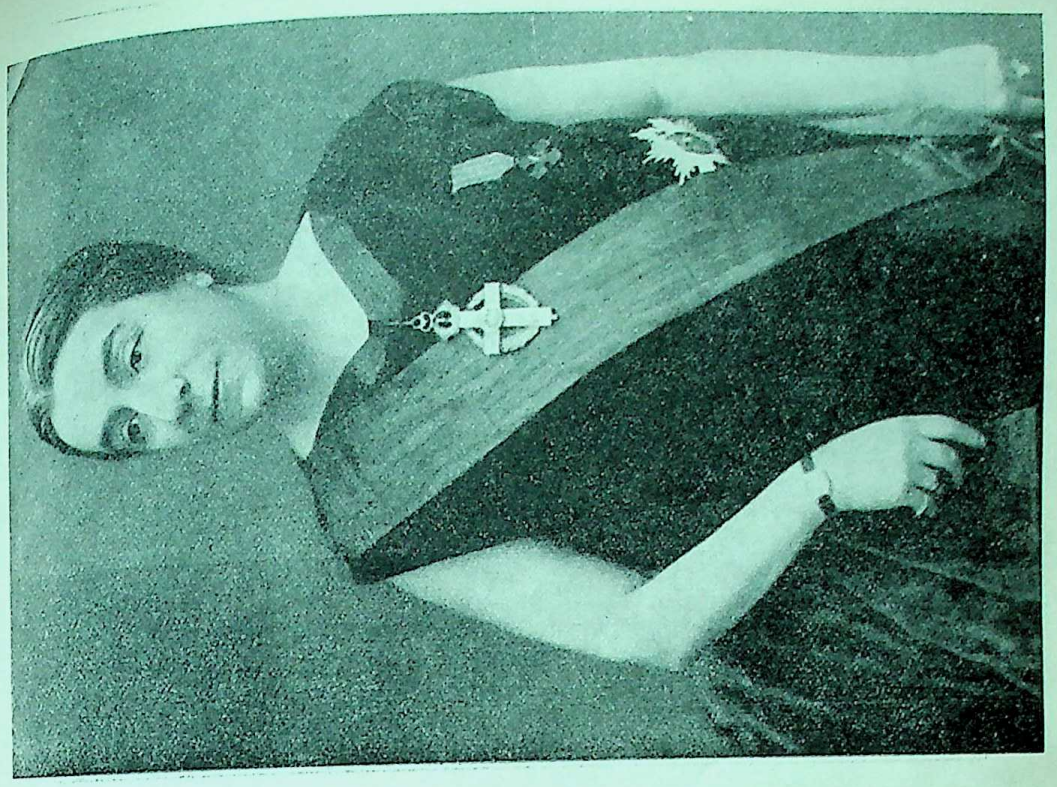

Princess Cantacuzene
Vice-President—International Council of Women

Lady Ezra
Chairman—National Council of Women in India

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Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, D.B.E., J.P.,
Vice-President—National Council of Women of Great Britain

Ishbel, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, G.B.E., LL.D., J.P.,
President—International Council of Women

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ssed at length by several important speakers, ong whom were Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, iss Wingate, Miss Tyan from China and the ell-known social worker Princess Cantacuzene om Roumania. Voluntary untrained service as appreciated by most of the speakers but the nt of trained leadership and of proper rangements for training was also felt keenly y everyone.

While discussing the problem of "women d the press," Miss Zellweger, a journalist from itzerland, said that although women did a lot journalistic work they usually occupied very mble positions as reporters or writers of ecial pages. Important topics concerning omen should receive greater publicity and omen should do more serious writing along ese lines than they have hitherto done.

Maternal mortality which came up for scussion next is a vital problem with us. We e all familiar with the high death-rate among dian women due to motherhood. The Conrence discussed this alarming situation and ggested means for the removal of conditions hich favour the incidence of this preventible ortality. Dr. Jhirad's exposition of this oblem was very instructive.

The last session of the Conference dealt ith traffic in women and children, legal disbilities of women and the Child Marriage ct.

Mrs. S. N. Ray spoke on legal disabilities f women and Dr. Nowrange and Mrs. Menon n the Child Marriage Act.

Miss Shephard, while initiating the debate n Traffic in Women and Children, said that nless there is a revolution in the attitude of ciety towards this evil, all legislation or dical work would be useless. Continuing, iss Shephard said that recently a greater umber of women were taking interest in scue work and if organisations similar to the ll Bengal Women's Union could be started in ach province, much could be achieved. She oncluded by saying that it was still true to ay that the chief rescue agencies were the alvation Army, the various missionary ocieties, the Brahmo Samaj, the Seva Sadan nd the Servants of India Society.

Begum Shah Newaz spoke very ably on his subject. In the course of the discussion, he said that it had been proved from the tatistics laid before the League of Nations, that India was one of the most moral countries in the world.

As the foregoing indicates, the work of the Conference has been heavy and also very varied in its nature. The problems discussed at these meetings may not be new, but the fact that women from so many different countries of the world united with us in demanding the reforms we have been striving for, puts new strength in our endeavour.

The serious work of the Conference was relieved by the various social functions arranged by the Reception Committee. At these social gatherings friendships were made and personalities unfolded. In fact, the social side of the Conference may be expected to yield more permanent results; for the light of friendship shows up the little details of unity of spirit, which engenders a stronger bond of fellowship than all the creed of internationalism. And many such friendships were formed.

Several social engagements had to be cancelled on account of Court Mourning but the few that could be arranged were very successful. During the steamer trip to Belur particularly, all restraint was dropped by the gathering and a genuine spirit of friendship prevailed. The Princess from Roumania was a charming combination of the ardent social reformer and a good friend with whom to enjoy the beauty of nature and simple everyday talk. Her cinema depicting Roumanian peasant life was specially enjoyable and instructive. Her speech on the opening day was also much appreciated.

The Civic Reception given to the delegates and visitors by the Mayor and Aldermen of Calcutta was a fit gesture on this unique occasion. The Mayor welcomed the guests to the City of Calcutta and Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, Princess Cantacuzene and Mrs. Faridoonji replied in behalf of the English, the Continental and the Indian Delegations respectively.

With this reception the Conference came to a close and the delegates departed for their various destinations.

India has been a great centre of International fellowship since a long time. The Poet Rabindranath Tagore's Visva-Bharati was the first centre of International Culture in Modern India which brought us into closer contact with the rest of the world. Hence it was very appropriate that women who have always been the champions of peace and goodwill between nations should hold this meeting in India.

The Conference has been such a great success because the spirit of the gathering has been wholly in keeping with the traditions of our country.

Ishbel, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, G.B.E., LL.D., J.P., President—International Council of Women

Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, D.B.E., J.P., Vice-President—National Council of Women of Great Britain

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI presided at the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress held at Karaikudi

Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmipathi

MISS E. CHAMIER, Inspectress of Schools, Jubbulpore and Miss E. J. Ennis, Lady Principal of Bengess Memorial Girls' High English School, Bilaspur, have been nominated members of the Court of Nagpur University.

DR. MRS. PARMANAND AND MRS. JER. P. KOTVAL, have been nominated members of the Academic Council of the same University.

The following ladies are holding important posts in their respective spheres in the Education line :

MRS. TATINI DAS, M.A., is the Principal of Bethune College, Calcutta.

MRS. SAROJINI DATTA, M.A. (Cal.), M.SC. (Manchester), is the Professor of Botany, Bethune College, Calcutta.

MISS MANECK M. MEHTA, M.A., (Bombay), D.SC., PH.D. (London), F.I.C., is the Professor of Chemistry, Queen M College, Mylapore, Madras.

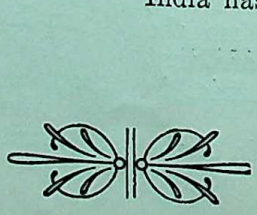
MISS E. K. JANAKI AMMAL, M.A., D.SC. (Lond.), is the Sugarcane Gene Imperial Sugarcane Breeding Station, Coi tore.

MISS B. M. TWEDDLE will deliver Extension Lecture of the Mysore Universit "Development of Rural Industries" in En at Bangalore and Mysore.

DR. MISS DEVI VALIRAM, M.B., BS., (Dublin), M.C.O.G. (London), is the first from Sind who has acquired high degrees diplomas in Medicine at the foreign Univers She has returned from Europe where she to have first hand knowledge in Maternity.

Dr. Miss Devi Valiram

RANI PHUL KUMARI SAHIBA of Sherkot been unanimously elected to be the pres of the Bijnore District Board. This is the time a local self-government organization India has asked a woman to control its aff



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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

CHRIST AND COMMUNISM: *By E. Stanley Jones, London. Hodder & Stoughton. Price 5/-. p. 318. Can be had from the Association Press, Calcutta.*

In this book Dr. Jones seeks to establish that the Kingdom of God" of Jesus includes a form of communism on earth. He admits the amazing productivity of capitalism in certain directions and the fact that capitalism fails in the equal distribution of the national income, but the suggestion that the capitalists should be intelligent enough to avert disaster does not meet with his approval as he says no amount of individual goodwill can atone for that." He does not tell us how the "Kingdom of God" is to be established without individual effort. His solution for all our ailments in this world is to "accept Christ," whatever that means without individual effort. He forgets God will not move His little finger to help us unless we set about the business ourselves. If this is so then how are we to set about it?

The constructive part of the Soviet programme dealing with Education, Hygiene, Health and other welfare activities receive a warm appreciation but he condemns the soviet communism as its organisation depends on class hatred and violence. It is easy enough to talk about the "good news to the economically disinherited, to the socially and politically disinherited, to the physically disinherited and to the morally and spiritually disinherited"; but it is hard to say "Take up thy bed and walk." Dr. Jones' dynamic is "the resources of the living God." He is unconscious of the fact that God is a great miser and does not distribute His resources freely. He exacts its equivalent from us. How shall we satisfy His demands? If individuals are moved by "the spirit of the Lord" their efforts will count and it will be too bold to say that the leaders of Soviet Russia are not moved by "Spirit of the Lord." It is true that Soviet Russia has generated violence and depends on class hatred but we humans are very human and often infuse our frailties into our altruistic actions. The Spirit of the Lord is often rendered muddy in passing through human channels. We shall have to grant that the motives behind the Russian leaders are pure and lofty though the means adopted by them are often polluted because of their eagerness to get to the goal soon.

The treatment of the theme by Dr. Jones is interesting reading and is more often amusing in the absurdity of his deductions. If a host offers his guests food, Dr. Jones would deduce an injunction to economic distribution of wealth. Here is a sample of what the book abounds in:

When we are inclined to question whether the Gospel has anything to do with the economic life of people it would be well for us to hear again Jesus saying to the disciples in regard to the hungry multitudes "They have no need to go away, give ye them to eat," and "I would not send them away fasting." . . . "most religions would" adds Dr. Jones, and ludicrously paraphrases this into "They need not go away to atheistic communism to find a social order in which their material wants will be met; give ye them to eat." Jesus as an oriental, extended his hospitality and offered his meagre all to his guests but the highly individualistic spirit of America cannot understand this generosity which is found everywhere in the East even today.

If he confined himself to the mutilation of the scriptures we may treat it as amusing, but when he starts mud slinging at other religions—Hinduism in particular—we feel he passes beyond his licence. When dealing with Christianity he would have us forget the lapses of its followers but with Hinduism he feels justified in condemning it because of the malpractices of its devotees. We would like to remind Dr. Jones that though the followers of Christ practised a form of communism in the early years and a certain form of it still lingers in the Roman Catholic priesthood, yet the bulk of the followers of Christ—so-called—have evolved one of the acute forms of private property in the capitalistic system, while let it be said to the credit of Hinduism that it has battled with the evils of private property for milleniums. The relics of the struggle we find today in the joint family system and in the caste system although in the latter we find at present in great relief the evils only emphasised. Dr. Jones is very short-sighted to the achievements of other religions. It would be well for us Christians to have little more of "the spirit of the Lord." Jesus was critical of his own religion but appreciative of the least good wherever found. Let us do likewise.

When a great leader gives directions to particular individuals we are apt to fall into the temptations of

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generalising such tips into rules of conduct for all. In the injunctions given to the disciples we cannot read communism. He was sending them out as sheep amongst wolves and his directions were calculated to make their task easy. Jesus never recommended asceticism as an end or as a part of communistic society he wanted to start but as a means to an end. If we ask a person about to dive to throw off all encumbering garments and put on bathing clothes we do not prescribe such sartorical fashions for all. He asked some of them to leave their productive occupations to follow him. That does indicate that those who have to carry the torch of the mission have to take to the ascetic way of life, but not that all should. We cannot tear passages from their context and build on them structures never contemplated by the architect. Many of Dr. Jones' deductions are far-fetched. Here is an example of rationalising the poetic language of the prophets. He quotes "Make ye ready the way of the Lord, make His paths straight. Every valley shall be filled and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places smooth; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God." Dr. Jones makes this passage an attack on the competitive order. He says "The valleys have become depressed because the mountains have gone up. That is the tragedy of a competitive order. At the foot of the mountains of financial success you find valleys of financial depression. The creation of one over-rich man usually means the sending of a whole host below the poverty line" etc. etc. We do not need to stretch the scriptures to prove the evils of the competitive order under capitalism and we cannot thereby gather that Jesus was against all individual effort where there was no exploitation. "A workman is worthy of his food," that is to the enjoyment of the fruits of his labour; we may call it a wage, a profit or anything else as long as he has contributed his quota of service. It is difficult to say that Jesus favoured any particular form of social order. He formulated this eternal principle that should guide us in our dealings with our fellowmen and has left us to solve our problems in the light of such fundamentals.

Pooling of resources may be workable in a small homogeneous group but it is not possible to get a heterogeneous mass of people such as a nation to work on that basis. Jesus and his disciples lived on a common purse. So do many groups at the present day. But that system cannot be generalised into a working formula for all. The communism of the early Christians was no doubt one of consumption but to have a communism in production requires a greater urge than mere individual effort as the Russian experiment has shown us. The natural urge for production has always been hunger, that is the satisfaction of one's own needs. This leads us to a pursuit of profit within limits. Society has to safeguard itself against a misuse of this legitimate urge and set up regulations against exploitation of the weak by the strong. We can now see the danger of large combinations for production. Humanity is made up of all sorts and conditions of people in all stages of moral and physical evolution and hence it is not possible to standardise their lives on one model without violence as Russia has more than demonstrated to us. We have to allow each person to work out his own salvation in the light of his evolution in so far as he does not interfere with the rights of his neighbour. We are gregarious, it is true, but not in all things. We may cluster our homes and form towns but each wants his own home. There are limits such as these to be borne in mind if we are to succeed in any social planning. Centralisation has as corollary violence to get people to conform to mould. The only escape is decentralisation in production. Dr. Jones does not go far enough in the practical difficulties in the way of working central plan.

As usual in all his writings, Dr. Jones takes marks of Hindu friends he invites to preside meetings and makes use of the customary pl from the chair to prove the hold of Christi India. The book is published for readers in countries and such statements are gullible enough where. In some passages one wishes Dr. Jones his theme and forgot his evangelical mission while.

J. C. KUMARAP

THE TARIKH-I-MUBARAKSHAHI, TR LATED INTO ENGLISH: *By Prof. K. K. M.A.; Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. LXIII; P*

Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi was published in 19 the Bibliotheca Indica Series, no. 254. It has be the first time made available in English translati Prof. Basu. This work is not a mere translati the text published in the Bibliotheca Indica S Prof. Basu has utilized a valuable MS. of the Tar Mubarakshahi in possession of Sir Jadunath S and collated the text of it with several other MSS. the British Museum and Bodleian Library. Jadunath in his Foreword says, "The translato afforded every assistance to future workers by ser ously giving the readings of different MSS. in case, as well as extracts from other Persian his on the same points. This is the first critical stud this unique history."

Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi in its English garb has a gap in the history of the Delhi Sulanate. Th "the source of all our knowledge of the Sayyid Pe and "even for earlier periods of Indo-Muslim his its author, Yahiya gives many little pieces of infor tion not to be found elsewhere." We propose to the interest of the reader to some such little p of information.

Yahiya Sarhindi, author of this history, is desc by Sir Jadunath and other historians as well, as Shia; but it appears doubtful from Yahiya's "In duction" in which he praises and invokes peace the first four Caliphs of Islam. Had Yahiya bee Shia, he would not have under ordinary circumsta even mentioned the first three Caliphs whom S disown and curse. If Yahiya was really a Shia, departure from the tradition of his own sect, can be explained as outward conformity with m reservation to a Sunni custom, as the author was in a Sunni country and also wrote for a Sunni of Delhi. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* throws some esting sidelight on Sultan Balban's expedition to G According to it Tughral fled to Narkila (Pers. p. 42) and there is no mention of Hajinagar or Jajn (Barni, Pers. text p. 87). It is said that Rai D as a condition of interview with Balban desired the Sultan should receive him standing. A courti Balban suggested a device which should save the S from showing such unusual honour to an infidel at the same time satisfy the demand of Danuj When the Rai entered the darbar the Sultan s up and let fly a hawk from his hand, leaving Rajah and the courtiers of the Sultan free to inte the motive of standing each in his own light. (P. We also learn from *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* the name a hitherto unknown Bengali hero of Bengal, Sahi

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who commanded the *paiks, i.e.*, infantry of Haji Ilyas against Sultan Firuz in the battle of Ekdala (foot-note 129).

Prof. Basu has executed a difficult task with commendable success. We only regret that he has sometimes departed in the wrong direction in reading proper names which may puzzle the general reader; *Alb Khan* is a place of the familiar Turkish title *Alp Khan* is hardly pardonable. A mis-translation, *dentifrices* (p. 95) for *do misauak* (text p. 94 meaning tooth-sticks) has created great confusion in the story of the poor Hindu convert and the wicked poet Ubaid, (who have been consulted by the Hindu as to how he should simultaneously use two tooth-sticks given to him by his *Pir*, Nizamuddin Auliya) advised the latter that he should put one to his mouth and the other to his.... Ruby-canopy" (p. 76) for *Chatar-i-la'l* (text p. 77; meaning ruby, *i.e.*, red umbrella); "covered with iron" (p. 223) for *covered in* steel"; are perhaps not happy. Geographical names also require further elucidation.

These few things apart, Prof. Basu's work deserves to take its rank with standard translations of Persian histories. Every student of Indo-Muslim history will find this work useful and almost indispensable.

K. R. KANUNGO

WORLD REORGANIZATION ON CORPORATIVE LINES: *By Giuseppe de Michelis. Allen and Unwin, pp. 311, price 10s.*

Rather more than twenty-one years ago Europe, and later on practically the whole world became involved in war. People believed that it was a "war to end war," and that once Prussian militarism was crushed all the nations would live together in peace and amity. To-day many nations seem to be more heavily armed than they were before 1914, and we read that in the different countries patriots are complaining that their armaments are insufficient. Three powers, however, stand out most conspicuously in the re-armament race, Japan, Italy, and Germany. Notoriously the governments of all three countries believe in war, but all alike realize the importance of "persuasion," and therefore employ certain men to state the case for the expansion of their particular country. Such a "persuasive" writer is Senator Giuseppe de Michelis.

The book falls into two parts, first the text, and then the appendix, and of the two the latter is the more worth studying, and it throws a great deal of valuable light on the present division of the world among the colonial powers. The text suffers from grandiloquency, and verbosity. For example, "the luminous fascist experience recommended by her eleven years of economic progress and of civil order, secured for the Italian nation in the midst of the formidable difficulties of the world crisis" (p. 15). What exactly does "luminous" mean?

Senator de Michelis' proposals are simple, in short that Europe is to civilize Africa. He demands equal opportunities for all capitalist countries to send emigrants to the "empty colonial spaces," and to invest capital in "backward" countries to get raw material from them. The four most "civilizing" nations in Europe are Italy, France, Germany, and Great Britain, and the responsibility for "civilizing" Africa is to be shared among them. He demands that with regard to raw materials there should be a "co-ordinated international administration." The future of Africa then would be to be re-distributed "amongst all the European (!) colonial (!) powers, past and present, not for their own benefit, but for the common benefit of all the nations of Europe" (!) (p. 204).

Mussolini is quoted as saying that "the present system of production has released forces which it is no longer in a position to control." This idea is common to both fascism and socialism, and superficially their solutions seem to be alike. Yet there is a fundamental difference between the two; Senator de Michelis aims at an international state capitalism which would preserve the difference between the colonizers and colonized abroad, and between the exploiters and exploited at home. A socialist aims at an international socialism which would abolish the distinctions between colonizing, and colonized nations abroad, and between capitalists and workers at home. The fascist way leads to the deserts of Abyssinia; the socialist to Five-Year Plans.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

THE ATOM: *By E. N. da C. Andrade, F.R.S., new edition entirely revised and extended 1936, price 1/6. Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd.*

Prof. da C. Andrade has made a reputation for himself as an extremely able and lucid exponent of the modern development of atomic physics. His book on the Structure of the Atom has become one of the standard books on the subject. Recently in a chapter contributed to Reports on Progress in Physics (1934), entitled *The Physics of the Atom*, we are indebted to him for a very clear and concise account of the recent development of the subject. These accounts are intended for the advanced students and research workers. In the book under review the author has attempted to give a popular account of the development of atomic physics within the compass of a small book of 129 pages. The book was first published in 1927, and has since been reprinted seven times. The present edition is entirely revised, extended and brought up-to-date. In seven short chapters beginning with the atomic theory as developed by the chemists, he writes successively about the size and number of atoms, the atom of electricity, the nature of light, the structure of the atom, how the atom sends out radiations, and atom and energy. The application of wave mechanics, and of the discoveries of positive electrons and neutron to the problems of nuclear and atomic structure have been incorporated in the book. The author has avoided the use of diagrams, mathematical formulas and symbols. To a reader familiar with the subject it is very interesting to see how the author has attempted to give a picture of the intricate subject of atomic physics by means of a number of apt analogies and illustrations. How far a non-scientific reader will be able to form a clear idea of the subject by reading this book, it is difficult to say. In any case he will not be misinformed.

In the Preface the author writes, "I have so often been asked about the kind of work for which the Nobel Prize is given, that wherever I have had occasion to mention a piece of fundamental work which has been thus recognized, I have drawn attention to the fact." One finds that the investigations of all the Nobel laureates in physics who have contributed to this subject, starting from Rontgen to Curie-Joliot and Chadwick have been described.

D. M. BOSE

ARNOLD AND THE GRAND STYLE: *By Rev. A. J. Boyd, M.A. Oxford University Press, Pp. 16.*

The pamphlet reproduces a paper read by the author to the English Association, Madras Branch. In

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it he joins issue with Matthew Arnold in regard to his conception and application of the term, 'the grand style.' He says that Arnold's definition of the expression is arbitrary and unduly restrictive, leading to the exclusion of even Shakespeare, that his linking together of simple Homer and 'severe' Milton in the category of writers of poetical works in the grand style is unwarranted, and that Arnold's entire discourse on the subject is of little critical value. 'Indeed there is not one mode of grandeur in poetry, nor two, but many.'

Arnold uses the expression, 'the grand style' to denote a particular kind of poetic grandeur,—a 'sustained perfection' of style, 'the constant union of simplicity with greatness.' He thus sets his own standard, and it can, by no means, be called eccentric, for it conforms to one of the fundamental principles of classical art. Judged by this standard, Shakespeare, according to Arnold, does not come up to the mark: "Shakespeare is divinely strong, rich, and attractive. But sureness of perfect style Shakespeare himself does not possess."

Arnold has employed one specific touchstone, and another critic is welcome to employ another for assessment of poetic values with reference to a different aspect of poetic art. There is room for all. Meanwhile we need not quarrel with Arnold but should rather feel grateful to him for what he has given us, for, as the author admits, there is in it "no lack of stimulus, suggestion, delicate taste."

But although one would find it hard to accept the conclusion at which the author arrives, his handling of the subject is exceedingly lucid and interesting, and we would commend the paper to all students of literary criticism.

THE PASTORAL ELEGY IN ENGLISH: *By W. C. Douglas, M.A. Oxford University Press. Pp. 18.*

This pamphlet too reproduces a paper read to the English Association, Madras Branch. The author makes a detailed study of two famous English elegies, Milton's *Lycidas* and Shelley's *Adonais* and points out their deep indebtedness to the Greek and Latin bucolic poets. He shows that Milton has been more successful than Shelley in pouring new wine into old bottles, by having produced an elegy which is a perfectly original poem, although so deliberately based on classical models. Shelley's poem is at its best towards the end where he shakes off the fetters of pastoral convention and throws himself on his own resources.

It is a scholarly and illuminating discourse and will well repay study.

P. K. GUHA

CO-OPERATION IN INDIA AND ABROAD: *By S. S. Talmaki, B.A., LL.B., Honorary Secretary, Provincial Co-operative Institute, Bombay, with a Foreword by Sir Lalubhai Samaldas. Price Rs. 3/8/-.*

The book under review is intended to be a guide to the students attending co-operative schools and classes and is written by a pioneer of urban banking and co-operative housing in Western India, who has been secretary of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Institute since its foundation, some eighteen years ago.

Rao Bahadur Talmaki has dealt with all aspects of the co-operative movement in this country and has made brief references to the movement in European countries. He has also discussed the weaknesses and drawbacks of the situation in India and has made practical suggestion to remove several of them. The book is a sort of *vade mecum* for all Co-operators in India, as observed by Sir Lalubhai, and will no doubt serve the purpose for which it is intended. suffers from an attempt to cover too wide a a small compass which has made the treatm sketchy and scrappy. However, there are aspects of the subject, such as the legal, and types of co-operation, for instance, the forms operation other than rural credit, which are in greater detail than in other works on co-o in India. The book also gives evidence of and practical interest that the author has been in the co-operative movement in this country.

GURMUKH N. S

THE INDIAN ARMS ACT MANUAL: *Bahadur G. K. Ray, Ex-Supdt., Home De Government of India, 9th Edn., pp. 348, index. Price Rs. 6-10.*

It contains the Indian Arms Act XI of 1 Indian Arms Rules 1924 and together with the and Orders of the Government of India and various provincial governments; the (English) sives Substances Act, 1883 (46 Victoria Ch. Indian Explosives Act IV of 1884 and the Ex Substance Act VI of 1908 with notes and case-l to-date. A book which has run to the 9th needs no introduction. It is an extremely usef handy publication meant for lawyers and laymen

SELECTED SPEECHES OF LORD MACAU *The World's Classics, Oxford University Price 2s.*

Macaulay's speeches, corrected by himself first published in 1854. They are presented to gether with his famous Minute on Indian Ed (1835). The Indian reader would find much p going through it, especially his speeches on P mentary Reform and the Government of India printing and get-up is of the usual standard of lence one is accustomed to associate with World's Classics.

J. M. DA

RADIO TALKIES AND TELEVISION: *N. Vasudeva, M.Sc., published by Atma Ram & Anarkali, Lahore. Price Re. 1/12/-.*

This book deals with the fundamental metho wireless communication and has been written for who know a little about electricity and are ke understand how it is possible for them to listen, the help of a simple apparatus, to a speech or a of music coming from thousands of miles by wi It aims at explaining the principles of Radio in simplest possible terms, avoiding all historical and controversial details, so that even a layman can the subject without any difficulty.

One of the most remarkable achievements of present day electricity is the wireless communi by means of which messages are sent between on the earth's surface, in the air or under the It is indeed marvellous to think that the human —nay even the human picture—can be sent thousands of miles without even a wire connecting two poles. The subject is so vast and advanced one cannot touch upon every point unless he a big volume. Hence the author proposes to ex very briefly how this mode of communication is br about.

At the outset the writer describes direct current and circuits, Ohm's law and electro-ma effects of current and explains wave motion and characteristics of wireless waves. He then states

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e elementary laws connected with the reception of reless transmission, resonance and tuning, and ampli-ation of speech. The writer explains at good length e principles of talkies and vitaphone, movietone and otophone systems. He then goes on to state the rinciples of Television.

The book is copiously illustrated with diagrams; mple and instructive examples and analogies have en given to explain the phenomena which form the sis of the mode of wireless communication. In ex-aining the methods and principles the author has ways made use of up-to-date data and calculations d has avoided complicated and intricate steps as far possible. On such an interesting subject the book der review is a commendable publication. The value the book would have been enhanced if the prin-les of Television were described and explained more borately. However, the book will be of great help those who know very little of electricity and yet nt to know the principles of Radio Talkies and levision with the assistance of a short treatise on e subject. The printing and get-up of the book e excellent.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

LIFE AS CEREMONIAL: *By M. Besant-Scott. blished by the Theosophical Publishing House, dyar, Madras. Pp. 24, Price As. 3.*

This is another Adyar pamphlet containing a ture delivered by the author in Vienna in 1923. ere is a touch of platform oratory in it, all in praise Masonic Ceremonies which, we are told, teach "all at goes to make a gentleman in the best and highest nse of the word" (p. 15). Masonic rites, like *Tantrik* actices, are generally kept secret and practised con-dentially. Masons do not disclose them to non-asons nor discuss them publicly. It is difficult, there-ore, for a non-mason to express any opinion on them. e little that the author has been pleased to disclose ere about Masonic Ceremonials, is that Masons use the common language of symbols" (p. 10) and that ey perform some kind of rhythmic, concerted action movements by which "the physical, astral and ental bodies are brought into harmony" (p. 10). We e also assured in a general way that "there is no son that Masonry cannot teach, no difficulty, no oblem that Masonry cannot solve, for to the weakest d to the strongest, its training is complete and rough" (p. 7). Let us believe that this is so.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

SHREE BHAGVAT SINHJEE, THE MAKER F MODERN GONDAL: *By St. Nihal Singh. Golden Jubilee Committee, Gondal.*

We are accustomed to associate Rulers of Native tates with pomp and splendour and lavish expendi-ure on sports and other gaities. Fortunately for the ndian people—who are one, whether in *British* India r in *Native States* India—there are some few examples f enlightened rulers, who have devoted their time nd resources to the progress of their States and its eoples. The Ruler of Gondal has been known to be n outstanding figure amongst these and we are given n intimate picture of the chief as well as a narrative f his work in this book. We see Shree Bhagvat inhjee as a loving father of his subject people, guid-ng their destines at every step, over a period of half-a-century. The task undertaken would have seemed itanic to a far larger state, but we see from the records, quoted by St. Nihal Singh, that the achievement has been of full measure due to the enlightened outlook and the indomitable will to do good of the Ruler of the State. Education, agricultural advancement, industrial development, lines of communication, all were planned and brought to a successful issue—and all achieved without ostentation, as befits a true Hindu and Kshatriya Raj.

K. N. C.

TRADE UNIONISM AND LABOUR DISPUTES IN INDIA: *By Ahmad Mukhtar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd. Pp. 251 (including appendices). Price Rs. 6/-.*

Dr. Mukhtar's book is a welcome addition to the growing volume of literature on labour problems in India. The Whitley Commission discussed the various aspects of trade unionism quite thoroughly, but the need for an up-to-date book on the subject has been keenly felt in recent times. It may be safely asserted that Dr. Mukhtar's book will be useful to all who want information regarding recent happenings in the labour world in India. In this book, the history of labour disputes in India has been carefully analysed and lucidly narrated. The author has emphasized the parts that have been played by the Courts of Inquiry and the Boards of Conciliation, as well as by eminent mediators like Mahatma Gandhi. The Indian Trade Unions Act and the Trade Disputes Act have been elaborately examined, but, one feels that a comparison with the laws operating in other countries would have enhanced the merit of these chapters. There are also chapters on the constitution and the achievements of the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association, which is one of the best examples of efficient unionism in India, and on the attempts that have been made to bring the unions under an all-India federation.

The book is nowhere very intensely critical, and, as a result, the pages of chronological details appear to be a bit flat in some places. The historical study of labour disputes would perhaps have been more interesting if, instead of taking one calendar year after another, the author had discussed the frequency of the strikes in each industry separately. In spite of these minor defects, however, the book will amply repay perusal and it can be recommended to those interested in the study of labour economics in India.

BHABATOSH DATTA

PAPERWORK: *By Adinath Sen and Rani Ghosh. Published by the Asutosh Library, Calcutta. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 5/-.*

Learning by doing is an old and familiar adage and yet its truth is so obvious that we often forget it. Our schools never or very seldom exploit the hand for the purpose of education. In spite of the repeated assertions about the dignity of labour somehow or other we look upon our hands as something inferior to our brains. We do not realize the close connection between the hand and the mind. But modern psychology has conclusively shown the importance of manual and practical work in teaching even theoretical subjects.

We may justly contend that one of the greatest educational discoveries of our time has been the human hand. We have at last come to recognize the cultural value of the arts and crafts. But discovery of a truth is one thing and its application in practice is another. To judge by the condition of things in our schools we have to admit that so far very little has been done in this direction. Arts and crafts have yet to find their proper place in the curricula of our educational institutions. We must remember that arts and crafts have value not only for themselves but also for the

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opportunities they offer of giving expression to the creative instincts in our nature. And the supreme aim of education is to develop these instincts.

This admirable book on paperwork is an attempt to show how some forms of easy creative work can be introduced in schools with the help of such cheap materials as ordinary paper and cardboard, a pair of scissors, a footrule and a few such simple instruments. It deals with paperwork in all its aspects. Several sections of the work are devoted to paper-folding, paper-cutting, making of various articles from paper, cardboard modelling, decorations and stencils and papiermache work. The book is profusely illustrated with diagrams and sketches, exercises are well-arranged and enjoyable, the instructions are simple and easy to carry out and what is most important the making of various things do not require expensive equipment and implement. I am sure it will be welcomed by all who are interested in the education of children. From personal experience I can testify how children love doing things with their hands and how educative such activities are.

I take it that the work written as it is in English is intended for teachers. As a teachers' manual it is a very important addition to our educational literature. I wish the authors would now publish a vernacular edition which can be used directly by the children. Works on arts and crafts intended for children should be such as they may be used by them unaided.

Appendix I deals with lettering and the authors have given examples of decorative use of roman letters. Could not the Bengali letters be used in this connection?

A few printing mistakes have crept in here and there and some of the illustrations are not quite clear. But these are minor defects which, I am sure, will be corrected in a subsequent edition. On the whole I have nothing but praise for the book and I congratulate the authors for its production.

ANATH NATH BASU

MEDIEVAL INDIAN SCULPTURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM: *By Ramaprasad Chanda, F.A.S.B., Rai Bahadur, Late Superintendent of the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. With an Introduction. by R. L. Hobson, C. B., Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London, 10s. 6d. net.*

There was a time when foreigners thought that India had no fine arts. It is not so now—not at least among those who know. Still in the British Museum many specimens of medieval Indian sculpture were treated up till very recent times more as religious curios, or as mere specimens of iconography, than as fine examples of sculpture. Mr. Chanda's book definitely places them among objects of Art.

The book is very well got up. The plates are particularly excellent, the sculptures represented therein having been speciallly photographed anew for the book.

Mr. Hobson writes in the Introduction:

"It was a lucky chance that brought the Rai Bahadur Chanda to London at the very moment when the galleries of Oriental Religions in the British Museum were about to be rearranged. It had been decided to abandon the classification by religions in favour of a historical arrangement which is more in keeping with the general plan of the Museum, and the redundant sculpture was to be weeded out to make room for the collections of antiquities.

"In this task of revision the Rai Bahadur volunteered to assist with his wide knowledge and experience. His enthusiasm for Indian art, in which he has been actively interested, was stirred by the Co[illegible] and it is gratifying to know that he was so im[illegible] with its importance that he decided to devote a [illegible] graph to it.

"The appreciation of Oriental art, particu[illegible] its Far-Eastern manifestations, has been [illegible] rapidly in Europe; and the powerful influ[illegible] Indian religious sculpture on that of China and [illegible] has now given to Indian sculpture a prominence [illegible] is fully justified by its own inherent merits.

"But it was not always so. For many yea[illegible] beauty of Indian sculpture received scant ap[illegible] tion, ..."

Of Mr. Chanda's book Mr. Hobson says:

"It deals only with a portion of the hist[illegible] Indian sculpture, but it is a portion which sho[illegible] art in its liveliest and most sensitive forms.

"The full explanations given of the [illegible] motives will be widely welcomed. The subjects [illegible] ed in the sculpture reliefs are so complex that [illegible] some instruction in their meaning the specta[illegible] liable to be robbed of part of his pleasure by [illegible] bewilderment. When he understands the [illegible] depicted, as he will do after reading the stories [illegible] by the Rai Bahadur, he will be able to enjoy [illegible] heartedly the singular beauty of the Indian sc[illegible] work and to appreciate the enthusiasm which [illegible] this monograph."

DESIGN: *By Noel Carrington, The [illegible] Century Library, Ed. by V. K. Krishna M[illegible] published by John Lane Bodley Head Ltd., L[illegible] 1935, 3/6 net. Pp. 1-136, Plates I-XIV.*

The aim of the Twentieth Century Library [illegible] are told, is to publish a series of treatises on v[illegible] problems viewed in the light of the changing ide[illegible] events of modern times. The present work fully [illegible] tains the high standard set before themselves by [illegible] inaugarators of the series. The title of the bo[illegible] rather misleading, as the term *Design* is usually us[illegible] architecture. The distinguished author, however [illegible] used it in a very wider sense. It is intended th[illegible] work should not only be an introduction to M[illegible] Industrual Arts, but 'relates *Design* to the whole [illegible] of contemporary life.' An attempt has also been [illegible] to suggest the character of the design of the 'M[illegible] age' by contrasting the present-day social life [illegible] those of the previous ages. The work does not [illegible] with the whole human culture but only th[illegible] England. The book is divided into ten chapters [illegible] is also provided with a brief but useful 'Bibliog[illegible] and an 'Index.'

A. C. BANER[illegible]

THE WILD TRIBES IN INDIAN HISTO[illegible] *By B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. Lahore, [illegible] Pp. 163+XV.*

The book consists of five chapters, *viz.* Poli[illegible] the Hindu Rulers towards the Wild Tribes, The Ki[illegible] The Sabaras, The Bedars and Miscellaneous T[illegible] The author has brought together evidences re[illegible] to these tribes from historical, as well as trad[illegible] and literary sources. But the materials have [illegible] always been sifted with critical care; there is [illegible] a proneness to make categorical statements even [illegible] the grounds are flimsy. It must be admitted, how[illegible] that the author himself recognizes the speculative [illegible] acter of some of these statements. This weakness [illegible] made portions of the book not 'history,' but [illegible]

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record of references to these tribes in ancient literature, and which are often very fanciful in character. The author will earn the gratitude of students of Indian history for the industry which he has brought to bear upon his task.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

RED SAINT: *By J. H. Wilmer, Waterloo Publication. Calcutta and Madras. Price Rs. 2/4/-.*

It is a story of how some gangs of criminals of Northern India, sometimes working together and some times in rivalry with one another were finally brought to bay and rooted out by the Police with the help of a literary man working as an amateur detective. The leader of one such gang is the Red Saint. The author, however, is not always successful in creating scenes which are the chief elements of a detective story with the result that the book has turned out to be merely a commonplace narrative possessing no particular merit either of style or of plot to single it out from the thousand other stories of similar nature. Needless to mention that the usual romantic incidents and love episodes are not found wanting.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

LABOUR AND HOUSING IN BANGALORE CITY: *By R. K. Srinivasan, M.A., and C. Narasimha Murti, M.A.*

It is a happy sign that various Universities of India are undertaking certain amount of practical studies into the field of demography. This little book is the result of the researches carried on by the authors in the University of Mysore, and is in the nature of a contribution towards the solution of the housing difficulty in Bangalore. The more such investigations are undertaken by University scholars the more useful will be their study of Economics. We have been greatly impressed with the presentation of the figures and the summaries drawn therefrom.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE VANGIYA SAHITYA PARISAT: *By Chintaharan Chakravarti. Sahitya Parisat Series No. 85. Calcutta, 1935. Pp. 8 + 270.*

This well printed catalogue of a little known, but in some respects important, collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, written mainly in the Bengali script, has been compiled with admirable care and thoroughness by Professor Chakravarti, whose interest in manuscripts is well known. It is a welcome addition to our knowledge of manuscript treasure which still lies unexpected in various smaller collections in the country. Ever since the surveys made by Rajendralala Mitra and Haraprasad Sastri, steadily increasing collections have been and are being made at Calcutta, Dacca and elsewhere. The collections existing in the Bengal Asiatic Society and Dacca University are indeed much larger and more important, but the value of the Vangiya Sahitya Parisat collection, which began in 1894 and which has its own interesting features, is perhaps not so well known, inasmuch as the Parisat is generally believed to be connected with Bengali rather than with Sanskrit literature. It is a happy idea to publish a classified account of this collection and draw to it the attention of interested scholars.

The manuscripts noticed are varied in quality and interest; but they are mostly Bengal manuscripts, that is to say, manuscripts of Sanskrit works written in the Bengali script. Of the total number of 1666, only 233 are written in Devanagari. The oldest dated Bengal manuscript in this collection goes back to the 15th century, it being a manuscript of the Harivamsa copied in 1465 A.D., but there is another old manuscript of the Adiparvan of the Mahabharata, which appears to have been copied in 1500 A.D., while the latest manuscripts belong to the 19th century, and perhaps the entire bulk of the manuscripts does not go beyond the 17th and 18th centuries. Nevertheless, many new and interesting items are to be found, and the collection as a whole throws an interesting light on the Sanskrit culture of Bengal during the period covered by the dates of the manuscripts. It is often alleged that the study of the Veda was unknown in Bengal, but this is disproved by a number of manuscripts in Bengali script dealing with Vedic subjects mostly in the form of commentaries on Vedic texts and general manuals for Vedic sacrifices. The collection of Tantra works has some interesting features, but it appears to be neither large nor important from the textual point of view. The number of Purana manuscripts is fairly large; and, although few of them appear to possess marked value, the textual variations of Bengal manuscripts, as revealed by them, are certainly important for the study of the Bengal tradition of these texts. A number of little known digests are recorded in the Smriti section; but the collection of works on Kavya, Grammar, Lexicography, Rhetoric, Prosody, Erotics and Music is comparatively poor. Barring a few exceptions, the section on Philosophy consists mostly of copies of well known and popular works of the different systems; but in the section on Vaisnavism some interesting and hitherto unknown works are noticed.

There cannot be any doubt that a systematic catalogue of this collection deserves to be published for its varied and interesting character; and we congratulate the Parisat and the able editor on the successful accomplishment of this laborious and exacting work.

S. K. DE

SANSKRIT

SRIMAD VALMIKI RAMAYANAM. *Published by R. Narayanaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Advocate. Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras.*

This is a fine handy edition of one of the most popular epics of India, published under the auspices of an editorial committee consisting of Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswami Shastri, Mahamahopadhyaya S. Krishna Shastri, S. K. Padmanabh Shastri and T. V. Ramchandra Dikshit. The edition is stated to be primarily intended for those who follow what is called the 'artistic' as distinguished from the 'scientistic way' in handling literary works. Thus full lists of variants are not given though it is based on the collation of a number of printed editions and several manuscripts, three in the Grantha and one in the Nagari script, the characteristic features of none of which, however, are unfortunately indicated. As a matter of fact, the variants noted are very few in number, for only 'such variants as were found fit to be considered have been given in the footnotes and such variants as were considered useless have been dropped.' The principles that guided the learned editors in exercising this consideration have not, unfortunately, been explained. In the absence of such explanations it is sometimes difficult to follow the

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modus operandi followed in certain cases. It is thus noticed that thirteen chapters in the last Book of the work, referred to in some of the editions, as having been interpolated, are relegated to the foot-notes as variants though similar other extracts have been incorporated in the body of the text. The chief interest of the edition, however, lies in its attractive get-up, nice printing, beautiful illustrations of some of the important incidents described in the book and above all, its handy size. It appears that originally the edition was proposed to be issued in two volumes—'Volume I comprising Kandas I to VI with a table of contents and Valume II comprising Kanda VII, with a full alphabetical index of each of the lines in the text and an index of names occurring in the text.' An one volume edition would, however, be highly useful and appreciated. And it is gratifying to note therefore that the whole of the text-portion at least has been issued in one part in the volume under review though the inclusion of the proposed index portion in the same volume would have considerably increased its utility and be all the more welcome.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

TIBBAT MEN SAWA BARAS: *By Rahula Sankrityayana, Tripitakacharya. Published by the Sarada Mandir, 17, Baraha-khamba Road, New Delhi. Pp. x+380+iii, with a map. Price Rs. 3.*

The author of this original book on travel in Tibet, the land of mysteries, is a well-known Buddhist scholar, and is an indefatigable writer. Old and modern Tibet is described in a manner which arouses interest and curiosity. As far as we are aware there is no such original book on Tibet in any Indian vernacular. The subject-matter, illustrations and the map are bound to make the book a useful one to educated persons. According to our author, both Santaraksita and Atisa Dipankar were not Bengalis, but hailed from Sahore, *i.e.*, moden Bhagalpur; and the old songs known as *Bauddha Gan* in Bengal are really Hindi. The account of the author's search for Buddhist literature in Tibet is almost romantic. This book has enriched Hindi literature.

KUNGAMUNI JNANAMRITA—*translated from the original Chinese by Dr. Hariprasad Sastri, D. Litt. Published by Jaydev Bros., Aryapura, Baroda. Pp. xxvi+175. Price Re. 1.*

This translation of the sayings and precepts of confucius, the ancient sage and philosopher of China, from the original sources, is a welcome addition to Hindi literature. The work forms a number of the Series called "Sayaji sahitya mala," endowed by the enlightened ruler of Baroda. The introduction deals with a brief sketch of the old history of China and also a short life of the saint.

RAMES BASU

MARATHI

SANSARA AND DHARMA SADHANA.

This is a book of 640 pages published by Mr. B. B. Kestlar of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj. It contains religious writings and addresses of Mr. D. G. Vaidya, Editor of *Subodha Patrika*, the weekly organ of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj. The volume is excellently got up and deserves to be read by every serious minded student of religion and life. As the title of the book indicates, it is an exposition of the subject from the theistic point of view, and embodies the truth that religious life is not one of r[illegible] from the world, but is best lived in the [illegible] society and in the performance of all duties [illegible] man's in this world, with faith in God and [illegible] man, and with truth, fortitude, patience, che[illegible] and charity to accompany that love and fai[illegible]

The book ranks along with the serm[illegible] religious writings of Ranade and Bhandarke[illegible] companion volume for daily perusal, medita[illegible] guidance fit to be on the table of every good [illegible] They together give us the best exposition of [illegible] gion of the Bramho and the Prarthana Sama[illegible] trating it, as applied to practical conduct, fr[illegible] poetry of the saints of Maharastra. As s[illegible] book makes a valuable addition, both by its s[illegible] matter, to Marathi literature in the branch of i[illegible] may be aptly called "literature of high serious[illegible]

V. N. N[illegible]

GUJARATI

PALKARA (WINKS): *By Jhaverchand M[illegible] Cloth bound. Pp. 236. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1934).*

Inspired by several cinema shows seen b[illegible] screening pictures with a Universal Appeal, Mr. M[illegible] has been tempted to throw the subject-matter [illegible] into stories and as such, the adaptations do be[illegible] the motive which prompted him to write them [illegible] fully. Opinions may differ as to whether Mr. M[illegible] has done well in relinquishing his old love—the f[illegible] and folk-literature of Kathiawad—and embarking [illegible] vessel, which to him is new and unfamiliar. H[illegible] his innate power of delineating human feelin[illegible] passions, in attractive and homely language is [illegible] to come to his help, whatever the situation. [illegible] come to his help here, and therefore the narrati[illegible] not lack attractiveness.

JIVAN VED: *By Manilal Chhotalal P[illegible] Printed at the Liberal Lakshmi Printing Press, [illegible] Thick card-board. Pp. 178. Price As. 12 (1935).*

Sixteen Bengali speeches of Bramharshi K[illegible] Chandra Sen have been translated into very s[illegible] Gujarati, a characteristic of his work, by Mr. M[illegible] Parekh, under the title of "Jivan Ved," a title [illegible] by Keshav Chandra Sen himself, in so far as they [illegible] autobiographically in spiritual development in th[illegible] of that great Indian Saint. Mr. Manilal's Preface [illegible] succinctly gives the different stages in the orig[illegible] rise of the Brahma Sammaj in Bengal and the [illegible] that some of its founders contributed to i[illegible] seriously-minded people the work gives much fo[illegible] thought, and the translator has done well in p[illegible] the book before the Gujarati-reading public.

ASTIK VAD: *By Kanaiyalal G. Kothari. Printed at the Arya Sudharak Press, Baroda. bound. Pp. 442. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1935).*

Pandit Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya has writ[illegible] book in Hindi on the above subject—Belief in God [illegible] is translated into Gujarati by Mr. Kothari, wh[illegible] taken great pains as is seen from the Prefa[illegible] throughout his life to combat Atheism. At leas[illegible] a controversial subject, and each side pulls its own [illegible] Attempts have been made in this book to suppo[illegible] doctrine of Astik Vad by the authority of scienc[illegible] Vedas, Upanishads and other religious works to p[illegible] the existence of God. The arguments have [illegible] marshalled very well.

K. M. A[illegible]

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COMMUNAL NEPOTISM

By the late Rao Bahadur Pandit
K. VEERESALINGAM PANTULU,
Rajahmundry

Scene—Papayya Naidu garu's * inner hall.

Enter—Papayya Naidu garu and Veerayya Naidu garu.

Veera. Well, Sir, Naidu garu! Is our people's fate alone doomed while everybody else fares well enough? What? Whoever get into high appointments among Brahmins, allow only their own and none of ours into the office. While in an appointment so high as this, why not you, for your part, gather some four of our kin in your office and prosper them?

Papa. So I quite wish to do. But then, there are not many passed men amongst us. The *dorais* (European officers) don't accept any but passed men. Still, I'll try my utmost. Truth to tell, more people amongst the Brahmins do pass examinations than amongst us. They work hard; and they have intelligence also. Our people, as soon as ever they get a four-rupee job, take to drink and don't work properly. If we say anything, they turn round and seek to bring even ourselves into hot waters. They don't know good from bad at all. And it afterwards becomes necessary to keep regretting that we ever gave them a job at all. Yet, caste partiality being a matter of duty, I do desire, of course, when vacancies occur hereafter, to give them to our own people and help them up. In Govindarao Pantulu garu's time, wherever we looked, he didn't let anybody enter the office except those with the lady-finger caste-mark on. During Padmanabhayya garu's *regime*, all those mustered together in the office were only Niyogi *prabhus* with cubit-long cigars in their mouths. In Veerabhadrayya garu's days, all Vaidiki *swamis* gave up *brahmanardhams*† at 'annual *sraddhas*' and got into service alone. In Khadir Saheb garu's time, the whole office came to throng with Sahebs (Muslims). The other day, in Appalacharyulu garu's time, only perpendicular caste-mark people were to be seen throughout the office. And now that our turn is come, it is a duty to improve the lot of some ten of our people, whatever the effort it costs.

Enter—Venkayya Naidu garu.

Venka. Papayya, I have overheard your talk; and I just come from inside. Of course, we ought to uplift our people by all means, but not harm others without reason. In Padmanabhayya garu's time, it was pity of them that did not report themselves as Niyogis. The *mantrapushpam*§ that had to be offered was also very small.

Papa. Oh, I don't look for anything like that from our caste-men. I get them appointments merely for the sake of well-doing. Only, if unpassed men are taken in, the newspaper fellows won't keep quiet. They howl and wail as though their own raft has capsized outright. So, I am just troubled with that one inconvenience of the papers. I propose by some means or other to bring about the overthrow of the local paper; but no four of us join hands. I am trying with all my might and main to see that those who have business with me don't subscribe for that paper at all. Why, uncle Venkayya garu continues standing. Do come and take your seat here, please.

Venka. Don't want to; I'll go in again. Never intend to do, my dear, the foolish thing just thought of. If only you act uprightly and justly, you need have no fear of the newspapers in the least. Supposing there is a paper, what will it do against you? If you enter upon senseless courses to ruin it, your own high position will get into peril, and you will be ruined yourself. Thanks to your single self amongst our people being in a somewhat decent position, we too have been enjoying respectability on your account. That little honour that there is, don't you mar by listening to all and sundry and incurring needless grudges.

Papa. Oh, the school-boys of this place are too full of hot-headedness. They mind nobody, however great. They put forward all impudent answers and queries before me with-

* *Garu* is an honorific in Telugu.

† Participations in *sraddha* entertainments as special guests (*bhoktas*).

§ Literally, the flower (the best) of adoration hymns; here, bribe as propitiatory offering.

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out fear or regard, while even Tahsildars remain terror-stricken in my presence. Whoever may submit applications amongst those that pass from the schools, I'll suppress them without their going up to the *dorai* (European officer); and I'll see to it that not one gets a billet.

VENKA. Oh dear! Never commit such an atrocity. By so doing, danger will overtake ourselves sooner or later. The youths of this generation are not mere youths. They have learnt more of English than yourself or myself. If dislike arise in them, they will expose us in the papers and create displeasure towards us in the officers' minds. So, never once meddle with them. Townsfolk won't keep quiet out of fear as do *karnams** and ryots in the villages, unless you act without partiality as far as possible.

PAPA. Just for that reason, my whole being comes to flare up at the bare mention of their names. Why so much insolence in these finger-sized sons of widows, when even zamindars treat me with every respect? For this disregard of gentlemen, their haughtiness, sir, must be crushed. Especially, Brahmin stripling ought not to be trusted in the least. Oh, they undermine dwelling-houses!

VENKA. A wholly foolish fancy that. Evil-doers exist in all communities. Amongst educated people, whatever the caste, those of evil ways are really limited in number. If dullards are brought in because educated men don't show fox-like meekness and subservience, the former, however low they may bow and bow, do yet contrive harm by secretly cutting throats with wet cloths. Do heed my advice, seeing that I am older and more experienced than you. While in such a good position as the present, we ought to treat all alike, unmindful of caste and creed differences where there is worth. But to harbour spite towards anybody and seek to injure him is not good in the interests of this or of the other world. Our lives are not everlasting. If we don't act justly, one and all will severally throw stones at us when our limb so much as aches a little; and even those benefited by us will come in for hurt. Why, haven't you seen how, as soon as Govindarao Pantulu garu got transferred, Padmanabhayya garu stepped in and weeded out all Vaidiki germs from the office? And Khadir Saheb, who came next, quietly shunted out all the Niyogis and introduced all bearded (Muslims) into the office. Although Seshachalam Naidu, as the next man, a few of our people, Rangacharyulu, own advent, sent them out to the mofussil filled the headquarters with Vaishnava Narasayya Chetti, the next comer, in and appointed his brother-in-law his domestic cook in spite of the absence any passed men amongst the Vaisyas. now, you are come. If you take in all own people, your successor will give a shave to them all. The times have altogether at present. Anonymous also will pour in.

PAPA. So, what do you say? Do you I should stop giving jobs to any of our or what?

VENKA. Rama, Rama! I don't say that for a moment. If our people are men and qualified, they alone should be jobs without fail. Only, we should not away another's bread unjustly and give it to our people. Others also should be employed without partiality, when there are persons available who have passed examinations. At that rate, nobody will of doing you harm; and God on high will pleased also. Your father, in the capacity a peon, underwent no end of hardships for your upbringing. And after his death your good mother fell at everybody's feet, raised subscriptions and got you educated. Thanks her piety and goodness, you have come to fore like this and risen by now to a position of eminence. You ought not, on that account alone, to forget your past lot and grow puffed up with conceit. If people are worthy, even though they be outsiders, do sympathise with them and render them what help you can. And if unworthy fellows happen to be our own, do you draw them near. This I say for your own good, as I am one advanced in years. Do not set aside my word.

PAPA. Nay, nay; speak not in that strain. Yours is a preceptor's status in my eyes. I will try, as far as possible, to conduct myself according to your counsel. Anyway, we must put down the Brahmin fellows and see that they don't come up. My office time is up; I'll go for dinner. Good-bye.

(*Exeunt*)

[Translated from Telugu by Rao Sahib Dr. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D.]

*That is, executive village officers (*patels*).

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Modern Chinese Theatre

Just three decades ago a handful of Chinese students in Tokyo took over the technique of the modern Japanese drama, organized the *Ch'un Lui Shê*, or "Spring Willow Society" and thus was born the new Chinese theatre movement. George Kin Leung writes in the *Asia*:

That the public took a standoffish attitude toward the new drama, without music, is not surprising, since for centuries the Chinese mind has linked the drama indissolubly with music. It is natural, too, that the new movement, having its roots almost entirely in western inspiration, should have been opposed by a strong conservative element. The classic Chinese music-drama still provides the music and the polished actors, exponents of a highly conventionalized stage art, to which the public has for centuries been accustomed. Through this old type of play the man in the street finds escape from the humdrum of life in poetry and a treatment of the commonplace at once colorful and extravagant. The *hua Chu*, or "spoken drama," on the other hand—whether the work of a modern Chinese playwright or a translation from the western stage—usually brings to the spectator the grim problems of life that have harassed him all day. Leaders of the modern movement, although of the opinion that the old music-drama should be preserved at its best as an example of Chinese art, nevertheless claim that it is an unsuitable vehicle to express present-day aspirations. Modern youth, they believe, no longer desires poetry and escape, in the theatre, but reality and inspiration.

A typical audience drawn by the modern drama may well be termed "select"; for it includes the intelligentsia, the students, the moderns, notably the ultramoderns, and all who find pleasure in being considered members of the foregoing groups. Perhaps even such an audience has, along with the general public in China, inherited something of the traditional deep-rooted contempt for actors which grew up in the days when stage folk were usually illiterate and openly ignored the time-honored moralities. But the advent of the republic has, to a certain degree, erased the stigma formerly attached to the acting profession. The frequent appearance of Dr. W. W. Yen, Chinese Minister to the U. S. S. R., in photographs with the actor Dr. Mei Lan-fang, when the latter recently toured Moscow, is a symbol of the new attitude. Nevertheless some of the prejudice against the actors of pre-Republican days has been bodily transferred to the actors of the modern drama, in spite of the fact that most of the latter are educated and cultured people.

Practically since its beginnings thirty years ago the new drama has been in the hands of amateurs—theatrical groups of educational institutions and groups of society folk, who have appeared for charity.

Like everything else of a modern cast in China, the new theatre has been profoundly affected by political agitation and unrest. One of the original group of Chinese students who organized the "Spring Willow Society," Wang Chung-sheng, was executed in Peking in 1909 by the Manchus for his revolutionary activities. The early period which he helped to launch, that from 1906 to 1916, was marked by a dearth of native plays. Later came a fever of dramatic activity resulting indirectly from the students' anti-Japanese demonstration of May 4, 1919, in Peking during the Versailles Peace Conference. The efforts of this second period were, however, directed wholly toward arousing patriotism; no progress was made in stage art. A third period was ushered in by Chinese playwrights who had studied in Europe and America: their works were an improvement over those of the past, yet, on account of their scholarly attitude and strong western bent, proved unintelligible to the great masses. A fourth period, which is still in progress, has been characterized by an active attempt to take the modern play to the common people.

Expression of Group Life

In the course of an interesting paper with the above caption contributed to the *World Order*, Winifred Duncan, pleading for the revival of the dance drama 'as it was conceived by the Greeks and is still practised throughout the Orient, in religious ceremonials,' writes:

The entire West has confused the art of the dance with acrobatics and gymnastics and the over-emphasis in this country on competitive sport has so dulled the bodily sensitiveness of our young people that it is almost impossible to quiet them to a point where they can experience motion as an aesthetic, religious and spiritual expression. Any savage in central Africa knows more about this than we do. To them, and quite rightly, motion is a medium for experiencing ecstasy—usually religious ecstasy. It is a curious fact that this sort of motion has a far more beneficial effect upon the health than any amount of violent gymnastics, for it awakens glandular activity, quickens and distributes the circulation and quiets the nerves so that the moving body becomes a channel for psychic experience which can never be achieved to violence.

A beginning has been made in the wide-spread popularity of folk dancing, where at least group motion is experienced, but there is something fundamentally childish in copying the crude stampings and whirlings of peasant communities of other nationalities. They are chiefly interesting as the spontaneous expression of the psyche of a definite nationality, but in slavishly copying them we miss the point, which is to create our own folk dancing and express our own psyche.

Aspects of the Japanese Mind

Ippei Fukuda, writing in the *Asia*, draws attention to the love of economy in all artistic efforts of the Japanese:

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A Japanese poet in a fit of inspiration becomes extremely laconic. His creative Muse has taught him to boil down his poetic fancy to the seventeen-syllable *haiku* or, if he must be voluble, to the thirtyone-syllable *waka*. The shrunken petals of salted cherry blossom uncurl themselves in a cup of warm tea until in a minute they reeffloresce in all their freshness of colour and shape. But it does not take even a fraction of a second before a haiku in just seventeen syllables germinates in our mind with all its beauty, imagery and force of expression. Economy of words in the Japanese text whets, instead of crippling, our response to its breath. To quote Basho (1644-1694), the best known of haiku poets :

"Ah, summer grasses wave !
The warriors' brave deeds a dream."

Unusually vivid is the picture raised before us : a field desolate but for a shrine or two in a rueful condition of neglect. Wild grass running riot everywhere under the spent sun of a summer afternoon is strangely reminiscent of *samurai*, officers and men, who fought, dreamed of home, and fell in this same field centuries ago. The reaction is instantaneous.

This can be said, with equal truth, of our appreciation of art : the same subtle process of simplification is as fully at work there as in this form of poetry. Japanese landscape artists often dispose of their favourite theme, bamboos, with almost abject economy of touches. And yet those few brush strokes in black readily bring to our eyes a cluster of the vegetation in its refreshingly radiant colour.

The very ancient Game of Promise 'Em Plenty

"Italian women bring their rings to Italy's cause." "Children give to Il Duce their metal toys to aid in fight against sanction." As John T. Flynn observes in *The New Republic*, here is the very keynote of the present Italian disaster :

Politicians in peace times practise one technique. They are promisers of abundance. Townsend with his $200-a-month to Uncle Jasper, Huey Long with his "share-the-wealth," are not different from Hoover with his two-chicken pot and his two-car garage or Roosevelt with his "abundant life." Hitler offered the fleshpots to the Germans and Mussolini promised to the spare eaters of Italy full bellies and prosperous days. The peacetime politician appeals to the appetites of his constituents. But all these promisers must come ultimately to grief. Hoover sees the chicken vanish from the pot and the pot itself dissolve into air. Roosevelt's abundant life becomes a vast deficit and 11,500,000 out of work. The same kind of things has happened to Mussolini. The Italian belly is still empty. The workers are actually worse off. And the regime has been kept afloat on borrowed funds.

Mussolini has borrowed until his external credit is gone. He has borrowed at home until his internal credit is exhausted. He is no longer able to promise things to the Italians. He can no longer appeal to their appetites. He has reached that fatal moment when he must call for sacrifices. He must ask empty stomachs to endure greater emptiness. He must ask Italians not merely to lend more money, but to give up their life savings, their children's toys, their wedding rings. You cannot do this under the psychology of abundance. You must produce in the nation the psychology of sacrifice. And that you cannot do in time of peace. It can be done only in a [illegible] at war.

History teaches this lesson—that dictators and [illegible] gogues, when they exhaust the artifices of peace [illegible] promising and can survive only on a stream of [illegible] sacrifices, turn inevitably and of necessity to war. [illegible] the reason for war can always and readily be found. [illegible] Mussolini were not at war with Ethiopia he would [illegible] be at war with nature and the laws of economics. [illegible] would still have to call for wedding rings and medals. But he would not get them if Italy were at peace. [illegible] is why we have war in Ethiopia. But whether the [illegible] ends quickly or drags on for a long time, the [illegible] enemy of the skidding Caesar—the grim law [illegible] economics—goes on nibbling at his regime of time [illegible] dust.

Economic and Social Development in Russia

Lewis L. Lorwin and A. Abramson, [illegible] visited Russia in September and October, [illegible] writing in the *International Labour Re[illegible]* give an account of some of the striking ch[illegible] now taking place in the U. S. S. R. :

Anyone who has visited the U. S. S. R. at in[illegible] during the last decade or so cannot but be struck b[illegible] great strides forward made during recent years.

It is in some of the large cities that the ex[illegible] evidences of industrial and cultural advance are patri[illegible] striking. Moscow is almost unrecognizable as com[illegible] with 1931. Many parts of the city have been modern[illegible] streets have been widened and paved with asphalt; [illegible] squares have been laid out at different points in the [illegible] Some of the streets radiating from these squares [illegible] lined with tall new buildings, some of them Govern[illegible] offices and others apartment houses, hotels, workers' c[illegible] etc.

As one drives through the Soviet cities, one c[illegible] miss the fact that a new urban civilization is [illegible] which is in profound contrast to the old. Not on[illegible] the large cities, too, but even in the smaller indu[illegible] towns one sees, sometimes side by side with the old [illegible] and-two-storey wooden buildings or tenement houses [illegible] modern structures which have been put to us within [illegible] last four or five years.

As one looks further one finds more subst[illegible] evidences of industrial progress. If one visits the [illegible] department stores in Moscow, one will find there [illegible] sorts of articles, from pins and needles to elec[illegible] apparatus, gramophones, and wireless sets made in S[illegible] factories. True, many of these articles are not of [illegible] highest quality, but they are the first products of [illegible] indigenous industry.

The changes in transportation are equally signi[illegible] Along the road one may see oil tanks, refrigerating [illegible] and hundreds of freight cars in which various commo[illegible] are being shipped from one end of the country to an[illegible] To one who remembers the U. S. S. R. a few years a[illegible] when passing trains and full freight cars were few [illegible] far between this is indeed a revelation of the a[illegible] made.

True, most of the new factories have been equ[illegible] with imported machinery and in many factories f[illegible] advisers are still used for the purpose of tech[illegible] management. But everywhere one finds signs of [illegible] adaptation to and mastery of the machine pro[illegible] Factories are introducing improvements in the machi[illegible] which they have acquired, and new machines of [illegible]

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ds and varieties are being built in Soviet factories der the guidance of Soviet engineers.

Compared to the city, the Soviet village presents few external manifestations of change. But even in villages one cannot miss signs of a revolution in ogress. The first evidence of this second revolution the appearance of the fields. To one who remembers old Russian landscape with its patchwork of closely-little strips, the new sight of endless fields stretching all directions without fences anywhere has a stirring gestiveness. These fields are the outward form of land system based on a new type of ownership and a new method of work. And the significance of this volution is further suggested by the tractors, combines d other modern machinery in the fields and at the -called tractor-stations, and by the new grain elevators ng the road.

Even more suggestive are the signs of the cultural volution that is taking place. The creches, schools, and nics to be found in the villages, and the agricultural boratories, very simple and crude though they may , are symbolic of the effort to bring new ways and entific methods into daily life. All these new elements, ugh still in the most rudimentary stage, represent the innings of a new rural civilization, likely to arise on economic basis of collectivization.

The War from the Ethiopian Point of view

John M. Melly, in the course of an illuminating paper published in the *International Affairs*, discusses different questions connected with the Ethiopian war. On the question of slavery in Ethiopia he observes :

A hundred years ago I believe there were 800,000 slaves in the British colonies. It took sixty years of unrelenting effort and £20 million of money to stop slavery in the British Empire, so that it was not until forty years ago that slavery was finally abolished, and as a matter of fact it still exists in the British Empire in spite of all our efforts to abolish it. The Emperor of Abyssinia has had virtually only three, or at the most five, years since he came to the throne to abolish slavery. He has gone some considerable distance. He has complied almost completely with the demands of the Slavery Commission. In 1924 he made an edict which he was not then in a position to enforce, but which he did his best to enforce, decreeing that children should be born free, that ill-treated slaves should be freed, that on the death of their owners slaves should be freed, and that they should maintain civil rights and so forth. The Emperor has said that he believes, and he after all knows the difficulties that he has to face, that, without causing undue suffering by the liberation of a large number of slaves at one time, he can virtually do away with slavery in Abyssinia in fifteen to twenty years. I understand that the Italians think it will take fifty or sixty years.

He pays a tribute to the diplomatic honesty of the Ethiopian Emperor :

From the moment of the Wal Wal incident I do not think that anyone will dispute that the Emperor of Abyssinia has given Europe a very striking lesson in diplomatic honesty; so striking that in doing so he jeopardised his own power. There was a strong feeling in Abyssinia at that time that he should not have hesitated to follow up the incident by an attack in force, because the Abyssinians knew then, as everybody else knows now, that he would have had no trouble in conquering the whole of Italian Somaliland before Italian reinforcements could have been imported. The Emperor knew it as well, but he maintained that he was bound by a sacred treaty and he restrained his chiefs from taking the course they would like to have taken. That has reacted very largely against him in the eyes of his own people, who know very little about treaties and who only realize that they could, if they had not waited, have had a big military success.

On Italy's " Civilising Mission " in Ethiopia he observes :

The Italians claim to be conducting a civilizing mission and I am not going to insult anybody's intelligence by trying to prove that that is not exactly their motive. But a question which is worth discussion is whether some nation had better not conquer Ethopia and put her to rights. To that I think there are two answers. If we are sufficiently altruistic to want Abyssinia to be really civilized, then the Emperor will with open arms receive any help we can give him. But the white man even in normal times is thoroughly distrusted by the people of Ethiopia, and one can hardly blame them. The native's usual experience of the white man is of that unfortunate type of trader who, from his greater knowledge of economic and commercial conditions, has exploited the black man time and again. So that if a European nation takes over Ethiopia it is going to have a very difficult task, and only by force of arms is it going to be able to compel progress. But the Emperor insists, and I believe him, that *he* has our outlook. He is just as keen and rather keener than any other individual or nation that Abyssinia should be civilized, and he will gladly accept help. Let the nations of the world help him, then, and he will do the job far better than it can be done by force of arms and by conquering a proud people who want to retain their independence.

The second argument, I think, is a moral one. Because I do not like the way somebody runs his house, I can, if I like, give him advice on how to run it, but I am not entitled to take over the house and live in it myself and run it as I please.

The Conflict

In the course of a paper with the above caption Ellen Horup writes in the *Politiken* (Copenhagen) :

Imperialism and the League of Nations are to be harnessed together; these two contradictory principles are to be induced to pull in the same direction: the square peg shall be forced into the round hole.

The basis of imperialism is might over right and that of the League of Nations on the contrary is right over might. Imperialism is a recognition of the conqueror's right to the submission of a weaker nation, the League of Nations is an assertion of an international right between nations, great and small, strong and weak.

The result was the Laval-Hoare proposals.

The events of the autumn have shown us financial imperialism hand in hand with political imperialism. None of the Great Powers have the slightest interest in overthrowing Mussolini. On the contrary, they all prefer fascism to socialism, whether it be a question of Mussolini or Hitler. They are investing capital in the two dictator countries and supporting them economically even if they are apparently attacking them politically.

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The action of the League of Nations was bluff, sanctions broke down. Mussolini's fear of oil sanctions was bluff; the Laval-Hoare-Baldwin fear of Mussolini's threats about war was bluff. And during all this bluff the war is being continued in Ethiopia unaffected, in fascist style with bombs upon the defenceless and unarmed, upon villages and Red Cross hospitals, while the next Laval-Hoare proposals are in the offing under another name.

Much however has been gained, if the workers have learnt from the events that fascism is not to be fought with imperialistic wars, but by international co-operation between all workers. If only they can see now that where imperialism enters, international justice goes out, so that they will no longer support a league dominated by imperialistic governments and which has never been and can never be a league of peoples.

Journalism under a Dictatorship

Last month we reproduced from *The Living Age* some of the instructions that Dr. Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry hands out to the German press. The same paper presents another sample of journalism under a dictatorship in the form of instructions imparted by Mussolini's Fascist Government to the Italian press :

OCTOBER 29

An attitude of reserve to be maintained with regard to England, and also with regard to France and Germany.

Great importance to be given, on the other hand, to our home activities. Insist on the inauguration of public works, especially the inauguration of the University buildings.

Give much space to the communiques on the limitation and economy in the consumption of goods, insisting on the fact that Fascist Italy replies to the iniquitous sanctions with a spirit of abnegation and sacrifice.
necessary for bread, because, thanks to the wheat battle, necessary for bread, because, thanks to the wheat bat tle, we have all the wheat we need.

Give importance to the inauguration of the theatrical year, which will take place in Rome, Turin and Milan.

Give importance to the widening of the 'Via delle Botteghe Basse.'

OCTOBER 31

Comment on the telegram sent to the Duce by the rabbit breeders and poultry farmers.

Dedicate the whole of the first page to the inauguration ceremony of the University buildings. In a very emotional tone.

Comment on the Duce's speech.

With regard to the answer of the United States Government to the League of Nations, it is considered opportune for the comments of the Italian press to be, generally speaking, in harmony with the recent substantial confirmation of the neutrality of the United States, and, on the other hand, that it should insist on the illusions which may arise once more for the preservation of peace in Europe from the indirect encouragement of the action of the League of Nations contained in the note of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United States.

Comment with the greatest reserve, without expressions revealing satisfaction at the American answer to Geneva.

Henry Ford as a Farmer

Those whose duty or interest it is to ways and means of strengthening agric industries in this country will do well to a detailed investigation into conditions o Fordson Estates in England, at Chelmsford London. A short account of the experim reproduced below from *The People's Trib*

In 1931 Mr. Ford set out to make an exp in what may be called highly mechanized market-gar on an estate which previously had been used for o mixed farming. His theory was that, run on the lines, it would be possible to employ much more at substantially higher wages and still show a satis profit, and he has proved that this can be done. 100 men are in permanent employment receiving a rate of pay than the minimum of the Wages Boa in addition have received large bonuses distributed the profits of last year's work. The crops raised a wide variety of vegetables intended for the L market, about 30 miles away, but this year a su start has been made with cultivation of soya-beans, hitherto have not been grown to any great ext England.

In the beginning the estate consisted larg rough grazing land, and a quantity of worthless had to be cleared, hedges grubbed up, and ex plowing and harrowing done before it was ready market-gardening. When the land had been br into good condition it was taken over by a co known as "Co-operative Societies," and this co which now runs the farm, pays 4 per cent fre income-tax on capital outlay by way of rent. Equip costs are returnable over a period of 25 years. and vegetables are produced in bulk; there is intelligence department whose task it is to select best selling centres, and full loads for motor-lorries for economy in transportation. Those responsible for management of the Fordson Estates believe in the ciple of raising crops that demand a maximum of and in some of the fields no less than 90 per cent the corps of production represent wages paid to wo It is possible to employ 150 men on 250 acres of garden. On one farm where formerly six men boy were employed, there are now 14 permanent wo thus proving Henry Ford's thesis that if run on lines the farms can employ much more labour at stantially higher wages than those formerly paid still return a satisfactory profit.

Art and Modern Printing

There are just a few years until 1940, the fifth centennial of the invention of prin with movable letters by Johannes Gutten will be observed. Writing in the *Germany You*, Dr. Julius Rodenberg, who combats preconception 'that the printed book is me the patient and slavish interpreter of thoughts and feelings of the author, that it no individuality, and that the mission of printer is to follow blindly the wishes of intellectual creator,' notes the infusion of creative and artistic spirit into modern prin in Europe :

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The sharp decline in the number of books made ecially for the bibliophile during the past two or three rs could be attributed to the closing of many private sses if the same tendency had not been observed in gland. In compensation for this, it is gratifying to ice that the ordinary books, including scientific, school d children's books, have shown a decided improvement their typography and make-up. Along with the ately printed books, the interest in artistic bindings hand-bound books, which a few years ago were very ular, has also declined. Replacing this, the wrapper, ch formerly was considered merely as a protective ering, is now utilized for advertising purposes and has ome a field for typographical and artistic designing. The show window of a bookshop reveals today a urful and variated world, for the artist as well as craftsman has expended the full richness of his inality in this field. Commercial and industrial ting have also been influenced by this tendency, as evident in the tasteful wrappers and packages for arettes. This new creative spirit in typography has etrated into every official and commercial field. Following the example of the English railway companies with ir extraordinarily effective placards, the German Federal lway has improved its advertising and brought a inctive artistic element into its posters. The magaes have also fallen into line and often present a eful and pleasing make-up. The newspapers, however, e more hesitant about taking on innovations and have tain reasons for doing so since they question the isability of changing the form of the paper after the aders have become accustomed to it, while the cost volved is also an important item; but nevertheless, the st signs of a typographical revolution are present in s field.

Women in Egypt

Mary McCurdy writes in *The Catholic Citizen* a brief review of women's emancipation ovement in Egypt which has been going ward unobtrusively during the last twenty ars:

For Egyptian, as for other oriental women, the first p in freedom has been the abolishing of the custom segregation of the sexes and the seclusion of women. ay Egyptian women of the upper and middle classes ear European clothes, go about unveiled, and visit the ema and other public places with their menfolk or men friends. And this liberty to get out and about still new enough to be valued by the rising generation, ough it has come about almost imperceptibly without y fierce opposition having been roused. Furthermore o important reforms affecting the status of women have en made. The legal age of marriage has been raised sixteen, and, owing to a reinterpretation of doctrine has been made less easy for a man to divorce his wife, hile hitherto he could do so easily and for the most vial reasons.

Since 1925, too, the Government has made available the Egyptian girl what is provided for her brother. r in that year the first secondary school for girls was ened with fifty pupils. Today that school has five ndred pupils and there are also three other secondary hools in Cairo, three in Alexandria and one each in o provincial towns. In these schools the girls follow e same syllabus as in the boys' schools and take the me public examinations. From them girls have passed n to study at the Egyptian University, where they are to be found in every faculty, but chiefly in the school of medicine. Others have gone on to England and taken degrees there. It is of interest to note here that in these schools there are men as well as women on the staff though in every case the head is a woman.

Sylvain Levi : A Memory

Dr. Ranjee G. Shahani relates his impressions of Sylvain Levi in *The Asiatic Review*:

I was received by a short, well-knit man, with a soft, caressing voice, a shock of beautiful white hair, fine as driven snow, extraordinarily gentle eyes—eyes that had something very wise and very tender in their limpid depths—and, for all his dignity, simple, clubbable, spontaneously kindly—in fact, anything but a mere academic.

As I looked round the apartment, stacked, almost littered, with books and with *souvenirs artistiques des Indes*, I heard Sylvain Levi say to me : "I am a Hindu." The tone in which he said this was absolutely convincing—and compelling. It reminded me of similar words uttered by the late Sir Thomas Arnold : "I'm more an Indian than an Englishman." Transparent sincerity characterized the avowal of both men.

The room, warm and cosy, was full of guests. An Austrian savant was talking in excited tones about his great discovery, that the Hungarian dialects were connected with Sanskrit. Sylvain Levi did not contradict him, but the way he smiled shook the confidence of the other man. A young lady wanted to know what were Sankara's exact views about "Maya" and the "phenomenal world." Someone began to talk of Mohan-jo-Daro. . . . . To each and all—too many to be mentioned here—Sylvain Levi gave what help he could. He was particularly nice to my compatriots : he treated them as though he had known them all their lives. They spoke to him as they seldom speak to foreigners.

Sylvain Levi did not refer to his own work. He seemed to brush it aside as a thing of secondary importance. "My real passion," he told me later, when we were alone, "my real passion is to be of service to my fellow-beings. . . . . It gives me real pleasure to do what I can for your countrymen. They come thousands of miles to learn at our universities: all praise to them for that. . . . . It is really we who ought to be going to India to imbibe something of her ancient wisdom. Perhaps a day will come when the elan of the West will be combined with the meditativeness of the East. . . . ." He loved books, I could see, for he talked in a lilting accent of his favourite authors; but he loved life more. He spoke of the greatness of life and the greatness of the individual; but I will not enter into that abstruse question.

When I attempt to sum up the total impression made upon me by this remarkable personality I find that it crystallizes itself into four prismatic qualities—qualities that Jesus would have prized above all in a human soul. Sylvain Levi was tolerant (not through laziness, but through wise comprehension), generous (more happy to give than to receive), selfless (always making the lowest claim for himself), and genuinely in love with his kind. In our world of false valuations, when charlatans and mountebanks win all the applause, it is not a little heartening to find a man who was great in his goodness.

Sylvain Levi is not dead : he lives in the memory of his friends and disciples, and their name is legion. Perhaps this is the only kind of immortality of which we can be sure. At least Shakespeare thought so.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Reminiscences of Sri Ramakrishna

Pratap Chandra Majoomdar, an influential leader of the Brahmo Samaj and an orator of rare ability, wrote an article on Sri Ramakrishna in the *Theistic Quarterly Review* of 1897, which has been reproduced in the Ramakrishna Centenary issue of *The Vedanta Kesari*. The following is an excerpt from the reproduction :

Some of our clever intellectual fools have found nothing in him; some of the contemptuous Christian Missionaries would call him an impostor or a self-deluded enthusiast. The face of this Hindu saint retains a fullness, a child-like tenderness, a profound visible humbleness and an unspeakable sweetness of expression and a smile that I have seen on no other face that I can remember. He protests against being lionized and openly shows his strong dislike to be visited and praised by the curious. The society of the worldly-minded and carnally-inclined he carefully shuns. His religion is his only recommendation. Ramkrishna is the worshipper of no particular Hindu God. He is not a Shaiva, he is not a Shakta, he is not a Vaishnava, he is not a Vedantist. Yet he is all these. He worships Shiva, he worships Kali, he worships Rama, he worships Krishna and is a confirmed advocate of the Vedanta doctrines. He accepts all the doctrines, all the embodiments, usages and devotional practices of every religious cult. Each in turn is infallible to him. His religion does not mean too much dogma, controversial proficiency or the outward worship. His religion means ecstasy, his worship means transcendental worship. He merges into rapturous ecstasy, and loses outward consciousness often during the dav and oftenest in conversation.

In the intensity of burning love of God which is in his simple heart, the devotees' form and features suddenly grow stiff and motionless, unconsciousness overtakes him, his eyes lose their sight and tears trickle down his fixed, pale but smiling face. There is a transcendental meaning and sense in that unconsciousness. Who will fathom the depth of that insensibility which the love of God produces in him? But that he sees something hears and enjoys something, when he is dead to all the outer world, there is no doubt. If not, why should he in the midst of that unconsciousness burst into floods of tears and break out into prayers, songs and utterances, the force and pathos of which pierce through the hardest heart and bring tears to eyes that never before wept under the influence of religion?

He has successfully escaped the evil of carnality which he dreaded. The purity of his thoughts and relations towards women is most unique and instructive. The other sin which he spent his life to be free from is the love of money. The sight of money fills him with strange dread. His avoidance of women and wealth is the whole secret of his matchless moral character. His reverence for Christ and Mahomet is deep and genuine and shows the catholic religious culture of this great Hindu saint. He never writes anything, seldom argues. He never attempts to instruct, he is continually p out his soul in rhapsody of spiritual experien unconsciously throws a flood of marvellous ligh the obscurest passages of the Shastras.

A living evidence of the depth and grea Hindu religion is this good and holy man. H wholly controlled his flesh. He is full of soul, the reality of religion, full of joy, full of blessed He has no other thought, no other occupation, n relation, no other friend in his humble life th God. That God is more than sufficient for hi spotless holiness, his deep unspeakable blessedne unstudied endless wisdom, his child-like pea and affection towards all men, his consuming, all ing love for God is his only reward. So long a spared to us, gladly shall we sit at his feet to from him the sublime precepts of purity, unworld spirituality and inebriation in the love of God.

Sri Ramakrishna

Bhavani Charan Bannerjee, better k as Upadhaya Brahmabandhava, was at fi staunch Brahmo and a follower of Ke Chandra Sen. As a speaker and leader an Editor of the Bengali daily *Sandhya*, he well known. Later in life he passed from church of New Dispensation to the Anglican eventually to the Roman Catholic Commun The original article which was contribute *Swaraj*, a Bengali monthly, has been trans in the Ramkrishna Centenary number *Prabuddha Bharata*. He wrote :

Who is this Ramakrishna? He is the prin Sadhakhas, who through his spiritual practice, s with emotion and fervour, gathered round him a peculiar spiritual attitudes of the different sects faiths of the world, and thus demonstrated the all-c hensiveness of his Brahman-realization. In his pers have been synthesized and unified the superconsci of the Yogis, the sweetness of the love of the Go Brindavan, and the awe-inspiring attitude of the worshipper. He practised Islam and realized its goal. He also realized the Christhood of Jesus established in his consciousness of the immutable Br and keeping intact the continuity of the Eternal Id of the Aryas, Sri Ramakrishna welcomed with open all the diversities of the spiritual life and enriched by incorporating in it all the new spiritual forces orientating them all to Advaita.

All-India Women's Conference

In her address as president of the All-In Women's Conference, published in *Stri-Dha*

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er Highness, The Maharani Sethu Parvati yi of Travancore says :

This Conference which started nine years ago has w become the foremost representative body of the men of India, and it has contributed in no small asure to the awakening which has surpassed the pectations of its founders. It has helped to arouse social conscience in many matters relating to women d their advancement. One of its first items of business s to voice dissatisfaction with the present educational stem, and it was instrumental in starting an Education nd, the proceeds of which have been utilized amongst her things, for establishing and maintaining the Lady rin College in Delhi for Home Science, the training teachers and psychological research. The Conference yed an important part in the establishment of the im of women to the franchise in British India. It s worked for the adequate education of future mothers, medical inspection in schools and factories, and for removal of many social and legal disabilities. A nce at the summary of the important resolutions sed in previous sessions would prove that a well-sidered programme of rural reconstruction and cational and civic training has been emphasised, and the Conference has set before itself the important k of rousing public opinion so as to enable all cerned to realize the mistake of segregation of women d of allowing immature girls to become wives and thers. A great deal has been done, though much s yet to be achieved in the matter of the amelioration the lot of women labourers and the propagation of blic health programmes, in which women are vitally erested.

The great upheaval produced by the late war revolu-nized thought and made Europe and America realize e value of women's contribution to the national cause. The great development for which groups of women d worked in many countries took place mainly because national crises on the issue of which the fates of tions depended. But it will be remembered that as on as the women's claims were recognized, it was und that they were justified. Women very soon attained e highest learned and academical distinctions. The residentship of the Botanical section of the British sociation was awarded to a woman in 1918. In 1920, e gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society was stowed upon a woman. The Parliamentary work of man has been recognized to be of indubitable value. men during the war and thereafter held responsible sts in the civil service of various countries. In the ited States, there are 6,000 women physicians and 000 practising lawyers and amongest them assistant torneys-general, provincial and central. 300 American ties employ Police women in duties relating to the lfare of women and children. In journilism, and nking, they have played an important part. It was ot many weeks ago that the award of the Nobel Prize Madame Jolliot, the worthy daughter of a celebrated other Madame Curie, demonstrated the capacities of men in the domain of recondite science.

Education

Rabindranath Tagore makes the following profound observation in *The Visva-Bharati News* on education :

It is needless to say that the purpose of modern Education is to respond to the deepest urge of the present age which is to be rid of the suicidal aggressiveness of the collective egotism of the people. Human history is waiting for uniting all races in a bond of co-operation utilizing for the common benefit the variedness of our circumstances and natural capacities. Those habits of thoughts and sentiments which go against it will make us unfit for that great tomorrow when it will be seriously admitted that the spirit of civilization has its fundamental meaning in a perfect relationship of people based upon a comprehensive responsibility of mutual help. What has been said in the *Upanishads* in the following verse indicating the highest purpose of man is applicable not only to individuals but also to nations. *He who finds himself in all beings and all beings in his own self is revealed in truth.*

The value of Dancing in National Life

Visva-Bharati News also gives the English translation of the relevant passages of a letter written by Rabindranath on the value of dancing in national life :

There is no doubt that the provision for our country's health and food is of great importance but the expression of its joy is no less vitally necessary. The villagers who are known as the masses of the country have always abundantly expressed their joy in life through their music and dance in varied forms of literature and the arts. Like scattered pools of water in the dried up river-bed of a stream these yet exist, but there is danger of their soon being completely lost. One of the main reasons is the stupidity of our educated commiunties. We are bookworms quite out of touch with the inner life of our country. We are schoolboys of English schools, therefore we wax enthusiastic over pedantic research in foreign arts following the prescribed path of textbooks; we utterly lack the inner culture which can make us discover and properly evaluate the materials of beauty which lie unrecognized all around us in the rural areas. One of this is Dancing. This great gift of the goddess Saraswati has been disdainfully relegated by our cultural circles to the realm of the professionals. In the life of the masses it still remains hidden here and there with apologetic diffidence.

All expressions of joy keep man's vital forces alive and creative; man does not die only from want of food—absence of joy kills his manhood. In the western continent Dancing is a companion of true manhood. In our country too, this dance will remove the feebleness from which our country suffers.

Hindu Java

Swami Sadananda Maharaj is an old Sannyasin of the Sankaracharya Order. He recently visited Cambodia, Java and Bali. He writes an acount of his visit in *The Hindu Review*. His observations on Hindu Java are from his personal knowledge of things :

Jogjakarta, the seat of the Sultanate of the same name, is a populous town with clean and shaded roads often ending in a spacious square like those of Batavia. The Sultan still retains the Hindu title of 'Buwono Senopati' (the General of the World) and his Kraton (or Court) is one of those few centres which still hangs on to the old art and culture of the Javanese.

It is here we witnessed the Shadow Pantomime of

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leather Marionettes, which in Javanese is called Wyang Kulit. A semi-transparent screen is placed before the audience and a powerful light falls on it from the back, where the showman or 'Dalang' recites the old legends and epic stories from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. The puppets are thin strips of buffalo-hide cut into exaggerated human forms. They would be taken as gigantic caricatures but for the fact that they represent the spirit and not the form of the epic characters. The lady Dushilavati (perhaps Duryyodhana's sister Dushila) has to be coloured black, her nose made more aquiline, her eyes more cruel than those of a Subhadra when she elopes with Arjuna. The virile Javanese admires this great warrior as he adores Sita and respects Rama. Many a version of the adventures of the third Pandava with a strong Javanese background have accumulated through centuries in the shape of 'Panji' stories. Shubhadra loses her identity in Chandrakirana (Moon beam) and the story of her run away match with Krishna-Sakha is recast in the hero's attempt to retrace the heroine through a series of wild adventures. The Sayamvara ceremony of Draupadi is 'screened' and the princess is seen engaged in a battle of wits with Yudhisthira and his four brothers. The fight of Rama and Dasanana often creates a tense atmosphere in the audience who heave a sigh of relief when at last the Prince of Ayodhya flies back to his capital with the long-imprisoned Sita.

The Masked Dance is just as gorgeous as the Miracle play at Oberamergau. The masks are a various types and they help the actors and actresses display the moods of the heroes and the heroines they represent. It reminds one of the Greek Tragedians wearing high shoes as a part of their make-up. These masks interpret the trend of the events to the spectators. Thus a scene of the Lord Siva sitting on a divine bull may be acted without a mask, but when the Tandava Dance has to be performed suitable masks have naturally to be used. These dances are so vivid that we cannot but admire them. Here there is no 'dalang' to explain the show of his puppets or interweave local incidents into the plot, but every participant has to do the work of the showman with no oral explanations but physical movements.

The Hindu Java was largely Saivic in its creed, for, isolated temples there are at Bhima and Kelasan which were dedicated to Chandi (or Chanda?). They are of great structural beauty, but are mere pygmies in comparison with what we viewed at Prambanam. The ruins there are girdled by a high stone wall and occupy almost a square mile in area. The gateway is made of wood and the courtyard is not flagged but covered with green grass. The main temple of Chandi-Siva is some sixty feet high and is of a square shape. The fight between Dasanana and the valiant Jatayu forms the subject of the bas-relief on the stone foundation of this temple. A wide stairway leads to the approach of the Mandira where there stand on their own pedastals four life-size images in four directions of the Compass. They are Brahma, Vishnu, Maheswara and Sakti, each with a stone back-ground to its own. The statue of Brahma is more intact than the rest and like the images at the Godan Gaja Museum all of them are anatomically perfect and wear apparels and ornaments. They are physically normal and none of them show that stony vacant look which we meet in those of the Assyrians or the Egyptians. They all have a benign countenance which is assuring and conveys the sculptor's notion of a 'loving' Creator which a 'god fearing' race can seldom visualize. Nor is there that ambiguous smile which the Buddhist loves to portray. These images beam with a celestial repose which eludes description.

The temple of the divine Bull is close to the which Siva occupies in the main temple, the numerous pillars and idols lying about in the co the local history recounts that the Arabs in their zeal razed them to the ground.

The Beautiful in the Upanishads

The spirit of beauty that resides in Upanishadic consciousness makes an which stirs the very depth of our heart. Kanta Gupta writes in *the Triveni* on beautiful in the Upanishads :

When the Rigveda says :

"Lo ! the supreme Light of lights is come, a awakening is born, wide manifest,"

"The white Mother comes reddening with the child; the dark Mother opens wide her chambers,"

the feeling and the expression of the beautiful re questioning; they are authentic as well as evide will recognize at once that we have here beautiful said in a beautiful way. No less authentic how the sense of the beautiful that underlies these Upani lines :

"There the sun shines not, nor the moon, n stars; these lightnings too there shine not; how this fire ! That shines and therefore all shine in its by the sheen of That, all this shines."

The early Vedas aimed at the perfect form (*kr'tnum*) the faultless expression, the integral and plete embodiment. But the Upanishads came to lay upon what is beyond the form, what the eye cann nor the vision reflect :

"Its figure does not lie in the field of vision. can see it with the eye."

The form of a thing can be beautiful; but formless too has its beauty. All the forms that scattered abroad in their myriad manifest beauty within themselves a secret Beauty and are reflecti projected out of it. It cannot be defined or figured in terms of the phenomenal consciousness. In speaking however, the Upanishads invariably and repeatedly re two attributes that characterise its fundamental nature. first aspect or attribute is that of light—the brill the solar effulgence—*ravitulyarupah*—the bright, shadowless Light of lights—*virajam subhram jyo jyotih*. The second aspect is that of delight, the the immortality inherent in that wide effulgence—*rupam amr'tam yad vibhati.*

And where there is light, there is cheer and *Rasamaya* and *jyotirmaya* are thus the two co characteristics fundamental to the nature of the ul reality. Sometimes these two are named as the and the lunar aspect. The solar aspect refers obj to the Light, that is to say, to the Truth; the aspect refers to the *rasa* (Soma), to Immortality Beauty proper,—

"O Lord of Immortality ! Thy heart of beauty is sheltered in the moon"—

or, as the *Prasna Upanishad* has it,

'The Moon means Delight . . . . and D means the created form."

The perception of beauty in the Upanis consciousness is something elemental—of conc essence. It silhouettes the main contour, outlines primordial gestures. Pregnant and pulsating with burden of beauty, the *mantra* here reduces its ex expression to a minimum. What can be more bare

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ief and full to the brim of a self-gathered luminous
ergy than, for example :
"That which lives not by Life, but which makes
e live—That is Brahman."
"In the Little there lies no happiness, the Vast alone
the Happiness, The Vast is the Immortality, the Little
the Mortality."
The Upanishads in this respect have a certain kinship
th the early poets of the intervening age—Vyasa and
lmiki. The same brevity and simplicity, vibrant with
extraordinary power of evocation, are also character-
ic of the Upanishad *mantra*. With Valmiki's
"Like the sky hard to cross over,"
"Like a fire whose light of flame is gone,"
"Fiery as the burning sun, full of forbearance like
earth,"
be compared, in respect of vivid and graphic terseness
d pointedness and suggestive reverberation, the
anishadic
"The One stands alone in the heaven motionless,
e a tree against the sky," or,
"Be wholly fixed on That, like an arrow on its
get," or again,
"Like these rivers that flowering journey towards
sea."
Art at its highest tends to become also the simplest
d the most unconventional; and it is then the highest
t, precisely because it does not aim at being artistic.
e aesthetic motive is totally absent in the Upanishads;
e sense of beauty is there, but it is attendant upon and
rolved in a deeper strand of consciousness.

The Racial Composition of the Indian Peoples

Science and Culture in its February issue publishes addresses of the Sectional presidents of the Science Congress recently held at Indore. H. C. Chakladar, presiding over the Section of Anthropology, deals in his address with the problems of the racial composition of the Indian peoples. He observes :

In India racial classification has so long proceeded on very scanty anthropometric data, and hence it has been quite unsatisfctory. Risley initiated anthropomorphic measurements in India, but the data obtained by him, supplemented by those collected by others, are quite inadequate for such a vast country as India, especially as the Indian peoples are divided into innumerable independent groups that do not intermarry. Risley's classification of the Indian peoples, based upon this inadequate material, into seven racial types, has rightly been rejected by anthropologists. Risley gave, for exmple, the racial designation of *Mongolo-Dravidian* to the peoples of Bengal and Orissa, though they are not marked by Mongoloid features at all. Then again, Risely's Dravidians fall at least into four racial types; (1) the dark, long-headed, wide-nosed type which has been given the unsatisfactory designation of *Pre-Dravidian* by some and which has been called *Proto-Australiod* by Dr. Hutton in the last Census Report of India, although craniological measurements have shown clearly that the theory of a common racial stock for the jungle tribes of the Deccan and the aborigines of Australia is quite untenable; this type had better been called simply *Veddaic;* Hutton's theory of its migration from Asia Minor is also disproved by the great difference in the nasal index between the ancient Mesopotamian and Indian skulls; (2) the Munda-Kol group of Chota Nagpur which possesses considerable affinity with the former, but has points of difference also; (3) the long-headed, fine-nosed type speaking Dravidian languages who, on account of their Mediterranean affinity, had best be called *Indo-Mediterranean,* independently of any reference to the language they speak. (4) and lastly, the round-headed, fine-nosed type with Alpine affinity which claims numerous individuals amongst the Dravidian-speakers. The two latter types are not peculiar to the Dravidian-speaking area alone, but are of a much wider distribution in India. Intensive anthropometric work, involving 60 measurements and 31 somatoscopic observations on each individual among the people of Bengal by the author, shows the presence, both among the high castes, such as the Radhi Brahmins, as well as the low castes like the Muchis, of a predominant round-headed type, and also of an appreciable number of the Indo-Mediterranean type, this latter type being more numerous among the lower castes than among the higher. Anthropometric investigations in other parts of India would probably show a very wide distribution of these two types. Both of them are represented in the skulls excavated at Mohenjo Daro, and they appear to have been the earliest importers of advanced civilization and culture into India.

Creed of Unity

Sir Govind Madgavkar, a retired member of the Civil Service, writes in *The Hindustan Review :*

For myself, I recognize only two political parties in India—the British rulers and we, the Indian ruled, of whatever class.

Just now we Hindus by reason of our caste system can be played upon and cut up into touchables and untouchables, and Brahmins and non-Brahmins, and caste Hindu in general (and the Brahmin in particular) is the anvil for all British, Muslim, untouchable, etc, to abuse and to smite. Although the caste Hindus constitute a clear majority of the population of British India, they are given only 86 of the 250 British Indian seats in the Assembly. The Muslims, on the other hand, who constitute approximately ¼ of the population of British India are given 1/3 of the British Indian seats in both Houses. The disproportion is most obvious in the case of the British residents. Taking British India as a whole one seat is allotted in the Council of State to every 1 2/3 million persons and one seat in the Assembly to every one million persons. Yet 7 seats in the Upper House and 14 seats in the Lower House are allotted to only 75,000 British residents—a figure which excludes some 60,000 British troops.

An indefinite reaction, in which Princes, Muslims, non-Brahmins and the depressed, are to be tools, to preserve India for all time as politically a dependency and economically a market for Britain, with never-ending professions of all this policy being in our welfare. The Parsi, because he is rich and progressive, the Muslim, the non-Brahmin and the depressed, because he is backward,—all those who hold aloof on whatever pretext from the national ideal and movement, are acting contrarv to the interests not only of the country, but also and in the long run even of their own community. In fact, they are asking the caste Hindu to fight and to bear the brunt of battle and to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them, while they themselves try to curry favour with Government and enjoy the fruits. And on top of it all, they will call the Congress a Hindu movement because of their own refusal

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to join. The nationalist Hindu who joins the Maha Sabha or asks for justice to the Hindus is immediately denounced as being communal, but any one else, apparently, may ask for special treatment at the expense of the Hindu and remain a nationalist.

To me Hindu unity is a necessary constituent, perhaps may even turn out to be necessary preliminary to Hindu-Muslim unity and to Indian Nationality. To inflame and to widen divisions and animosities is easy. It is to make oneself a despicable tool of those who wish to divide and to rule. Let ours be the nobler, even if it is harder role of the conciliator.

Discipline above jealousy, unity above party, nationality above caste, creed or province, and country above all —this must be the motto of the Congress, and of every one of us.

Cultural Tyranny

The circular of the education department of the Frontier Government excluding as it does Hindi and Gurmukhi as medium of instruction, has wounded the susceptibilities of Hindus and Sikhs all over India. Bansi Lall Sahni describes it, in *The Monthly India*, as an inroad on the culture and religion of the communities concerned who form an important minority entitled to statutory protection of their rights :

The recent circular of the education department of the N. W. F. P. government which is presided over by an Indian Minister, was indignantly received in the country. The circular excludes the employment of Hindi, Gurmukhi and Pashto as medium of instruction beyond the first two primary classes in girl schools, (*b*) and informs that schools failing to change the medium of instruction to Urdu, within a period of two years would cease to receive grants-in-aid from the Government.

The displacement of Gurmukhi and Hindi by Urdu as a medium of instruction intensifies the anxiety of the minority, and instead of linking the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims widens them as poles asunder.

The plea that the Pathan needs the knowledge of Urdu, does not justify the sacrifice by Hindus and Sikhs of their languages.

The number of recognized institutions for the N. W. F. Province is 155. Out of it 71 are schools; out of 71 private schools, 30 impart in Hindi, 20 in Gurmukhi and 13 through a medium. Out of the total number of 31 of schools, as many as 19 are of Hindus and Sikhs a single school is under Muslim management. the total enrolment of scholars in the girls 6,805 are Hindus, 5,665 Muslims and 1,866 are Out of the number of girls who passed the middle girls examination, the languages represented are 129, Urdu 67, and Gurmukhi 30. The total share Government, District board and municipal for their maintenance is Rs. 81,443 and the total from fees and other sources is Rs. 54,400. Out of the expenditure on girls education, approximately a Rs. 36,000 goes to the coffers of Hindu and Sikh which contribute 8,671 scholars out of a total of

From the point of view of educational this order of a change of medium of instruction, unsound.

Imagine the hardships of girls who have been Hindi or Gurmukhi in the first two primary class have joined in 3rd class, a school where educ imparted in Urdu from the beginning.

The Circular confronts the private schools, unpalatable alternatives. Either they should forego and Gurmukhi as medium of instruction or with grants-in-aid.

This, if it happens, would prejudicially affect growth of the education of Hindu and Sikh the Frontier, and disable the minorities from their rightful position as citizens of the Indian A community, with its girls un-educated or semi-e cannot realize that aspiration.

Home is the place where love and knowledge traditional culture and religion is inculcated. The are the guardians of our faith and culture. The and culture of Hindus is to be found in books written in Hindi, and those of Sikhs in Gurmukhi

The circular marks an invasion on the constitu right of the Hindu and Sikh minority to a sta protection of their interests in regard to language, and customs. All civilized governments recognize right; so does the League of Nations. In sharp to the utter disregard of the Frontier Government policy of the Provincial Governments where the Mu madans are in the minority.

ERRATA

The Modern Review for February, 1936

P. 154 Col. 1 line 6 *for* Schlusseaete *read* Schlusseacte
P. 155 Col. 1 Footnote *for* The federal . . . . Law *read* The Federal Tribunal takes cognizance of disputes of Civil Law
P. 157 Footnote 24 *for* Valvo *read* Calvo
P. 158 Col. 2 line 18 *for* Union South Africa *read* Union of South Africa

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THE RAILWAY BUDGET

By Professor BHABATOSH DATTA, M.A.

When the railway budget was presented fore the Assembly last year, there was a dis- ct note of optimism in Sir Joseph Bhore's in- ductory speech. His estimate was that the ceipts would increase from 90.20 crores in the evious year to 93.50 crores in 1935-36, and at the out-goings, including working expenses d transfer to the depreciation fund, would mount to nearly 64.40 crores. The net balance 29.10 crores, it was anticipated, would fall ort of the total interest charge by about 2 ores. The position, therefore, appeared to be couraging. The strategic lines would cause a ss of about 2 crores, and, so, practically eaking, Sir Joseph Bhore's last railway budget as a balanced one so far as the commercial nes were concerned.

This led Sir Joseph to adopt measures which ve contributed to some extent to the worsen- g back of the situation. The 5 p. c. cut that d still remained operative was done away ith, and some freight charges including the rcharge on coal-freights were reduced. Of ourse, there were persons who could not see ye to eye with Sir Joseph, and who did not elieve that the railway situation had really mproved considerably. But the tone in which he last year's budget was presented did not xactly lead people to expect the situation now evealed by Sir Zafrullah Khan, Member-in-Charge for Railways and Commerce.

We now learn that Sir Joseph's anticipa- ions have not materialized. The receipts in 1935-36 are expected to fall short of the budget estimates by 3.50 crores. The working expenses have been reduced by minor economy measures to 50.75 crores, and this amount, together with the depreciation allocation of 13.26 crores brings the total expenditure to nearly 64 crores, leav- ing a balance (including miscellaneous receipts) of 26.83 crores. The deficit thus amounts to 4.54 crores, and not to 2 crores only as antici- pated. This deficit will be met by another loan from the depreciation fund, which will stand at the close of the financial year at nearly 9 crores.

The estimates for the coming financial year have, therefore, been cautiously framed. The revenue is anticipated to amount to 91.25 crores, the working expenses to 51.25 crores, and the transfer to the depreciation fund to 13.25 crores. The balance (including the miscellaneous receipts and other minor re-adjustments) will be, it is expected, 26.67 crores, representing a realization of a little more than 3.5 per cent on the total capital at charge. The net deficit at the end of the year 1936-37 is expected to be 3.44 crores, which will again have to be made good by a loan from the depreciation fund. At the close of the year, the depreciation fund will stand, according to the estimates, at 11.75 crores. No new projects will be undertaken, but a small sum will be devoted to the continuance of new works already under construction, including 22 lakhs for the Meghna bridge in Bengal.

Table I. (in Crores)

Particulars	1934-35 Actuals	1935-36 Revised Estimates	1936-37 Budget
1. Total receipts ..	90.20	90.00	91.25
2. Working Expenses ..	50.27	50.75	51.25
3. Allocation to Depreciation Fund	13.72	13.26	13.25
4. Balance (re-adjusted) ..	26.74	26.83	26.67
5. Total interest charge ..	31.80	31.37	30.11
6. Deficit	5.06	4.54	3.44
7. Depreciation Fund at the close of the year ..	9.50	8.97	11.75

Such, in brief, is the situation of our railway finance. One is naturally tempted to inquire why things have moved in this way, and to examine the contentions put forward by the authorities. For a number of years since the separation of the railway budget in 1925, the railways had regularly contributed to the general revenues of the country. Besides paying the 1 per cent charge on the capital and one-fifth of the surplus profit, the railways were in a position to pay to the Central Government a further one-third share of the excess of the remainder above 3 crores. These contributions have entirely stopped since 1930-31. There have been deficits every year after that, increasing from 5 crores in 1930-31 to a maximum of 10.25 crores in 1932-33, falling to 5.06 crores again in 1934-35.

It is not a very good argument to say that, because the depreciation fund is standing at almost the same level every year, the charge of insolvency cannot be brought against the railways. It has been maintained that, if instead of transferring 13.26 crores to the depreciation

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fund during 1935-36, only 9.25 crores—the amount that is sufficient for covering this year's expenditure on renewals and replacements—had been transferred, the deficit would have amounted to only 50 lakhs. But, one cannot help thinking that in the case of a railway concern, the depreciation fund is of the utmost importance, and all calculations of profit and loss ought to be made after allowing properly for all present and future replacement-charges.

TABLE II* (Depreciation Fund)—in Crores

Particulars	1934-35 Actuals	1935-36 Revised Estimates	1936-37 Budget
1. Depreciation fund at the begining of the year ..	11.75	9.50	8.97
2. Transfer to depreciation fund	13.72	13.26	13.25
3. Renewals and Replacements	10.91	9.25	7.03
4. Loans from depreciation fund	5.06	4.54	3.44
5. Depreciation fund at the close of the year ..	9.50	8.97	11.75

Nor is there much in the contention that some railways abroad have not been able to pay dividend or that some others have not been able to earn more than 3 per cent on the capital. In India the railway system is a commercial undertaking run by the State, and so a deficit here is of much greater consequence to the people than a deficit in the accounts of a private company. Even a comparison with the Dominion and Colonial Government railways is of negative value, and it does not certainly validate arguments otherwise invalid.

The reasons to which the decline in the railway receipts have been ascribed are manifold. The economic depression and the collapse of commodity prices have, on the one hand, slackened the rate of turn-over of goods, and on the other, reduced the purchasing power of the people. It thus certainly bears a share of the blame for causing a decline in passengers and goods traffic. A reason of perhaps a greater import is the "striving after self-sufficiency by almost every country, including India, and the development of internal trade and production." Under unrestricted trade, the railways generally transport a large volume of goods from the ports to the distant interior. But, the diminution of the volume of international trade has compelled the railways to carry goods produced within the country from one part to another. The general effect of this on railway earnings has been "to replace long lead traffic to and from the ports by short lead internal tr and to reduce the total ton-mileage of tra work. This is a situation which every s of railway economics in India should take of. It may, however, be expected th economic revival will increase the aggreg both the port-hinterland hauls and the in hauls.

It is also possible to subscribe to the that an increase in motor competition, a some extent, in water-ways competition affected adversely the financial interests o railways. There is much that is true in has been said about wasteful and unfair petition, rate-cutting, the immunity of m transport companies from the operation labour laws, and their low capital and wo costs. It is at the same time a fact tha goods having a high value in a small bulk for short hauls, motor transport offers m advantages than railway transport. Every will however admit that in the interests of community, it is essential that motor tran should be an adjunct to railway service, m taining, as far as possible, feeder services o The road-rail road competition also poin the need for better passenger and goods ser on the part of the railways. It may be exp ed that the present stage of wasteful com tion will turn out to be a temporary phase.

It would have been much better if the r way authorities had spoken more about p bilities of economy than about the effects labour legislation. After pointing out that condition of an average railway employe better than that of one in any other indus the Railway Member remarked that "a st has been reached where a halt might be call and advocated a "liberalization of the rules lating to the hours and condition of work the granting of further privileges to the st The increase in the wages granted in the re past and the operation of the Hours of Emp ment Regulations have together increased working expenses by nearly one crore. S increases in expenditure every commer undertaking should be prepared to face. I private enterprise can be called upon to com to labour laws, it looks ridiculous if a st department complains about their operation.

Scarcely a word has been said, either by Hon'ble Sir Zafrullah Khan or by the Hon Sir Guthrie Russell about the top-heavy adm istration of the railways, or about the rather s process of Indianization. Sir Henry Gidney h remarked that the railway employees on a average get a very low pay. But the admi

* Statistics in this form are not yet available, and the figures given here had, therefore, to be calculated from the published data. There may be one or two discrepancies in the calculated figures.

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ration at the top is carried on in luxuriant style r a contingent of over-paid officers. Recently, e Railway Sub-Committee of the Retrench- ent Advisory Committee recommended the bolition of a number of higher posts. The doption of these recommendations will bring bout considerable economy in expenditure. A ving of nearly a crore of rupees would have sulted if the 5 p. c. cut has been allowed to ontinue. It is necessary to remember that even tate railways are business undertakings first, d, so, the salary-increments of railway servants ould depend, not upon the general financial ndition of the State, but on actual business nditions. It is not perhaps necessary to repeat at every step towards Indianization is a step wards economy.

The magnitude of the deficit could thus ve been considerably lessened if a cautious licy had been consistently followed, and if the thorities had not been so much optimistic just an apparent turning of the tide. The Railway ember, however, hopes that the loss caused by ide-spread free-travelling, and by deliberate or egligent undercharging of freights may be overed up by rigorous legislation and better upervision. While it is desirable that all dis- onest practices should be checked, it is worth oing that harsh legislation against ticket-less avelling will not increase the revenue of the ilroads. The only result will be that the ajority of the ticket-less travellers will not avel at all. On the other hand, there is one direction in which the working expenses may rather increase. An improvement in the third-class passenger service is long overdue and such improvement is bound to cause some increase in working expenses.

All this, however, need not make one despondent. It can be confidently asserted that the worst days are over and that even a re-adjustment of freights and terminal charges may cause some immediate increase in the receipts. The Review of the Trade of India in 1934-35 directs attention to a tendency towards improvement of foreign trade and of production. Higher receipts from increased traffic on the one hand, and economy on the other, together with the co-ordination of competing transport agencies and a gradual conversion of the present capital liabilities to those bearing lower rates of interest may make it possible for the railways to resume contribution to the general revenues. If the Assembly succeeds in persuading the Government to appoint an expert financial enquiry committee, other avenues for improvement may be explored. Such an enquiry is also necessary for finding out how far there is wasteful shunting and empty haulage of wagons, particularly in view of the fact that a number of wagons will be shortly purchased. We shall eagerly await the findings of an expert agency, and, in the meantime, we shall go on hoping for the best.

February 22, 1936.

THE FINANCES OF BENGAL

By Professor BHABATOSH DATTA, M.A.

The Budget estimates for Bengal presented by Sir John Woodhead, on the 24th of February last, once more emphasize the two-fold grievances of the people, namely, the inequity of the settlement of 1919, and the unduly heavy expenditure on administration. The Hon'ble Finance Member declares that although Bengal has not yet attained the desirable position of a balanced budget, he is in a position to record a definite improvement in the financial condition. At the same time, he deplores the unsatisfactory standard of expenditure in many spheres of activity, and states that our finances will not improve "until we have obtained an equitable financial settlement which will render possible the development of the more beneficial activities of the Government beyond the present inadequate standards."

He admits that the improvements visible in the revenue-receipts of the province are not due to any considerable increase in the realization from the provincial heads of revenue. The settlement of 1919 left the provinces generally with inelastic resources, and while some provinces like Madras could at least hope for an increase in the land-revenue receipts, the Permanent Settlement helped to make our finances more rigid. The receipts from Excise, Registration and Stamps are now much below the normal receipts prior to 1930-31.

The turn towards an improvement in the revenue-receipts dates from 1934-35. In the

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budget for that year a deficit of 209 lakhs on the revenue account was anticipated. But, it was during that year that the Central government transferred half of the receipts of the jute-export duty to Bengal. The revenue receipts of Bengal, therefore, increased by 158.25 lakhs, and this, together with other minor increases, brought the total excess of the actual receipts on revenue account in 1934-35 over the budget estimates to 183.25 lakhs. As there was also an economy of 20.50 lakhs in expenditure, nearly 204 lakhs of the anticipated deficit were wiped off, leaving the actual deficit on revenue account at Rs. 5.50 lakhs, which could easily be met from the balance on the capital account. It may be noted, by the way, that fortunately the income on capital account has been above the expenditure, and, as a result, a balance has been available even in all these years of depression. This balance has helped to cover partly the deficit on revenue account, and when it has proved insufficient, advances have been taken from the Provincial Loans Fund of the Government of India.

The budget estimates for the present year (1935-36) showed an anticipated opening balance of 12.33 lakhs; but, on account of the financial improvement last year, the opening balance has been placed, according to the revised estimates, at 30.12 lakhs. The receipts on revenue account are expected to be better than the budget estimates by about 40 lakhs, and the expenditure, it is hoped, will be lower than the budget figures by nearly 13 lakhs. While, therefore, the deficit on revenue account is now expected to be 15.59 lakhs, instead of 67.71 lakhs, there has been a big fall in the receipts on capital account. The surplus on capital account was expected at the beginning of the financial year to be 67.69 lakhs, while, according to the revised estimates, this surplus will not be above 10.5 lakhs. The surplus on capital account will, therefore, fall short deficit on revenue account by 5.16 lakhs, ing the opening balance of 30.12 lakhs to ing balance of 24.96 lakhs. It should be that, during the present year, the Government exercised the power granted Section 47 of the Act of 1919 to impose Scheduled taxes. The tax on the consum of electricity, increased taxes on amuse license taxes on the sale of tobacco, and stamp duties have given Bengal some in in the revenue-receipts. The total yield new Scheduled taxes in a full year is placed at 28 lakhs. The expenditure suppression of terrorism still figures p ently in the budget of our province.

The year 1936-37 will open with a b of 24.96 lakhs. The revenue receipts and receipts on capital account are both exp to be slightly better than those in the p year, but the expenditure on either of accounts will also increase. The net will be that the total receipts, excluding opening balance and the advance of 39.20 to be taken from the Provincial Loans will amount to 1248.25 lakhs, and the expenditure on revenue and capital accou 1300.16 lakhs. The resulting deficit is ex ed, therefore, to amount to nearly 52 l Of this total deficit, 39.20 lakhs will be m an advance from the Provincial Loans of the Government of India, and a fu 12.67 lakhs from the opening balance. closing balance at the end of the year 19 is thus expected to be 12.29 lakhs.

In the table below the net deficit ap to be 12.67 lakhs. This is so because in total of the receipts (Item No. 5), the adv from the Provincial Loans Fund (39.20 lak has been included. The actual deficit 1936-37 is, therefore, easily found to be e to nearly 52 lakhs of rupees.

THE FINANCES OF BENGAL* (in Lakhs).

Particulars	1934-35 Actuals	1935-36 Budget	1935-36 Revised Estimates	1936-37 Budge
1. Opening Balance	13.25	12.33	30.12	24.9
2. Receipts on Revenue Account	1102.50	1102.33	1142.78	1149.4
3. Receipts on Capital Account, including advances from P. L. F.	62.50	122.77	85.84	138.0
4. Total receipts (1+2+3+4)	1178.25	1237.43	1258.74	1312.4
5. Expenditure on Revenue Account	1108.0	1170.04	1158.37	1190.7
6. Expenditure on Capital Account	40.75	55.08	75.41	109.2
7. Total Expenditure (5+6)	1148.75	1225.08	1233.78	1300.1
8. Balance on Capital Account (3—6)	21.75	67.69	10.43	28.6
9. Deficit on Revenue Account (5—2)	5.50	67.71	15.59	41.3
10. Net balance (+) or Deficit (—) (8—9)	+16.25	—0.02	—5.16	—12.6
11. Closing balance (4—7) or (1+10)	29.50	12.31	24.96	12.29

* Some of these figures have been taken from some daily papers, and the rest have been calculated from the data available from the speech of the Finance Member. Some of the figures for 1934-35 are app mate ones, the calculated closing balance shows a error of ½ lakh.

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The most remarkable feature of the budget mates for the coming year is the consider- increase in the estimated expenditure, both the revenue account and on the capital unt. The budget for 1936-37 provides for expenditure on revenue account of 1190.77 s representing an increase of nearly 32.5 s over the revised estimates for the present r. Sir John Woodhead explains this by bing the increase to the payment for the l instalment of the restoration of the salary- an increase in the provision for reduction voidance of debt, the cost of debt, the cost reparing electoral rolls, additional expendi- on roads from the Central Road Develop- t Fund, the statutory grant towards the Howrah Bridge, and the increase in the vision for super-annuation allowances and sions. It is, however, doubtful if there was stification, in these days of low incomes, restoring the cut on the higher incomes, or increasing the provision made for pensions. construction of a new Central Jail at Dum n will take away a small sum of 2 lakhs, there is also provision for an increase in staff employed in the co-operative depart- nt. While the latter expenditure may turn to be commendable, the former only em- sizes the burden that the people have to r on account of the so-called suppression terrorism and civil disobedience. Some able new items of expenditure are the pro- on for contour surveys and river-gauge dings and the establishment of a goat-tissue cine depot for manufacturing anti-vinder- serum.

On the capital account, an increased ex- diture of 10.45 lakhs on irrigation (as com- d with 5.28 lakhs in the present year) has n provided for. The commuted value of sions, the repayment to the Government of ia of advances from the Provincial Loans Fund, and the loans and advances granted by the Bengal Government to the local authorities and agriculturists also record increases in expenditure bringing the total expenditure on capital account to 109.39 lakhs, as compared with 75.41 lakhs in the present year. Of the 16 lakhs granted by the Government of India for the economic development and improvement of rural areas, 5.5 lakhs will be spent this year and the remainder in the coming year.

The budget speech has been just published and full details are not yet available to the public. It is therefore impossible at this stage to discuss the individual items in detail, but the general conclusions are clear. While the huge expenditure incurred in Bengal for the maintenance of law and order ought to bear a legitimate share of the blame, one cannot forget how great has been the injustice done to Bengal by the Montford allocation. While the resources granted to it have all been inelastic, the Central Government has been taking away all those revenues which arise from the industrial progress of the province. Under the new Act, provisions have been made for the assignment to the provinces of certain additional revenues raised by the Central Government; but the details of the financial relation between the so-called "autonomous" provinces and the Central Government have not yet been decided upon. Sir Otto Niemeyer is now carrying on an inquiry with a view to arranging the details, and the Finance Member claims that the case for Bengal has been strongly put before him. All persons will agree with Sir John Woodhead that

> "We can justly claim a financial settlement which will redress the injustice of the past and enable the government of the future to maintain a standard of administration reasonably adequate both in itself and in relation to the standards attainable in other comparable provinces."

February 26, 1936

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NOTES

Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa Centenary

Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa-deva, the centenary of whose birth began to be celebrated in the last week of the last month (February) in many countries of the world, particularly in India and specially in Bengal, was born a hundred years ago in Kamarpukur, a small village of the Hughli district of Bengal. The name given to him by his parents was Gadadhar. The family name of the poor Brahman household in whose midst he was born was Chattopadhyaya, abbreviated in Bengali as Chathujya or Chatujye and unhappily anglicised into Chatterjee. The name Gadadhar changed for Ramakrishna when he ren the householder's life. He received very school education, being just literate, so in Bengali. He possessed very little learning. He remained a villager all th life in dress, deportment, manners and though he had plenty of wealthy, E educated, city-bred, modern *bhaktas* (and devoted followers).

Though he died fifty years ago, w perhaps still too near him to see him in c perspective. Moreover, as unluckily I never the good fortune to see him and hea

Where Ramakrishna was born in Kamarpukur

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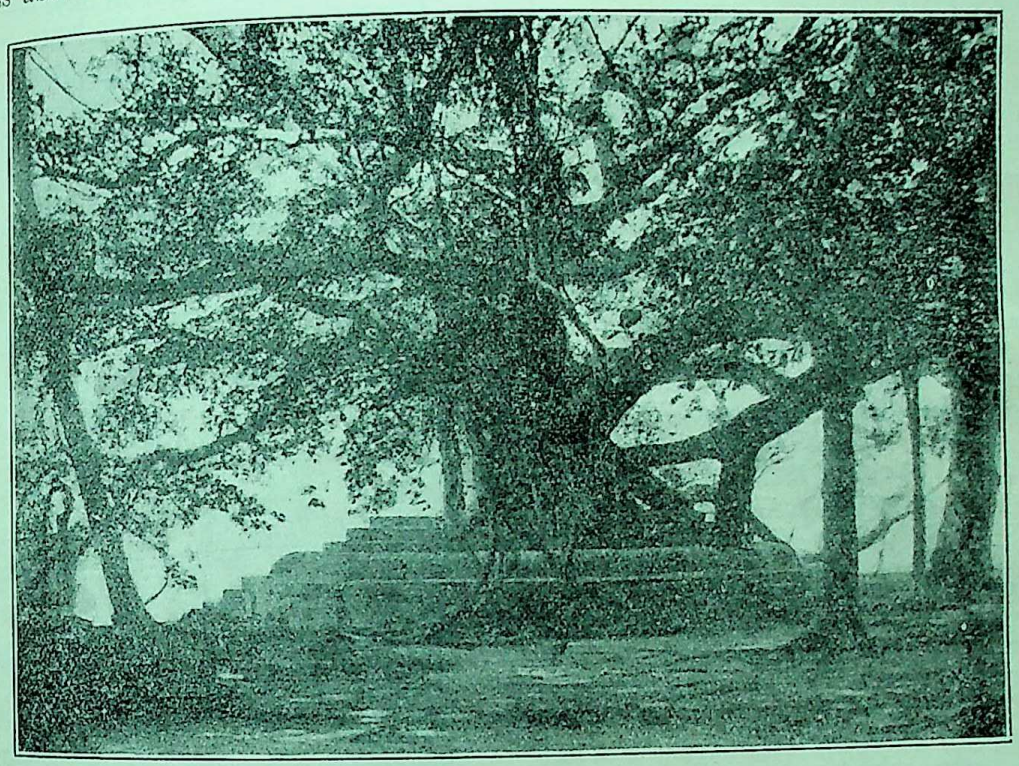
come into close contact with him, one cipal means of appreciating his true worth bsent in my case. But perhaps it may be without any exaggeration that he was the atest saint which Hindu society has produced ing the last hundred years. His spiritual us was marvellous. The devotional exercises austerities which he underwent for obtain- God-vision and God-realization were per- unsurpassed, and unequalled at least in ern times. His spiritual hunger and thirst e him forget the needs of his bodily frame careless about life and death.

message and gospel all over India and abroad, and carry out particularly his gospel of service.

Considering that no school, no college, no university, no library contributed to his mental and spiritual equipment and that all that he owed to other human beings for such equipment was due to contact and conversations with some sannyasis and other religious-minded persons and the guidance of a *bhairavi* in the earlier stage of his preparation for his life's work, the conclusion becomes irresistible that his spiritual genius was extraordinary and marvellous.



Panchavati at Dakshineswar, a seat of Ramakrishna's sadhana

In *bhakti*, for which there is no exact glish word and which can be approximately plained as fervent reverential love of the preme Spirit, he was unsurpassed. But he s not a mere *bhakta*. His spiritual know- dge and wisdom was marvellous. And what teacher he was! By means of simple parables d homely illustrations, he could convey to en the most unlettered the deepest spiritual uths of most universal application. It was common faith, no ordinary knowledge, no diocre personality which could convert the ilom sceptically inclined and keenly critical arendranath into the unquestioning disciple vekananda and inspire him and others like m but less gifted than he to carry the Master's

What is known as religious tolerance or toleration but what would probably be better called mutual appreciation and respect among the followers of different faiths, has been traditional in India for ages. Within historical times Asoka set an example in this religious attitude for all ages and countries to follow. Other princely names, in medieval times, which one recalls in this connection are Akbar and Dara Shukoh. In modern times in India the earliest name which may be mentioned as that of a person who appreciated and assimilated all faiths which he had studied was that of Rammohun Roy. Keshub Chunder Sen, whose spiritual attitude towards all religions is well known, was a contemporary

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and loving and beloved friend of Ramakrishna. These names are mentioned not to minimize in the least the worth of the Paramahamsa's message of appreciation and harmonization of all faiths and their assimilation in his spiritual constitution. Our object is only to point out that the mental and spiritual attitude of which we are speaking has been in the atmosphere of India, as it were, from time immemorial, and that the appearance of a great harmonizer in our midst is evolutionary—not sudden and revolutionary. That Ramakrishna was such a harmonizer in spite of his not having read the scriptures of even the principal historical religions in the original or in translation, gives him a distinct, a unique place in the long line of teachers of harmony of many a clime and age.

Addressing the Paramahamsa, Rabindranath Tagore has written :

"Diverse courses of worship
from varied springs of fulfilment
have mingled in your meditation.
The manifold revelation of the joy of the
Infinite has given form to a shrine of unity
in your life,
Where, from far and near, arrive salutations,
to which I join mine own."

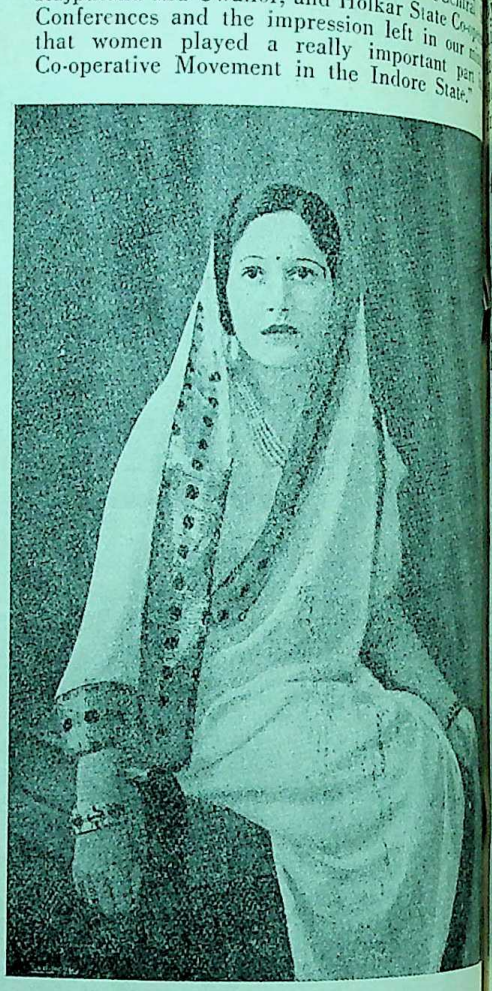
Whatever may be the case in other countries, in India the religious and the secular spheres of life were not considered and kept separate and distinct in times past. But if one has to speak of spiritual and secular achievements as distinct, it cannot be said that India has had through the ages only spiritual achievements to her credit : her children were noted, just like the inhabitants of other lands in former ages, for their secular achievements also. They had literatures and arts and crafts, philosophies, sciences, polities, empires at home and abroad, republics of various kinds, internal and overseas commerce, colonizing activities, adventures in distant oceans and cultural enterprise in far-off regions. But India's supreme and distinctive note has always been spiritual. Keeping that fact in view, one may say that the Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa Centenary is this year's most noteworthy contemporary event in India, as it commemorates the advent of a prophet of spirituality above all.

May the Supreme Spirit save us from lip-homage to the great saint, sage, teacher and inspirer!

Our Maharanis

It is a pleasure and an encouragement to note that some of our Maharanis, of ruling families, have been taking active interest in women's and other public movements. The Dowager Maharani of Mayurbhanj, the rani of Travancore and the Maharani of are known to have taken part in rec previous women's conferences. The number of *The Indian Co-operative* states editorially :

"In Her Highness the Maharani Saheba of Indore who opened the new imposing planned building of the Indore Premier Co Bank, the Co-operative Movement has a gen and benefactor. A very large number actively participated in both the [Centra Rajputana and Gwalior, and Holkar State Co Conferences and the impression left in our that women played a really important pa Co-operative Movement in the Indore State."



H. H. Maharani Saheba Holkar of Indore

As Her Highness the Maharani Hol Indore is a friend and benefactor of th operative movement, so H. H. the Ma also appears to be friendly to the cause mass of the people. The same Review which we have quoted above writes of hi

His Highness's exposition of the aims of the operative Movement was both lucid and ac His Highness very rightly pointed out that inc of distribution of wealth was the most serious p from which our national economy was suffering

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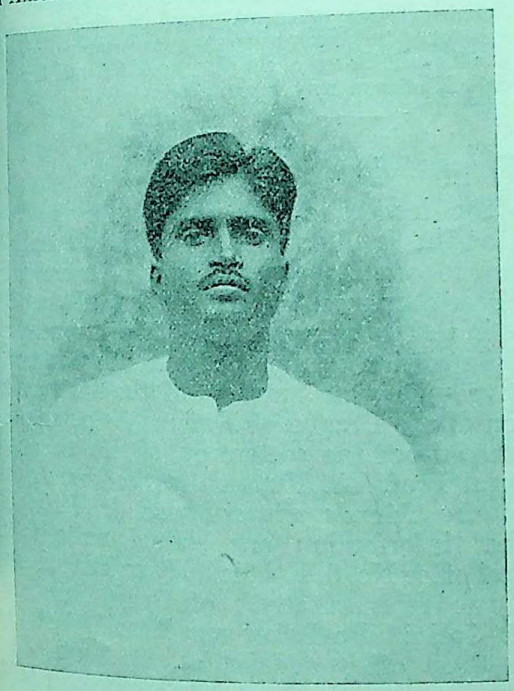
that timely realization of this fact with a view to bring about a redistribution of wealth without any violent change in the social structure must be the concern of the Governments and the public. His Highness evinced great solicitude for the welfare of the agriculturists who form bulk of the population of India and remarked that no country had ever achieved big things with a weak peasantry.

What the Maharaja Holkar has said about unequal distribution of wealth and the necessity of its equal distribution might have been said by a socialist. We do not, of course, expect him to be a hundred per cent socialist in practice, but he and his consort between them can do a good deal to remove ignorance and poverty from the state of Indore.

A Jute Doctor of Science

Recently the University of Dacca has awarded Mr. Pulin Bihari Sarkar the degree of D.Sc. in recognition of his work on jute lignin, carried out in the Applied Chemistry laboratory of the University. The examiners of his thesis were all distinguished scientists of Europe and America.



Pulin Bihari Sarkar, D.Sc.

Dr. Sarkar is the youngest scientist to receive this honour from the Dacca University, being only 29 years of age. He has already published 12 original papers, of which no less than 11 are independent works of high standard. The Indian Chemical Society awarded the J. M. Das Gupta gold medal to him last year for the most meritorious research work done by young scientists in India in 1934.

Dr. Sarkar has had a brilliant academic career all through. He secured the first place in the first class in chemistry at the B. Sc. and M. Sc. examinations of the Dacca University. His work has thrown a flood of light on the structure of lignin, a problem which has always baffled attempts at elucidation by scientists all the world over. He has been specially exempted by his examiners from the written or *viva voce* examination in view of the merit of his thesis.

In a letter of appreciation to him, Dr. S. G. Barker, Director, Wool Industries Research Association, England, who was invited by the Government of India to make a scientific survey of jute, wrote last year, "Your reprints have proved a very valuable aid to me in my estimate of the position as regards scientific knowledge of jute. Your works are sound science and certainly they present an interesting lot of data for practical application. You have consistently maintained a very high standard in your chemical work. The results with formaldehyde are interesting and the work on delignification is excellent."

Dr. Sarkar has published many interesting articles on various subjects in leading journals and periodicals, both in English and Bengali.

Coming from an indigent family, he had to fight against enormous odds all his life to reach this stage. As a mere school boy, he got inspiration from his distinguished neighbour, Prof. M. N. Saha, to face the struggle of life boldly and up till now his attempts have been crowned with success.

An Oxford Chair for Sir S. Radhakrishnan

All Indians may be truly proud of the fact that Sir S. Radhakrishnan has been appointed the first Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics in Oxford University. This professorship has been recently created. Its name implies that the professor occupying this chair will have to discourse not merely on Indian subjects. So Oxford might have chosen a Chinese or a Japanese scholar, if the choice were confined to orientals, which is perhaps not the case.

It is well known that as a student Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan had a brilliant academic career, and as a teacher of philosophy and an author he has been equally successful. He had previously delivered philosophical

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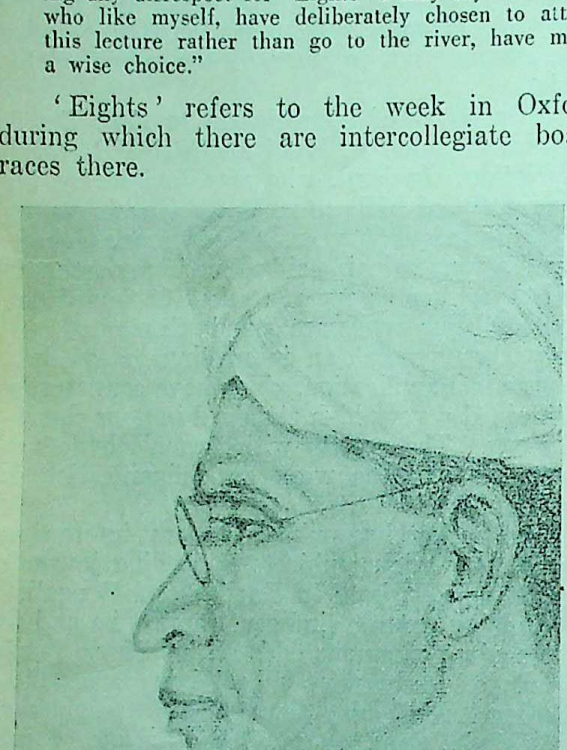
lectures in England and America with great acceptance. Of his Upton Lectures at Oxford, subsequently published in book form as "The Hindu View of Life," Principal Jacks spoke as follows, in part:

> "A course of lectures which has held its own against 'Eights' is a rare phenomenon in this University; it may be claimed that this course has established a record in this respect. Without meaning any disrespect for 'Eights' I may say that those, who like myself, have deliberately chosen to attend this lecture rather than go to the river, have made a wise choice."

'Eights' refers to the week in Oxford during which there are intercollegiate boat-races there.



Sir S. Radhakrishnan
[*From a Pencil Sketch by Mrs. Rani Chanda*]

The Spalding Professorship has been founded by Mr. and Mrs. Spalding. Some of the conditions attached are:

> 2. The annual sum of £900 shall be paid to the Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics, and the sum of £90 shall be applied to the payment of the University's share of contribution of the Professor to the Superannuation Scheme.
>
> 3. The Professor shall lecture and give instruction on the religions and ethical systems of the East . . . .
>
> 4. The Professor shall be elected by an El Board consisting of
>
> 1. The Vice-Chancellor;
> 2. Mr. H. N. Spalding;
> 3, 4. Two persons appointed by the B of the Faculty of Theology;
> 5. One person appointed by the Board o Faculty of Literae Humaniores;
> 6. One person appointed by the Facu Social Studies;
> 7. One person appointed by the Board the Faculty of Oriental Languages Literature.
>
> 5. The Professor shall hold office for five years.
>
> 6. The Professor shall be subject to the Ge Regulations concerning the duties of Professors to those particular regulations of the same S applicable to Professors enumerated in Schedu of Tit. IV. Sect. i, 3, provided always (1) th either the third or the fourth year from the da his appointment he may be permitted by the B of Electors to lecture or hold classes in one T only in order that he may be enabled to study an extended period in the East or elsewh (2) that he shall reside within the University d five months at least in each academical year, in ing any year in which he is permitted to lecture hold classes in one Term only.
>
> 7. If permission is granted by the Board of Ele under clause 6 to the Professor to be absent f Oxford for an extended period he shall be paid respect of travelling allowance such sum not exce £500 as the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Langu and Literature may recommend.

World Assembly for Peace

The leaders of the labour movements as well as the Intellectuals are happily coming together to organize a world-wide demonstrati for Peace, culminating in a World Peace Co gress in the autumn of 1936. It will synchron with its session of the World Youth Congress Geneva under the auspices of the Internatio Union of the League of Nations Associations. we read from the statement of its Secretary General Prof. Th. Ruyssen in the French pa phlet *Le Monde entier pour le Paix*. F further information one should write to t central office No. 6, Rue de la Paix, Paris, Fran The two representatives of Great Britain a Prof. Noel Philip Baker and Lord Robert Co with their office address at 43, South Eat Place, London, S. W. 1. In September, 193 a moving Appeal to the French people w signed among others, by the Poet Laureate Joh Masefield, Prof. Gilbert Murray, Sir Norm Angell, The Viscountess Gladstone, The Bish of Durham, Sir Walter Layton (Editor "Economist,") etc.

In France, Prof. Langevin, Paul Rivet a others organized the first Session of the Vigilan Committee of the Intellectuals in Novemb

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935. It declared formally that to guarantee orld peace it was necessary

(1) that disarmament should be simultaneous and controlled,

(2) that the territorial and economic injustices should be redressed, and

(3) that the manufacture and private sale nd exportation of armaments should be intericted.

Mon. Grumbach of the French Socialist arty, Mon. Henri Rolin of the Belgian Labour arty, and Mon. Leon Jouhaux jointly affirm at the Labour movement welcomes Peace. he Quaker group (Society of Friends) also ssues an eloquent appeal through Mr. E. Van itten. There should be national demonstrations ulminating in the Universal Peace Congress o that "the year 1936 should not be the dark ear of world war but the glorious year of vicory over the forces of destruction"!

Kamini Kumar Chanda

In Kamini Kumar Chanda a veteran of he old school of Congressmen has passed way recently in his home at Silchar at the ge of 75. When I was a college student in Calcutta, I found the old Students' Association at work among the student population of his city with Surendranath Banerjea as their reat leader. Among the young men who orked enthusiastically under him was Kamini Kumar Chanda.

Mr. Chanda was a very successful lawyer. He took part in all movements intended for he good of the public, of some of which he as the leader. He came to the fore when he oined the agitation against the first partition f Bengal, which was unsettled by a second artition which divided and crippled the Bengalis n a manner different from the first. Mr. Chanda was connected with other political movements also. He was a member of the former imperial legislative council and of the provincial council. Government wanted to confer a title on him, but he begged to be spared.

Nabin Chandra Bardoloi

By the death of Mr. Nabin Chandra Bardoloi, member of the Legislative Assembly for Assam, at the early age of 61, the country has lost an enthusiastic public man. It was in 1915 that he began to take part in public movements. He was honorary secretary of the Assam Association. When endeavours were made to exclude Assam from the benefits of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, a deputation was sent to Britain in 1918 to protest against that move. He was the leader of that deputation. He joined the Congress in 1919 and the Non-Co-operation movement in 1920. When in 1926 a session of the Indian National Congress

N. C. Bardoloi

was held at Gauhati, he was elected the secretary of its reception committee. He took a leading part in all national movements in Assam. He was educated in the City College, Calcutta.

Mohini Mohan Chatterjee

Mohini Mohan Chatterjee, the well-known solicitor of Calcutta, passed away last month at the age of 78. He was a descendant of Rammohun Roy's grand-daughter and married a niece of the poet Rabindranath Tagore. He went to America in 1884 as a theosophist with Madame Blavatski and Colonel Olcott, the founders of the Theosophical Society. He was a disciple of Paramahamsa Siva Narayan Swami. He was a scholar of distinction and wrote many books in prose and verse in Bengali and English, mostly on religious topics, and was connected with many philanthropic movements. During one period of his life he founded a home

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to enable women reclaimed from immoral life to lead moral lives.

Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha

The death of Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha at the advanced age of 92 has removed from our midst the oldest Congressman living, who was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and attended its first session in Bombay. He presided over the session of the Congress which was held in Calcutta in 1901. His know-

Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha

ledge of economic and financial problems was very deep and while he was active he never grudged to place it at the service of his country through his writings and speeches. Transparently honest and straightforward, he was one of the pillars of our industrial life with a character marked by utter simplicity and purity of life. Though during the last few years he had practically led a retired life, he kept himself up-to-date by his vast reading. We have lost in Sir Dinshaw Wacha a good and true man, a sincere patriot, a great economist and a financier.

We have it on the authority of *The Subodha Patrika* of Bombay that Sir Dinshaw Wacha's "knighthood came to him unsought and he had written back in the first instance declining the honour." The same paper writes :

> You never found him in arrears either as regards his correspondence, his business and meeting engagements, in his private work and public duty, or in money matters. Sir Dinshaw Wacha was never rich and never cared to pile up and be rich. Knight or no knight, he lived in the same among the same books, blue-books, newspapers scrap-books, note books and press-cuttings from to year, for a long period of 70 years and His tastes had not changed with his elevation that honour nor his habits. The same simplicity the same abstemiousness, the same cordiality kindliness to friends, the same outlook on questions, the same desire to enlighten and lightened, the same warmth of emotion and the same candour and gush, the same indifference to popularity or frown from the government or people. He was a saint in his private life. was the soul of honour, truthfulness and in his public life.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Sir Dinshaw Wacha for the help which this monthly received from him in its earlier years in the shape contributions and in the form of regular reviews of it in the columns of *The Kaiser-i-Hind* every month.

Enquiry Into the Phenhara Firing

The Government of Bihar and Orissa have ordered an enquiry into the action of the Sub-Divisional Officer who ordered firing in Phenhara village in Champaran district in August last. On August in the village Phenhara in Champaran District there was a serious riot in connection with Mahabiri Jhanda procession, in the course of which the Sub-Divisional Officer of Motihari, who was in charge of the body of armed police, opened fire. Six persons were killed and several more wounded. A number of persons were put on their trial for rioting and 24 were convicted by the Magistrate and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. They appealed to the Sessions Judge, who acquitted three of the appellants. He upheld the convictions of the remaining appellants. In the course of his appellate judgment, the Sessions Judge made the following remark: 'Strictly speaking, it is no part of my present task to come to a finding, whether the order to fire was justified or not. But as the trying Magistrate has gone out of his way to praise the coolness and courage of the Sub-Divisional Officer and commend his every action, I feel it is incumbent upon me to express my own opinion on this point after very careful perusal of the evidence on record. The Sessions Judge concluded the discussion of this matter with the words: "My considered opinion on the evidence is that firing was premature, to say the least of it, and that S. K. Aikat (the Sub-Divisional Officer) is not the sort of officer who should be trusted to handle the armed police."

—*The Hindu*

Bengal's Just Claim to More Revenue

If the different provinces of India were different countries under different governments —whether national or foreign, the government of Bengal would have been in possession of a greater revenue than it is at present. For it is a fact that more revenue, call it provincial or central, is collected in Bengal than in any other single province of India. But Bengal is a

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ally impoverished by the Government of lia taking from Bengal a greater amount d a greater percentage of the revenues col- ted here than from any other single pro- ce. This fact is obscured in two ways. One the division of revenues into central and vincial heads, and the other is the separa- n of the State railways' revenues from other enues, thus making it very difficult to ascer- n the different contributions, direct and in- ect, of the different centres of commerce and ustry to railway revenue.

By the artificial impoverishment of the gal Government the "nation building" artments of Bengal—education, public lth, agriculture and industries—have been rved to a greater extent than those of any er major province. This sort of iniquity gone on for years, and governor after ernor of Bengal has protested against it on er, but not effectively by resigning on the und of inability to carry on the administra- n efficiently for lack of sufficient funds. It reported that there has been another such resentation on the part of this provincial ernment. The result will be awaited in gal with interest.

The Bengal Government, in a memorandum to Sir Otto Niemeyer, is said to have made out a strong case for allocating the entire proceeds of the jute export duty, as well a considerable share of the income-tax, to Bengal on the ground that jute is almost a monopoly of Bengal and a very large portion of the income-tax is realized from Bengal and Calcutta. Emphasis has been laid on the fact that since the inauguration of the Montford Constitution, the Province had always a deficit budget in spite of the most rigorous economy, both in the Transferred and Reserved Departments, as the result of which the activities of the Government were restricted unduly. Moreover, the introduction of the new Constitution would entail increased expenditure by way of provision of a Second Chamber, election expenses, etc. It has also been emphasised that the recommendation of the Round Table Conference, now embodied in the Act, that at least half of the proceeds of the export duty should be allocated to the Province, will enable the Province just to pay its way, but there will be little left for expansion of the activities of Nation-building Departments.

entral Provinces Gloomy Budget

NAGPUR, Feb. 22.

The C. P. Government budget for 1936-37 which was presented today in the local Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Gordon, Finance Member, revealed a deficit of Rs. 8 lakhs, as forecasted by the *United Press* about a week ago. The budget as presented today provides for a revenue estimate of Rs. 481 lakhs with an estimated expenditure of rupees 489 lakhs.

The outgoing year's closing deficit of Rs. 25 lakhs and 59 thousands together with the estimated deficit of 8 lakhs for the year 1936-37 would bring the total deficit at the end of the next financial year to over Rs. 33½ lakhs. In order to cover this big deficit, the Finance Member hinted at the likelihood of introduction during the current session of the Council two taxation measures which are expected to yield approximately Rs. 6 lakhs by way of revenue. The balance of the deficit is proposed to be met from the Provincial Loan Fund and also by loans from the Government of India.

United Provinces Budget

LUCKNOW, Feb. 24.

The budget estimates for the year 1936-37, presented in the U. P. Council today by Mr. J. M. Clay, Finance Member, show that the Government hope to obtain a revenue amounting to eleven crores seventy lakhs ninety-six thousand rupees, a revenue deficit of seventy-three lakhs and seventy thousand. With the help of a loan of seventy-seven lakhs eighty-six thousand, the receipts under debt heads are estimated to be three crores fifty-eight lakhs seventeen thousand, resulting in a surplus of seventy-three lakhs seventy-one thousand, which exactly cancels a revenue deficit.

The revised estimates for 1935-36 show that the anticipated deficit in the revenue budget would be reduced to four lakhs sixty-four thousand, though the Government originally budgeted for deficit of thirty lakhs thirty-nine thousand. The Government hoped to reduce this deficit by half through two taxation measures, which the Council rejected. Orders were then issued to all departments to effect cuts in sanctioned expenditure, aggregating fifteen lakhs, and owing to these cuts and certain other variations in income and expenditure, the deficit is expected to be reduced to the above figure.

Coming to the budget, Mr. Clay observed that it was impossible to regard it with equanimity. Apart from the falling off in revenue the main items of increased expenditure consisted of the larger debt and pensionary charges which, he feared, would grow in future. Another special charge would be the expense for the first election under the new constitution. Definitely new expenditure, both recurring and non-recurring, amounted only to one lakh for rural development and "it is hard to see how it will be possible to finance, in the present conditions, any measure which the Government may desire to undertake in response to the recommendations of the Sapru Committee, urgent and vitally important though they may be."

Enumerating the measures of economy, contemplated by the Government, Mr. Clay explained that only two methods were possible for further amelioration of the position, namely, new taxation and subvention from outside. In view of the clearly expressed intentions of the Council in April last, the Government were making no proposals for fresh taxation, while the questions of subvention were being investigated by Sir Otto Niemeyer.—*Associated Press.*

Bombay Budget

BOMBAY, Feb. 24.

Khan Bahadur D. B. Cooper, Finance Member, Government of Bombay, introduced the budget estimates for 1936-37 in the Bombay Council today after the Governor addressed the Council.

The Budget estimates which exclude Sind are as follows:—Revenue Rs. 12,03,58,000 and expenditure Rs. 12,03,17,000, thus showing a surplus of Rs. 41,000. The revised estimates for 1935-36 showed a deficit of Rs. 27 lakhs.

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The Finance Member in the course of his speech said that Bombay was still labouring under the inequitable settlement known as the Meston Award but admitted that if Sind was separated, the Finances of Bombay would show improvement.—*United Press.*

Bill to Repeal Criminal Law Bill Rejected

Mr. B. Das's Bill to repeal the Criminal Law Bill was discussed by the Assembly last week. After the closure of the debate, Mr. Das moved that clause 2 of the Bill, which was the operative clause, be passed. The House divided on the motion the result being a tie, 66 for and 66 against, two members Mr. Lalchand Navalrai and Mr. K. L. Gauba remaining neutral. The President, then, declared that, following the well-known principle of standing for the status quo, he voted for the rejection of the clause.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai ought to be made a Rai Bahadur and Mr. K. L. Gauba a Khan Bahadur.

Marriage of Government of India's Agent in South Africa

Mr. J. W. Godfrey, Advocate and President, Natal Indian Congress, wires from Durban under date February 21, to the Associated Press, as follows :

"Resignations of officials of the South African Indian Congress and Executive Members of Natal Indian Congress, tendered as a mark of protest against Sir Syed Raza Ali's marriage with a Hindu woman, were whole-heartedly supported by the Natal Indian Congress at its meeting last night.

"The Congress to further implement its protest refused to fill in the Natal Executive vacancies on the South African Indian Congress.

"The Indian Agent's action has culminated in a crisis of National importance, in that all prominent and influential members of the Indian community, including both Congress Secretaries, Messrs. Choudhree and Bhoola; Treasurer, Mr. Thacker; four Vice-Presidents: Messrs. Pather, Patel, Maghraj, Naik and 14 Committee Members, myself, Messrs. Pather, Shapurjee, Kapitan, Chetty, Pandy, Achary, Sookdeo, Sorabjee, Satyadev, Thumbdoo, Dhupelia, Poonater and Pranjivan have resigned, both as Officials and Members of the Natal Indian Congress.

"I have also tendered my resignation as President of the Natal Indian Congress."

We do not attach much importance to this marriage. But as it has created some sensation in South Africa, with its repercussions in India, it is necessary to know the facts.

The wedding took place at the Carlton Hotel before the Chief Magistrate, Major Maynard Page, of Sir Syed Raza Ali, Agent for India in the Union of South Africa, to Miss Ponnoo V. Sammy, of Kimberley.

The bride was given away by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer. Sir Syed Raza Ali said in an interview: "I hope my marriage to Miss Ponnoo Sammy of Kimberley will, in the words of a distinguished European friend, forge yet another link between India and South Africa.

"The statement that she was to be converted to Mahomedanism before marriage is wholly false. We were married this morning under Union law before the Chief Magistrate and neither of us has become a convert to the other's religion. Under the laws of the Union the question of the religion of the parties to a matrimonial contract does not arise," thus reports *Reuter.*

Indian Opinion, the leading Indian paper in South Africa, writes editorially under the caption "The Agent's Indiscretion":

The Agent of the Government of India, Sir Syed Raza Ali, at the age of 53 has married Miss Ponnoo Veloo Sammy. The bride's age is 43.

The Hindus are agitated because the Agent has chosen to marry a Hindu. The Muslims on the other hand are agitated because they feel the Hindus have no right to interfere in this matter of liberty.

Personally we think that this matter has been of undue importance. This is not a case of the rape of an innocent woman who was being forcibly converted to another faith. Both the parties were old enough to think and to decide what was best for them. In the circumstances we do not think the Hindus have much cause to be over-agitated. To make this a first class communal question, political or religious. We would certainly have been pleased if the Agent realizing the tension in the community, would have in the interests of the cause for which he has been appointed here to have shown a spirit of self-denial and refrained from the step he has taken. People in society have to deny themselves many things which the common man in the street would have no hesitation in doing, however undesirable it may be. A person who holds a high official position, a position of honour and is among the people and who enjoys the confidence of the people has a greater responsibility; he has to suffer even greater self-denial; the Agent, we in our opinion have been better advised if he had refrained from taking the present plunge. But the mere fact that the Agent has not been advised so, does not justify the fanning of the flame of communalism in this country either by Muslims or Hindus. And we cannot understand why this should have been made a political question and why political leaders have made this a question of life and death when they have so many grave political issues affecting the very existence of the Indians in South Africa to deal with. If Sir Sayed Raza Ali should be blamed for having taken a Hindu bride, Miss Sammy to be blamed for having gone to him. She has done what she has knowingly and is entirely above any dictation from anybody. We entirely fail to see what any amount of agitation is going to help anybody excepting just to increase the communal tension. The Agent in this case has done nothing more than what some other men in the past have done in India. We think therefore that this incident should be completely forgotten and the attention of our leaders concentrated on much more important problems that are hanging over our heads like the Sword of Democles and threatening our very existence in this country.

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ri Chand Wins Viceroy's Air Race

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Lt. D. Misri Chand of the First Battalion, 14th Punjab Regiment, New Delhi, has won the Viceroy's rophy race, piloting VT-AGJ, a Gipsy II Wooden Moth. Misri Chand had the distinction of winning fter only 15 hours' flying to his credit, two trophies the last Viceroy's Cup race in 1933, *viz.*, the Harikishendas Challenge Shield for the second competitor to finish and the Speedolene Challenge Trophy for the first "A" licence-holder, wholly trained in India to come in. Misri Chand is a keen airman and has done some flying in America and Honolulu. Mr. S. V. Gadgil, who finished second in VT-AET, a Gipsy Metal-Moth, is a fully qualified ground-engineer.

pping for Some Offences Against en

The Bengal Council has passed without ion the Whipping Bill providing whipping nishment for some offences against women. Suhrawardy's motion for circulation of the was defeated by 68 votes to 17. He made graceful speech. Sir B. L. Mitter, Mr. N. Basu and Mr. S. M. Bose gave crushing es.

rma Council Rejects Criminal Bill

The Burma Legislative Council has rejected 44 votes to 33 the Burma Criminal Law endment Act Bill, moved by the Home mber. Members of U Ba Maw's, U Chit ing's, Myat Paw's and People's parties and ans voted against the Bill.

The Burma Government wanted to reduce the Bill, adducing as the main reason such a move that there were 952 terrorists n Bengal who had crossed the Chittagong-rma border and were at large. But the rma Council did not allow such a thing to one. Well, if the Burma Government know ctly that there are 952 Bengali terrorists in rma, that Government's officers must have en a census of them, and that involves ntification and knowledge of each one of m. Why not then haul them up and place m for trial before a court of justice? If nd guilty they may be safely lodged in jail l Burma may be spared the infliction of a sh "lawless" law.

Bengalis travelling to Burma by steamer, rticularly if they are Hindu youth, are being enly watched. Bengali young men have a ly time of it. There is unemployment in ir home province, there is the competition of n-terrorist non-Bengalis immigrating freely Bengal, and there is the shadowing of Bengali nemployed young strangers outside Bengal!

Howrah Bridge Contract

A deputation of some leading members of the Assembly waited last month on the Commerce Member and Member for Industries and Labour, Government of India, regarding the question of the new Howrah Bridge Contract. The deputation included Mr. A. C. Dutt, Deputy President of the Assembly, Sir Darcy Lindsay, Mr. G. Morgan, Mr. R. S. Sarma, Sir A. H. Ghaznavi, Dr. P. Banerjee, Mr. N. C. Chunder, Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja, Messrs. Nilkantha Das, Sant Singh, Amarendra Chatterjee, L. K. Maitra and S. K. Som. It was represented by the deputationists that apprehension had been expressed in many quarters and recently in the Assembly that the contract for construction of this big bridge might be placed outside India to a non-Indian tenderer. Placing the order with a non-Indian tenderer will, in their opinion, result in loss of revenue to the Central Government. It was also pointed out that the steel industry in India would be much benefited by the large order which would necessarily be placed for the construction of the bridge. Both the Commerce and Industries Members promised to acquaint the Bengal Government with the request made by the deputation.

There are competent Indian engineering firms. Some one of them or some of them combined should be given the contract. There is no reason why Indian engineering skill and Indian capital should be discouraged. There is, moreover, great unemployment in the country. An Indian firm would more readily listen to the demand for the recruitment of all skilled and clerical labour locally than a foreign one.

Calcutta University Museum of Art

It is a matter of gratification indeed that the University of Calcutta has decided to establish a Musuem and Fine Arts Gallery. The Calcutta University is probably the first University in the East to open such an educational centre of far-reaching importance, where its scholars are expected to receive not only direct visual training but also learn the fundamental principles of aesthetics. When fully organised, this gallery, named the Asutosh Musuem of Indian Art, will be an essential feature of Bengal's cultural renaissance. The object of the Musuem will be to collect and preserve representations of different phases of Indian Art, special emphasis being given to Bengal Art. Specimens of Modern Art of the very best type will also be collected and preserved here. It will be housed in the Western Hall of the Senate House, and the Old Darbhanga Library Hall will be equipped for holding meetings. The accumulated fund under the Khaira Endowment will be kept separately for meeting expenses in connection with the Museum and the University will supplement this from time to time. Eminent art collectors and connoisseurs like Mr. O. C. Gangoly, Mr.

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Ajit Ghose, Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, Mr. Treasurywalla, Mr. Bahadur Sing Singhee, Mr. Kedarnath Chatterjee, Mr. Kalidas Dutt, Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and many others have expressed their willingness to present to the Musuem some valuable and rare objects of art from their respective collections. It is ardently hoped that more such gifts from public-spirited gentlemen, throughout India, will be forthcoming to help in the growth and development of this laudable venture.

Mr. Devaprasad Ghosh, M.A., Post-Graduate Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture, has been appointed the Curator of the Museum. Mr. Ghosh is the first student of Fine Arts to obtain the University Gold Medal in Ancient Indian History and Culture in the M.A. Examination (1925), the Premchand Roychand Studentship, the Mouat Medal, the Griffith Prize, the University Research Scholarship and the Post-Graduate Research Fellowship. His papers on Indian and Indonesian Art have been highly spoken of both by Indian and European savants, and some of them have been translated and reproduced in foreign journals. He is an Honorary Associate Member of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi; Honorary Secretary, the Calcutta Geographical Society and also an active worker of the Greater India Society and the Revival of Indian Architectural movements.

The Story of the Memel Issue

Some time ago, the dailies contained news relating to the Memel issue. The significance of foreign news cannot be fully understood without the knowledge of the historical background thereof. The recent story of Memel is told in the January 15th issue of *World Events* of America under the caption "Memelland: A murmuring volcano," and runs as follows:

> "Memelland has been stolen from Germany. The German population is mistreated . . . . Its only crime is the fact that it is German and wishes to remain so. The German government regards this situation with great bitterness." Thus spoke the German chancellor Adolf Hittler on May 21, 1935 and in September at Nuremberg he threatened to reincorporate Memel into Germany by force.
>
> Thus a tiny bit of territory with about 145,000 inhabitants has become a powder barrel of Europe.
>
> Memelland is made up of the city of Memel with its 50,000 people and its hinterland. It is frontier country bordering on Lithuania, Poland and Germany. Once a member of the Hanseatic League, the city has for the last 500 years been a part of Germany. Today it owes allegiance to Lithuania.
>
> The transfer was occasioned by the war. The new state of Lithuania had no outlet to the sea, so it demanded that the port of Memel be assigned to it. The city of Memel, a straggling and town, is populated overwhelmingly by G though the hinterland is said to be mixed in c But the consideration of nationality was o overshadowed by the fact that Memel was t harbor available to Lithuania.
>
> In 1919 Memel and its hinterland east Niemen River were detached from Germ administered by the Allies by means of a garrison. Then the Lithuanians decided things in their own hands (following several precendents) and in 1923 they occupied the The next year the Allies formally recog fait accompli and Memelland was now Lithuanian sovereignty.
>
> The governmental arrangements worked the Conference of Ambassadors were very cated. The region was made autonomous Lithuanian rule with powers over its own le administration, justice and finance. A Govern appointed for the region by Lithuania, w Diet and the Directory were locally elect port was made subject to the Barcelona free transit convention, thus opening it to the Poland.
>
> Theoretically the Governor is supreme and him Lithuania, but in reality Germany rules its control of local government. The situati now developed into a tug-of-war betwee Lithuanian and the German governments agitators fill the region and 126 of these were arrested, tried, and condemned to prison and The death sentences were eventually com Meanwhile the Lithuanians have postponed finally "managed" the elections for the Diet was certain to go to the Germans.
>
> The Lithuanians have also secured control president of the Directory who promptly vetoed act of the Diet. An appeal to the Interna Court of Justice resulted in one of those balanced decisions which settled nothing and s nobody.
>
> One by one, the "chickens of Versailles" coming home to roost. Germany undoubtedly excellent case in Memel. Though the regi little economic value to Germany, it offers Nazis an opportunity to divert attention fro troubled conditions at home to an injustice Yet any adjustment now by international might only encourage fascism and bring war Meanwhile Lithuania may well argue the n of an outlet to the sea.
>
> Among the numerous eruptions which perp menace a shell-shocked Europe, Memelland the least. It looms less sensationally in the lines than the African crisis, but it will bea tant watching.

Smile and Laugh at Sir Samuel Hoare's Declaration of British Disinterestedness

In the same "Pocket Periodical Students of International Affairs" we rea

> "American observers who attended the of Nations meeting at which Sir Samuel declared that Great Britain's action in the E war was entirely disinterested and that any tions of selfish imperial action was a libel a curious reaction. A smile was noticeable out the Assembly and the Irish and Soviet laughed out loud."

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School Text-book International Revision

"School Text-Book Revision and International Understanding" is the name of a book published by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. It fully describes one of the undertakings of the League of Nations. The object aimed at by the League is the breaking down of the narrow nationalist and militarist spirit in history and other text-books. It is difficult to succeed in such an endeavour, but some progress is being made and many organizations are enlisted in this praiseworthy undertaking.

Devastating Gran Chaco War

"How devastating to Bolivia was the recent war with Paraguay may be comprehended from reports of N.N.S. correspondents to the effect that the total cost of the war to Bolivia alone was $195,000,000 in terms of United States currency. About forty thousand to forty-five thousand men were lost by Bolivia, although the number of Bolivian soldiers who got into the actual Gran Chaco region was only fifty-five thousand."—*World Events.*

Municipal Sweepers' Demands

The following "charter of rights" of municipal sweepers, as prepared by Srijut Indulal Yajnik and Srijut Kamalashankar Pandya and approved at mass meetings of municipal sweepers and at their Unions at various places in Gujarat, has been sent to us for publication and comment:

1. Permanent service, Scheduled service and resultant rights.
2. A weekly holiday with full pay.
3. 8 hours' day and 48 hours' week.
4. 15 days' privilege and 15 days' casual leave with full pay per year.
5. Right to have pensions, gratuity or Provident Fund.
6. Right to get materials of sweeping, *e.g.*, baskets and brushes at Municipal expense.
7. 2 months' maternity leave with full pay.
8. Uniform on duty at Municipal expense.
9. Equal payment for equal work.
10. Immediate 100 per cent increment in wages. (The sweepers in some municipalities get so low as Rs. 3 per mensem as wages).
11. Complete stoppage of abuses and beatings by municipal Inspectors and muccaddums.
12. Right to defend before a municipal tribunal for offences. (At present they are fined arbitrarily).
13. Right to have free quarters, lighting, water arrangements, etc., to be provided by the municipality at their expense.
14. Right to sanitation and education at Municipal expense.
15. Weekly payments.

Generally speaking, we are entirely in sympathy with these demands. The wages and other conditions of work of these very useful and indispensably necessary public servants are not the same everywhere. So, it cannot be said off-hand whether a 100 per cent. increment in wages would be either practicable or necessary everywhere; but some increase is certainly required in order that the sweepers may have a living wage, a decent standard of living and healthy conditions of work and may make moral, intellectual, spiritual, and cultural progress like other citizens and take their rightful place in society.

Communal Unity

It is generally admitted that the work of winning and subsequently keeping national freedom and of making progress in all directions would be considerably facilitated if all religious communities, races and classes inhabiting India made united efforts to gain their common objects. But it would be useless to talk of communal unity without understanding what unity implies or without accepting the implications, which are easily understood.

Unity implies oneness of citizenship. That means that there should be equal and the same kind of citizenship for individuals belonging to all communities, races, castes, classes, etc. The franchise qualifications must be the same for all, facilities for obtaining appointments in the public service should be the same for all according to fitness tested by common and open standards and representation in the legislatures and local bodies must be by joint elections. There is to be no "weightage" as regards representation, no reservation of posts for any group of any kind and no communal "royal road" to educational or other preferment.

This simply means that if there is to be communal unity Communal Reward No. 1 and Communal Reward No. 2 must be given up by the Muhammadans and others. Talk of joint electorate on the understanding that Muslims are to keep the excessive number of seats in legislatures allotted to them, is a farce. Talk of joint electorate on the understanding again that the franchise should be separately such for Muslims and Hindus that the numbers of Muslim and Hindu voters would be proportionate to their numerical strength in the total population is worse than a farce. If a Hindu can be a voter by paying, say, five rupees as tax, why is a Muslim to be a voter by paying less, say, two rupees? If a Hindu can be a voter, say, by graduating, why is a Muslim to be a voter, say, by merely matriculating? Muslims may think and their crafty British patrons may pretend to think that the mere fact of a person professing the Muhammadan

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creed makes up for all deficiencies in tax-paying and educational qualifications, but why should Hindus accept the insulting implication that they are an inferior people with an inferior religion and culture and therefore must pay more taxes and pass stiffer and higher examinations by way of penalty to make up for their inferiority and then get the vote?

The Aga Khan is an intelligent man, and knows what is what. It should be very easy for him to understand that if his profession of nationalistic patriotism is to be considered sincere by others, he must confess that the Minorities Pact was a disgraceful affair from the point of view of Indian patriots and he must denounce the so-called communal award and the communal reservation of posts in the public service. Let the Muslims have their separate electorates, if they like. But an excessive number of seats for them or for any other community goes against nationalism and cannot be tolerated.

The Aga Khan's condemnation of the formation of communal parties in the legislatures is worthless if he does not denounce and renounce at the same time the communal "award" and the communal reservation of posts. If he does not fulfil the latter condition, it will be plain that he is making an effort to gain over the Hindus to the side of the Muslims in order to perpetuate (as far as that is humanly possible) India's new constitution with the communal canker at its core.

It may be said that we write as we do because we Bengali Hindus have a special grievance. But what do non-Muslims say in Muslim minority provinces where the weightage given to Muslims has not made the Hindus impotent? By way of sample, we will give an extract from *The Subodha Patrika* of Bombay. It is a religious organ of the Prarthana Samaj, and writes thus under the caption "My lady protests too much":

> H. H. The Aga Khan has gone to Delhi to consolidate the two wings that ostensibly divide the politically-minded Mohomedans in India. At a meeting organized for that purpose under his leadership, he has issued to the press a statement in which he has sought to show that the Mohomedans have all along been national in their political outlook and work. From the days in early Congress history down to the days of the R. T. Conferences in England, they have been shown by H. H. the Aga Khan to have been guided by the same impulse.
>
> We do not care to go into that past history, but we may take leave to tell him, that his reading of it is altogether one-sided, if not deliberately twisted. The foundation of the Moslem League in 1906 by H. H. the Aga Khan and others had no other aim in view but to counterblast the Congress and win for the Mohomedans special political rights on score of their superior political importance as rulers of the country prior to British rule in [illegible]. The founder of the Aligarh University had [illegible] his aim merely the education of his co-religi[illegible] but the driving of a wedge between the two [illegible] munities in India that together constituted its [illegible] majority. It was to wean Mohomedans from Co[illegible] politics and monopolise in their behalf loyal[illegible] the Crown. It was after the Moslem League [illegible] extorted from Lord Minto the definite pledge [illegible] special representation on communal lines for Mohomedans, that the League became friends [illegible] the Congress and helped in framing the Co[illegible] League Scheme. The Mohomedans are repeating [illegible] same game over again. They have got all [illegible] could from the R. T. C. and Sir Samuel Hoare [illegible] the shape of the communal award, plus seg[illegible] provinces with Mohomedans in the majority, [illegible] other special rights. And now, on a full stom[illegible] they are led forth by H. H. the Aga Khan [illegible] swear by nationalism and disown pan-Islamism [illegible] *Pakistan*. The Muslim Conference prior to [illegible] R. T. C. dished Mr. Jinnah by taking over [illegible] fourteen points and killing the Nehru Report. [illegible] desires now to dish the Muslim League along [illegible] Mr. Jinnah by adopting the stunt of national[illegible] and dominion status. Stunt or no stunt, let [illegible] show by action, that they live up to it. And [illegible] we would fain bury the dead past and look to [illegible] future. But we are not sure, and the protests [illegible] declarations sound suspicious.

High and Higher Education in India Not Overdone

At the last Convocation of the Calcu[illegible] University, Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherji, [illegible] Vice-Chancellor, made an able and telling speech.

Dealing with the criticisms that an alarmingly large number of students was receiving University education and that the Universities were responsible for wastage and unnecessary duplication of teaching arrangements, Mr. Mukherji said :

> Let us examine the situation dispassionately and ask ourselves whether the criticism levelled against the Universities in India has any foundation at all.
>
> Let me first take our own University. We serve the needs of Bengal and Assam, with the exception of a limited area which is controlled by Dacca. We have thus practically one University for a population of about fifty million in Bengal and [illegible] in Assam. The number of students reading in the University and the colleges is about thirty-[illegible] thousand and the total expenditure on higher education is eighty-six lakhs of rupees, Assam spending about four. Take the whole of British India with a population of two hundred and sixty-three millions. India has only sixteen Universities and the number of their students will be about one lakh and twenty thousand. The total expenditure on higher education in India is less than four crores of rupees.

Turning to the British Isles Mr. Mukherji said :

> The British Isles afford a good illustration [illegible]

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comparison from the point of view of population which is about forty-five million; but the number of Universities is as many as sixteen—what we have for the whole of India—and fifty-five thousand students receive instruction under their jurisdiction. About six crores and forty lakhs of rupees are spent on higher education only in England and Wales. To Universities alone within this area the State annually contributes two crores and twenty-seven lakhs of rupees.

The Vice-Chancellor next passed on to Canada and other countries.

Canada, which has a population of ten million, has as many as twenty-three Universities and eighty-five thousand students pursue higher education. In Germany, the population is sixty-six million with twenty-three Universities which have an enrolment of about eighty-eight thousand students. In Italy, which has a population of forty-one million, there are twenty-six Universities and fifty thousand students receive higher education. In Japan with a population of sixty-four million there are six Universities and seventy thousand students.

He next dealt with secondary education.

In Bengal, the number of pupils in different grades of secondary schools is about four lakhs and sixty thousand of whom about three lakhs belong to high schools recognized by the University. Assam has, in addition, an enrolment of seventy-seven thousand pupils in secondary schools. For every seventeen who receive secondary education, one proceeds to the higher stage. If we take the whole of India, there are about twenty-four lakhs of students in schools, and for every twenty, one goes up to the University stage. But what about other countries? In the British Isles seven lakhs of pupils read in secondary schools, and one in every twelve proceeds to higher education. In Canada, one in every three joins the University. In Germany, the proportion is one to nine; in Italy and in Japan, it is one to ten.

The number of candidates at the Matriculation examination of our University often disturbs the peace of mind of our critics. May I bring it to their notice that if about twenty-five thousand candidates will appear at our Matriculation examination this year, four years ago fifty-seven thousand candidates sat for the Approved First Examination from secondary schools in England and Wales alone—an examination which has been adopted by the Universities as a Matriculation examination—and seventy-three per cent of them were successful?

Some general observations followed.

Similar illustrations might be given in reference to educational opportunities existing in other civilized countries which allot enormous sums of money to education. We have not heard it stated that the number of students receiving instruction in Universities, in colleges and in secondary schools in these countries is by any means excessive or that it displays an unhealthy mental development on the part of the people of these lands. Neither have we heard it stated that the large number of Universities and educational institutions existing in each of these countries—which must necessarily make similar provision for teaching and research in many branches of study—are wasting national resources or are guilty of duplication of arrangements. Neither again have we heard any sweeping condemnation of their educational systems on the ground that the vast majority of the students is pursuing education, as indeed they must, not solely out of respect for learning for the sake of learning but also as a means to an end.

In *The Modern Review* for October, 1934, we wrote an article to show that the charges of wastage and unnecessary duplication of teaching arrangements, and the like, brought by Sir George Anderson, Commissioner for Education with the Government of India, against our universities, were absolutely false. The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University has done the right thing by standing up for the Indian Universities similarly.

Extra-Academic Activities of the Calcutta University

The Calcutta British daily "The Statesman" writes :

> The Vice-Chancellor's address at the annual convocation of the University of Calcutta at College Square was a clear enunciation without waste of words of what the University is doing and aims to do. He found space for a short reference to recreations, the University Rowing Club and others, not as mere amusement but as an important element in the health (physical and mental) of students. Not every University shows any practical concern for this; most leave it to students themselves. Calcutta's University does make surveys and encourage efforts to put right what they reveal to be wrong and under the stimulus of its administration many out-door enthusiasms are now cultivated that a few years ago no one thought of as potentially University interests. It is certainly not necessary for students in Calcutta or elsewhere where there are University colleges to spend all their hours moping over books.

Inter-religious Conference in Andhradesa

According to a report published in *The Hindu* an Inter-religious Conference commenced its session at Cocanada on the 22nd February last.

> The Conference was the first of its kind in Andhradesa. It was unique in that it was not only attended by well-educated Hindus, Muslims and Christians, but distinguished persons of learning and culture belonging to the above-mentioned religions read instructive papers appealing to the audience and the large public outside the hall to foster religious harmony. The true religious spirit animated the proceedings from the beginning to the end and the audience listened to the discourses with rapt attention.
>
> The Conference began with the singing of Rabindranath Tagore's National prayer by the Anasuya sisters.

Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswami Chettiar, a leading Hindu gentleman, was elected president. In the course of his address, dwelling on the need for a common religion, he observed :

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What India badly needs is a common religion over and above the particular religions which the people profess and practise. We require a common body of religious beliefs and attitudes and social practices resulting therefrom which, while reacting towards reformation and reconstruction and reconciliation upon the several religions of the country, will bind their professors by a common bond of tolerance, mutual respect and mutual understanding into a united people working their way towards freedom and a fuller life. This would solve the various communal problems with which we are confronted, besides helping India to take her place as a free member in the world family of free nations. I am convinced that a common religion for India transcending and fulfilling but not necessarily supplanting the various religions of the country was in the mind and soul of Rajah Rammohan Roy, fitly called the Father of Modern India. I have often thought that, if the Brahmo movement had gone on developing on the lines of its original insights, without being driven by the hostility of persons from without and from within the country into a self-protecting cave instead of spreading and leavening the religious, social and political life of the whole country, the inter-communal tensions and frictions which mar the life of the people today would not have appeared at all.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Visit to England

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to England has enabled at least some British men and women to know what Indians who have no selfish personal or communal axes to grind really think of the constitution which has been thrust upon India. He has told them in very plain language what an unwelcome thing it is. Reuter's agency has cabled the information that the Pandit has expressed the opinion that the new Government of India Act is a sort of constant incitement to revolt. If he has said so, the British people have known what at least the largest and best organized political party in India think of the Act. For the Pandit having been elected to preside over the next session of the Indian National Congress practically unanimously, is undoubtedly in a position to voice the opinion of the Congress, if not of all advanced politically-minded Indians of other parties as well.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Election to Congress Presidentship

That Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been elected president of the next session of the Indian National Congress by 19 congress provinces out of 21 (Bengal not being in a position to vote and in the N.-W. Frontier Province the Congress being still under a ban), shows how popular he is. And as for his eminent fitness for the office, it is, of course, beyond even the shadow of a doubt.

The only question that may occur, at least to non-Congressites, is what very special emergency has arisen for the Congress party to set aside the half-a-century old convention that the president for the year should be chosen from outside the province where it is held. There was a former Congress constitution there was express rule to this effect. It does not exist in the present constitution, but the convention stands.

Indian Women in Science

Mr. Robindra Mohan Datta, M.Sc., writes "Indian women, who are now keen on being trained according to Western methods of education and going in for education, health culture, aeroplane training, etc., do not lag behind in the domain of science.

In the twenty-third session of the Indian Science Congress, held this year in the month of January at Indore, many women read papers of considerable value and many joined in the discussions.

In the Chemistry section the following joint papers were read, one of the authors in each case being a woman.

1. *Condensation of Bromal with Urethane*, by Prof. N. W. Hirwe and Miss K. D. Gawankar of Bombay.

2. *Action of Hydrogen Sulphide on Chalcone Oxides*, by Miss B. N. Katrak and Prof. T. S. Wheeler of Bombay.

3. *Studies in the Authraquinone series*, by Prof. P. C. Mitter and Miss Tanima Sen Gupta of Calcutta.

4. *The Chemistry of indigenous fatty oils. Part XI. The Chemical Composition of the fat from the seeds of Garcinia Indica*, by Prof. P. Ramaswami Ayyar and Miss P. Devi of Bangalore.

In the Psychology section, Miss S. B. Guha of Calcutta read a very interesting paper on *Application of newly devised tests to find the children of seven years reason.*

In the Botany section, a paper entitled *Common Plants of Northern Sikkim*, was contributed by Mr. K. P. Biswas, Curator of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Sibpur, with Mr. H. P. V. Townend of Calcutta.

In the Zoology section, Miss C. K. Rathnavathi of Madras read the paper, *Some observations on the digestive and female reproductive system of Rhinobatus.* Miss E. M. Joshua of Madras read the paper *The Alimentary canal of the Panther.*

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From these it is quite apparent that women not lack in research spirit and they are ing keen interest in science. If proper cilities are open to them, we are sure many omen will come forward to avail themselves f the opportunities offered. We appeal to the overnment and the authorities of the Univer- ies of India to offer some special prizes and esearch scholarships for women."

he Bengal Education Week

The Bengal Education Week was declared en by His Excellency Sir John Anderson, overnor of Bengal, on Friday, the 31st January

H. E. the Governor of Bengal leaving the Senate House after the Opening Ceremony

last, in the Senate Hall of the Calcutta Univer- sity, when His Excellency spoke on 'the justi- fication for this Education Week,' with a few words of advice to school teachers. Unfor- tunately very few of the school teachers who came invited all the way from different places in the Presidency to attend the Week were allowed the privilege of admittance into the Hall to hear His Excellency speak. Interest- ing addresses were delivered during the Week, the most important one being that of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, delivered on the con- cluding day on "Ideals of Education." Among other addresses mention may be made of 'Some Recent Developments in Indian Education' by Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, 'Examinations,' by Dr. W. A. Jenkins, the D. P. I., of Bengal, 'Gaur and Pandua' by Mr. H. E. Stapleton, former D. P. I. of Bengal, 'Physical Education in Schools' by J. Buchanan, Director of Physical Education, Bengal, 'Education and Culture' by Dewan Bahadur R. Mudaliar, 'Modern De- velopments in Education' by Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyaya, Education Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, 'Village Schools' by Rev. F. Ryrie of Nadia, 'Broadcasting in Schools' by Mr. J. R. Stapleton, Director of the Calcutta Station of Indian Broadcasting Company and two addresses by Dr. Meghnad Saha of Alla- habad and Dr. Bose of Dacca.

The exhibition was a feature of the Week and the collections in different branches were interesting not only to the school teachers but also to the public in general.

Besides sports there was a scout display by over six hundred scouts in all its phases and activities.

Bengal Governor's Opening Speech In Education Week

Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, said in declaring the exhibition open :

"I can imagine that many of you upon seeing the model class rooms, diagrams, pictures and other exhibits will feel that all this equipment is very wonderful but of no practical value because the limited finances of your schools place it entirely beyond your reach. Such a criticism is, of course, partially valid. We are as fully aware as you are of the necessity of making more adequate provision for our secondary schools. The problems of school equipment have so far been almost entirely neglected owing to the existence of a still greater problem namely that of providing adequate salaries. Until the financial condition of our schools is far more satisfactory than at present there will be little money available over and above that required for salaries. But effective teaching is not entirely a matter of apparatus. Its lack makes your task still more formidable but does not prohibit a great advance being made upon present attainments. Much can be done by a teacher who will exercise his ingenuity and utilize the ordinary resources of the village and the school. Illustrations and models can be prepared by the boys themselves under the

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teacher's guidance. Parents and guardians can be interested in this aspect of a school's needs and local benefactors might be induced to present really useful articles and apparatus instead of the imposing but rather impractical encyclopedias that are to be found in so many of our schools. You have a great task before you: you are working under conditions that are far from ideal. We shall do our best to improve those conditions. How far it will be possible for us in the near future to make better provision for your schools I am not, unfortunately, in a position to say. It is possible, however, even under present conditions for you to render great service to your country and your people by steady and persistent improvement of your everyday work in the class room. If this Exhibition makes that achievement more probable it will have been well worth while."

It would appear then that His Excellency the Governor felt that the teachers in Government, Aided and Unaided schools in Bengal had, to a considerable extent, to make bricks without straw. Of course, exhibition or no exhibition, it is not impossible for the poorest teachers of the poorest schools to improve their everyday work in the class room. But the question is, whether the advice and exhortation of persons, who are in a far more comfortable position than they and from whom no help can be expected, are likely to bear fruit.

Bengal Minister on School Education Reforms

We have never concealed our opinion that there is great need of educational expansion in Bengal, as in the rest of India, and also that educational improvement and reform are required. We have never been identified with those who speak simply of educational reform —particularly when they will not or are not in a position to spend adequate extra amounts for even the reforms which they want. Such being our attitude, while we have a sort of admiration for the speech made at the opening of the Bengal Education Week by the Hon. Khan Bahadur Azizul Huq, Minister of Education, minus that part of it which related to graduates' "howlers," we cannot say that we consider it at all helpful. Said he:

"A newer awakening to the problem of education is the need of the hour, and Bengal urgently needs a new attitude in tackling the problem of education in the interest of the coming generations."

Has there been the right kind of awakening to the problem of education in Bengal, so far as the Bengal Government and Bengal educational officials are concerned? There is a Bengali saying: *Apani achari dharma apare shikhay,* "He teaches others what to do by doing it himself."

As regards the "howlers" said to been perpetrated by some Calcutta gra we will not conceal that our first impres reading them was that some person or were trying to pull the legs of some other or persons. We do not think the Minis justice to the occasion, to himself, Calcutta University, or to our gradua general by reciting these real or im "howlers." We are far from thinking th school-boys or graduates are paragon "general knowledge," and if they are no mainly officially chalked out, patronize enforced system of education prevalent not a little to blame.

"Even if one single graduate after at least 12 education in school and college answers in the going manner," said the Minister "it should us furiously think as to what is wanting educational institutions, and it is our duty adjust the training in our schools that no single boy after finishing his school course— speak of a University graduate—betrays lamentable lack of knowledge."—*The Statesman*

Is the Minister sure that similar and "howlers" are not perpetrated abroad by Indian school-boys and graduates? We read speeches made by British M. Ps British Ministers betraying super-Hima lack of general knowledge relating to Indi

Let the defects of the prevailing syste education and of our students be pointed by all means—but not the defects alone that conveys a wrong and one-sided impres While exposing the defects, one might jus a mild way and quite apologetically, as it put in a word for our University and co for not succeeding in preventing the appear for example, of an author like Bankim Ch Chatterjee, a statesman and jurist like Behari Ghose, an educationalist like Ash Mukherji, a philosopher like Brajendra Seal, a scientist like Meghnad Saha, a histo like Jadunath Sarkar, a physician like Nil Sircar, a medicinal discoverer like Upendra Brahmachari, an archaeologist like Rakhal Banerji, &c., &c., &c.

Sir George Anderson on Education

Addressing the Bengal Education W upon the subject of some recent develop in Indian education, Sir George Ande Education Commissioner with the Govern of India, declared himself strongly in favou compulsory education. But it was to be s by step. And, of course, Government is to be labouring under lack of funds. So conditions laid down by Sir George cannot

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mind one of the proverb which says, "Neither all seven maunds of oil be provided and consumed, nor will Radha dance."

But Sir George was optimistic, too. He said:

"There is much, indeed, that should cheer us in our labours. There is, first, the great quantitative advance which has been made in recent years."

A person who thinks that there has been great quantitative advance in education in India is past arguing with. Let him compare Indian educational statistics with those of Japan, the Philippines and Soviet Russia, for example.

Tagore's New Educational Fellowship Inaugural Address

The daily papers have published an authorized summary in English of the inaugural address which Rabindranath Tagore delivered in Bengali as president of the New Education Fellowship, Bengal Section, at its first Conference organized under the auspices of the Bengal Education Week. The original Bengali address has been published and can be had at the Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Those who have read it may rejoice that they had not to rest content with the summary. But here we can quote only from the summary, and a few passages at that.

The poet says that in our country the nourishment of the mind is on a par with the nourishment of the body.

> In the western world the scarcity of the means of livelihood has become acute. The anxiety and generosity displayed on that account both by the leading men and Government of the countries there is a thing quite unknown in the case of the patiently suffered hunger of our people here. But few of our countrymen get two meals a day, and the rest, laying the responsibility for their emptiness on an unkind fate, do not for long avoid slipping off the narrow path of their livelihood into death.
>
> The resulting lifelessness is not to be measured only by the death rate. Had there been any way of measuring misery, despondency, incapacity for exertion, liability to disease, we should have seen how death mocks at life from one end of the country to the other, a horrid and excruciating sight. No free civilized country can remain passive in the face of such condition, as is evident in so many places outside India.
>
> The same is the case with education. No civilized society can tolerate the soul-destroying barbarity of a miserly irrigation of the popular mind, such as can enable knowledge to penetrate but a few inches of its upper layer putting at least a thin veneer of intellectual life over the stony inertness of the vast desert beneath. And I cry shame on the cruel fate that compels India to submit supinely to such a plight.

Referring to the shameful and appalling illiteracy of India, the poet observed:

> India is the only country outside barbarism that has a bare eight or ten per cent of literacy. In such a country one feels ashamed to hold an educational conference with pomp and circumstance.

With reference to the plea or excuse of paucity of funds which is always trotted out as the sole or main reason for such a state of things, Tagore said:

> Just imagine that in this country, ridden as it is with preventible diseases, the expenditure on sanitation has to be curtailed for lack of money; and adequate funds cannot be found for wiping out the shameful stigma of an all-pervasive ignorance. That is to say that measures for removing the deficiencies that are dragging us to death's door are as feeble as the people themselves have become. And yet the cost of our Government is even higher than that of much richer countries, and the expenditure on the external paraphernalia of education far exceeds that on teaching proper. This defect at the root is what sorely troubles me and this trouble of mine is what I want to lay before you.

For the poet's constructive suggestion of the adoption of the vernacular medium from bottom to top and other suggestions the address should be read in its entirety.

Calcutta University Foundation Day

Colourful scenes were witnessed when many thousand students representing various colleges in Calcutta and the mofussil assembled on the *maidan* to attend the Foundation Day Commemoration of the Calcutta University.

The vast stadium was crowded with spectators, which included a large number of distinguished ladies and gentlemen of the city.

From early in the morning boy scouts and parties of students with their respective colours and bands began to stream in to the stadium. Girl students, uniformly dressed in four different batches, numbered about two hundred.

THE MARCH PAST

At about 9 A.M. His Excellency the Governor with the Vice-Chancellor arrived at the pandal and a few minutes later the march past began in which a number of colleges, including the Bethune College, University Postgraduate College, University Law College, Medical College, Scottish Church College, Sanskrit College, Vidyasagar College, Bengal Engineering College, Ripon College, City College, Bangabasi College, St. Paul's College, Carmichael Madical College, David Hare Training College, Asutosh College, Faridpore Rajendra College, Mymensingh Anandamohan College, Bagerhat Prafulla Chandra College, Saadat College, Rungpur Carmichael College, Victoria College, Berhampore Krishnanath College, Serampore College, Islamia College and St. Joseph's College took part.

Then Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherji, the Vice-Chancellor, delivered his address, in the course of which he said:

> The University stands not merely as a cloistered assembly of learning or as a busy centre of examina-

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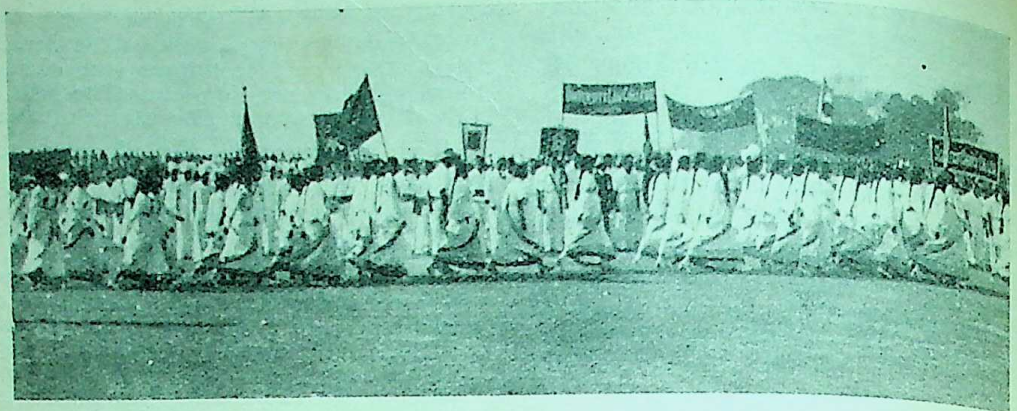

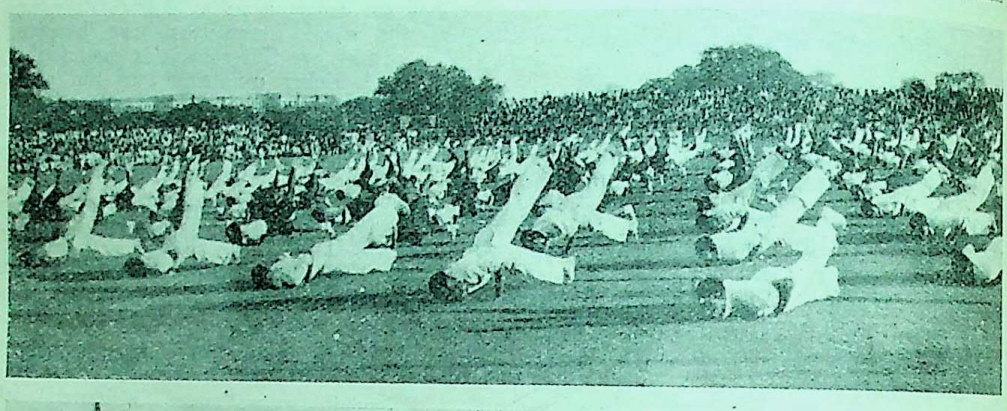

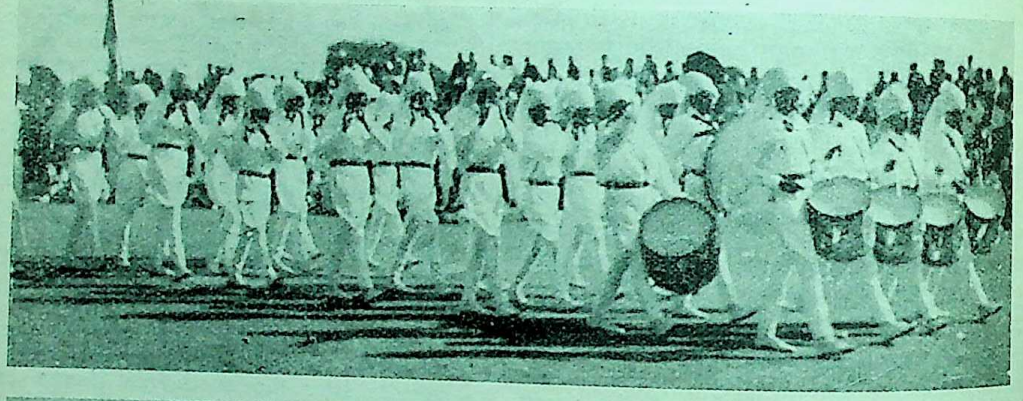

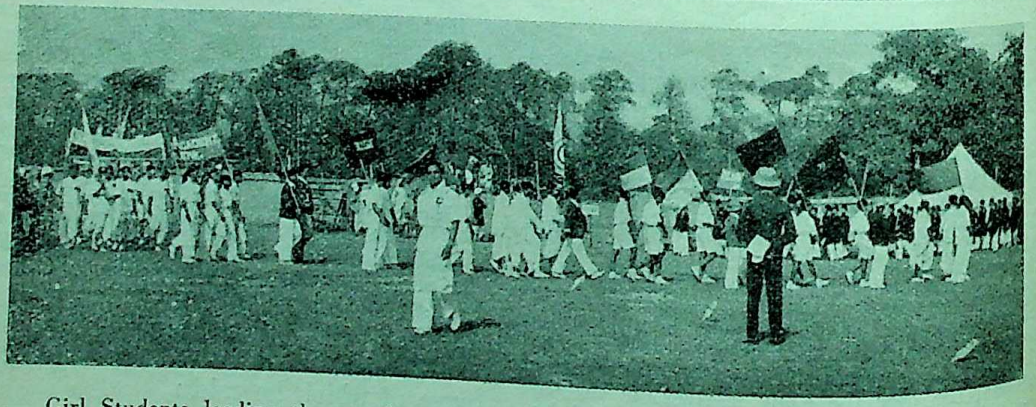

Girl Students leading the march-past
Mass Drill

University Band
Students of Muffassil Colleges

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tions; it also aims at developing the health and character of its alumni and at moulding personalities capable of the largest good to the province and the nation. This latter purpose of the University I desire to emphasise before you today. If I speak to you about certain habits of mind and action which I earnestly wish you to imbibe, I do so because of my deep-rooted conviction that the future of this province rests with you, the rising generation of its men and women. Regard it not as a common platitude of no serious significance. The period through which we are passing is momentous. You are charged today as being the products of a system of education which makes you good for nothing, which saps your vitality and renders you unfit for sustained and useful work.

Let me ask you, are you going to accept this challenge without protest? Are you willing to let things drift as they are doing today and perpetuate an era of humiliation and hardship? It is for you to be inspired by a practical idealism, to shake off the sense of inferiority from which you suffer and to stand up as men, upright and fearless, determined to achieve what is right and what is just. Let us cultivate the habit of hard and honest work, the habit of enjoying life, and learn to value the dignity of labour.

A spirit of invincibility must animate your actions. You must belong to the army of the unconquerable whom difficulties do not daunt nor failures discourage, to whom all things are possible; and the impossible, the most alluring and attractive of all. I long for the day when a spirit of adventure will animate the youths of my province. I know the spirit has been awakened but if it is to live it must be carefully fostered.

His Excellency the Chancellor concluded his elegant address in the following words:

One word more before I close this birthday address. For the individual there comes a time when birthdays bring with them a tinge of sadness: but let there be no such sadness in this birthday of the University. It has grown because it has answered a need among the people of this province: its very growth has called new aspirations and new problems into being.

The march-past of the Girl Students

So long as it sets itself to face those problems and to call forth to the solution all that is best in the climbing generation, it will not age with the passing of the years. Its youth will be renewed from generation to generation and its strength stand deeply rooted in the hearts and lives of the men and women of Bengal.

As part of the celebration, besides the march past of the women and men students, there were mass drill, the playing of the university band, and the like, concluding with the Vice-Chancellor giving proficiency certificates.

Next year something directly connected with scholarship and research should be added

The March past of the Girl Students of Ashutosh College

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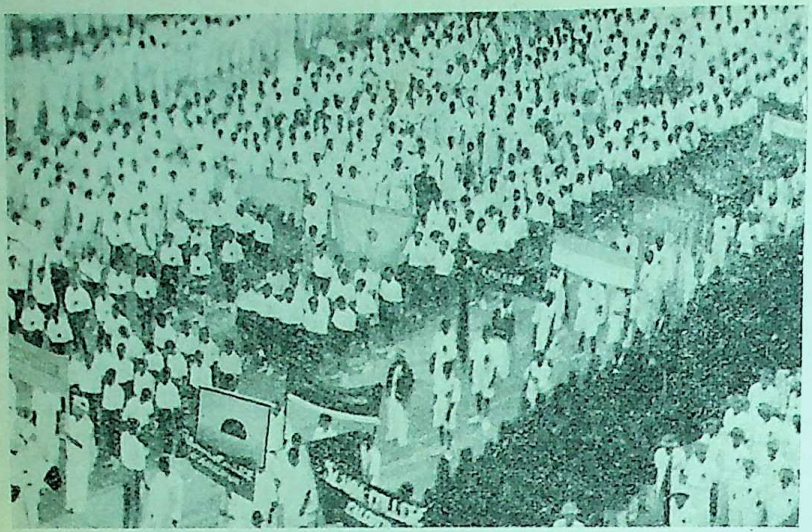
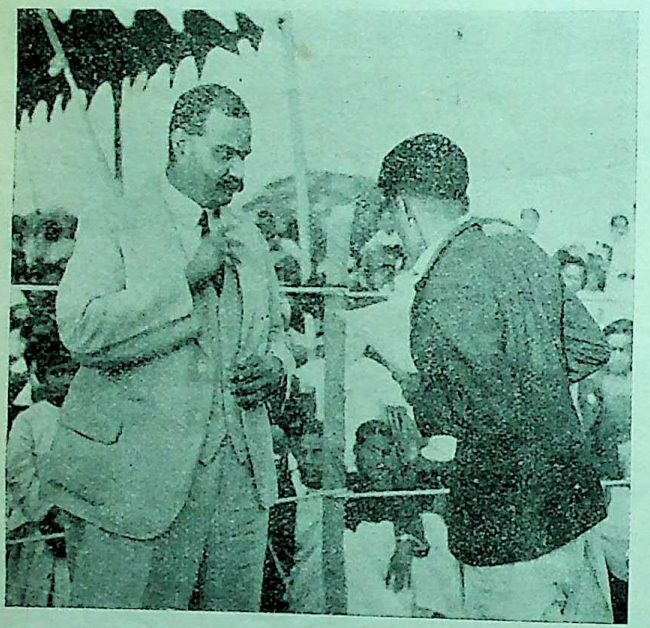


Students before starting for the *maidan*



Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, giving away Proficiency Certificates

to the programme of the celebration to make it all-sided.

Military Cross for an Indian Officer

"The *London Gazette* of Friday announced a number of honours and rewards for services rendered in connexion with the Loe Agra operations on the North-West Frontier last year. Among them is mentioned the conferring of the Military Cross on Capt. P. P. Chowdhry, I.M.S. Capt. Chowdhry received his award for gallantry under fire.

"The Loe Agra operations arose out of the invasion of the Malak- tected area by a Lash- by the Faqir of Alin- April last. The Now- column advanced to d- back across the Swat ri- in the fighting the P- Agent for Malakand L. W. H. D. Best, I.C.- mortally wounded.

"Observing Mr. Best Capt. Chowdhry ran fro- cover of some trees in- open nullah to attend t- Best who was lying in a- swept area. Capt. Cho- also attended some w- levies who too were ly- the open under fire."—"The Statesman

Captain P. P. Chowdhry

Captain Chowdhry is a graduate of Lucknow Medical College, and held a te- ary commission in the Indian Medical Se- for nine years. It was during this period he showed conspicuous gallantry at the ris- his life for which he has been awarded Military Cross. He is a very able young- and should be given a permanent commis- in the I. M. S. He thoroughly deserves it.

The Excluded Areas

The Legislative Assembly has expr- itself in favour of there being no exclu-

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partially excluded areas. In the opinion of this ly there should be the same system of administration throughout British India. It has en shown repeatedly that what are considered ckward tracts, Chota Nagpur for instance, re really as advanced in education and enterize as some other districts, and in some cases ey are more advanced than some non-excluded areas. But arguments are of no use when d where autocracy has power.

The reason alleged for excluding or rtially excluding some areas from the operaon of the ordinary legislative and administra- machinery is the prevention of exploitaon of the backward aboriginal people. But hat has the Government done during wellgh two centuries to enable these people to ke care of themselves? And why are some reas, hitherto not considered backward, to be wly classed under excluded areas? Have ey been making progress backwards during itish rule?

An Anglo-Indian journalistic argument, ddressed to politically-minded Indians, is: You say the new constitution is baneful; why o you then want to bring all these tracts under it?" The answer is, the present constitution bad, the one which will succeed it next year worse, and a bureaucratic administration bout which even questions cannot be asked nd resolutions moved in legislatures is worst. Besides, it is not true that there are no Indian public-spirited individuals and bodies interested in the moral and material advancement of the aborigines, it is not true that all nonaboriginal Indians and bodies are interested in exploiting the aborigines, and that the Government officials stand to them *in loco parentis* ever busy in promoting their welfare.

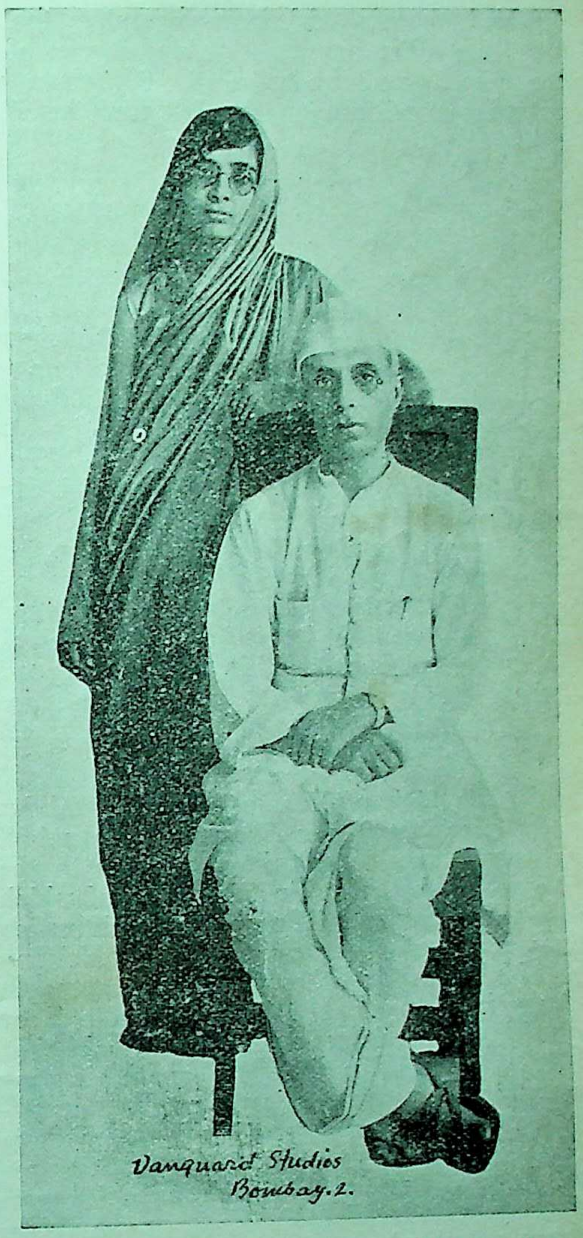
Budget of Government of India

The new budget of the Government of India will be dealt with in our next issue.

The postal concession does not relieve the poor. If the price of postcards had been reduced to one pice, or at the most to two, that would have been appreciated by the poor.

Srimati Kamala Nehru

Along with our countrymen we have read the news of the passing of Srimati Kamala Nehru with profound sorrow. She was a loving wife and a true comrade of her husband. A heroine herself, she was inspired by her father-in-law and her husband to the devoted service of the Motherland, and was, in her turn, we may be sure, their inspirer too in due measure. Brought up in comfort and luxury in both her father's and father-in-law's houses, she faced privations and sufferings willingly and cheerfully. She had passed only the thirty-sixth year of her life. Her premature death is a great loss to India and the world.



Mrs. Kamala Nehru and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru

Reduction of Educational and Medical Expenditure in Bengal

In 1929-30 the Bengal Government spent Rs. 1,29,54,000 on education and Rs. 55,69,000 in its medical department. The provision in the 1936-37 budget on these two heads is Rs. 1,18,82,000 and Rs. 49,92,000 respectively.

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So educational and medical expenditure have been reduced by Rs. 10,72,000 and Rs. 5,77,000 respectively. Mr. Azizul Huq, education minister, said during Education Week that there must be a new awakening to the problem of education in Bengal. Here is a concrete proof of such awakening. Perhaps Bengal is already educated to excess—and over-medicated, too.

On the other hand, she is under-governed, under-policed and under-jailed. So, there is increased expenditure on the following heads :

	1929-30 Rs.	1936-37 Rs.
Administration ..	1,24,33,000	1,37,20,000
Police	2,09,16,000	2,30,49,000
Jails	34,45,000	43,80,000

Subhas Chandra Bose's Irish Visit

What Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to Britain has done to enlighten all Britishers, except the deliberately blind and deaf, as to the realities of the political situation in India, that has been done for the Irish people by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's visit to Ireland. Were it not for the illness of his wife, which has unhappily ended fatally, the Pandit could have visited many countries on the continent of Europe and educated public opinion there regarding India, as Mr. Bose has done. It is not probable that what the latter has said in Ireland has remained confined within the four corners of that island; it must have reached some British ears, too, at least.

Free Speech in Council Chambers

On the 27th of February last Sir Abdur Rahim, president of the Legislative Assembly, read out a 'considered ruling' relating to the privileges of that body, in the course of which he said that "law did not protect publication of any such speech [as that of Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya] in other than official reports, such as in a newspaper, however, faithful or *bona fide* such publication might be." If that be the case—and Sir Abdur Rahim in his non-presidential days said it was not the case—freedom of speech in the Council Chamber is no freedom. If official reports of council proceedings are legal, why should faithful copies of those reports be illegal? How are the public and the voters who send members to the legislative bodies to know what their representatives are doing there if their speeches, as reported officially, cannot be republished in newspapers? The public cannot be expected to buy copies of the official reports. These should be made such before publication as would not penalize their faithful non-official republishers.

Curtain lectures do not—at any rate, should not—travel beyond the bed room. Assembly and Council members' speeches too must not travel beyond the Council C unless they are draped in the *borka* or of the official report.

Assassinations by Japanese Military Clique

Some Japanese military officers, de as rebels or mutineers, have assas Premier Okada, Admiral Count Saito and other prominent Japanese. The und idea has been conjectured to be the est ment of a sort of fascist or militarist dic ship by removing moderate men from Cabinet. If the militarists gain the upper there may be fresh trouble in China Manchuria and Mongolia, and it may be cult to avoid serious clashes with Soviet R There may be conflict with the United of America also.

The international situation looks gl

Motions Carried Despite Government Opposition

When important motions are carried in Legislative Assembly inspite of Govern opposition, they show that if India had a liamentary constitution and parliamentary ventions, and the Governor-General had the constitutional head of the Government Government in power would have had to res fresh general elections would have been and the party returning the largest numbe members would have formed the Governm But India's Government is irremoveable. it is seldom that it gives effect to any res tion carried in the legislature against its wi So the only purpose which such resolu serve is to indicate the trend of public opi and to show that the country is not gove with the people's consent.

Joges Chatterjee's Fast

Requests or prayers of prisoners should treated on their merits, all reasonable pra being granted—no prayer can be gra simply because it is backed by the threa a prisoner to fast unto death if it be granted. At the same time, if the reason prayers of a prisoner be not granted and consequence he resorts to hungerstrike, unreasonable to say that the prayers will be granted because he has hungerstruck. were not the prayers granted before he that step? In the case of the prisoner J Chandra Chatterjee, we think all his pra are reasonable and could have been and be granted without jeopardizing jail disci and the safety of the State. At the same we think he should break his fast and live serve his country.

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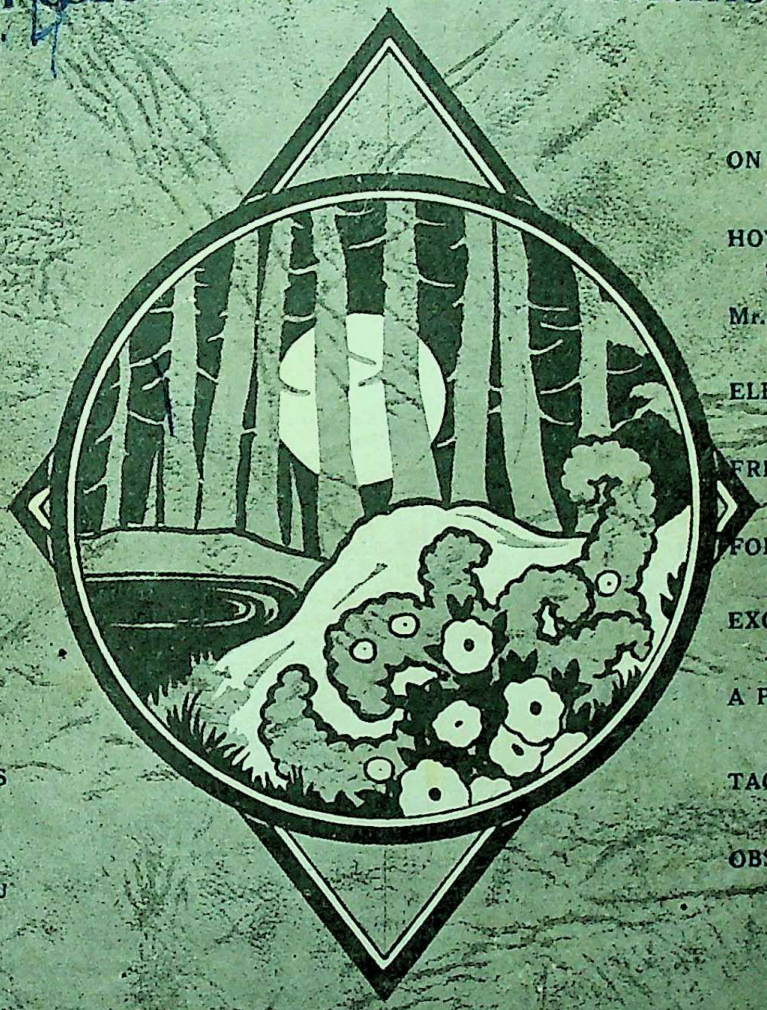

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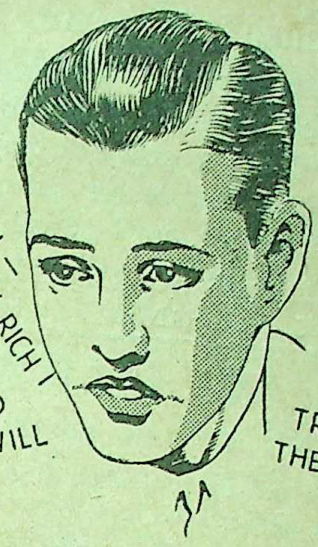

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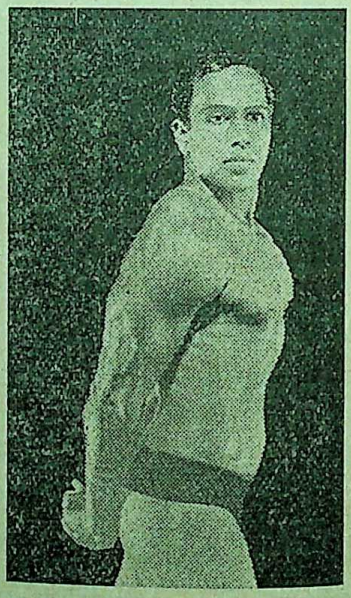

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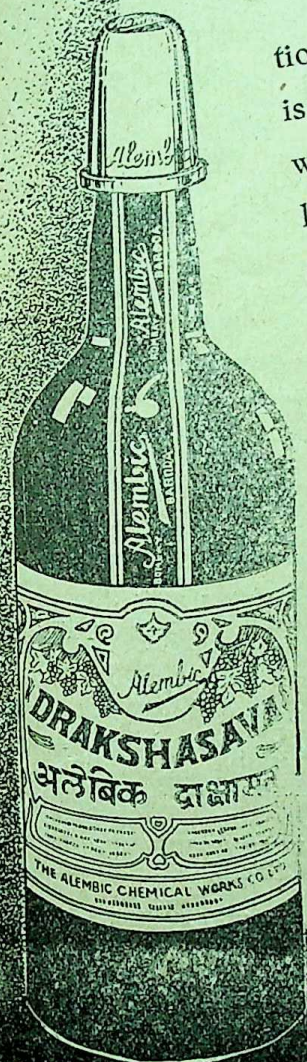

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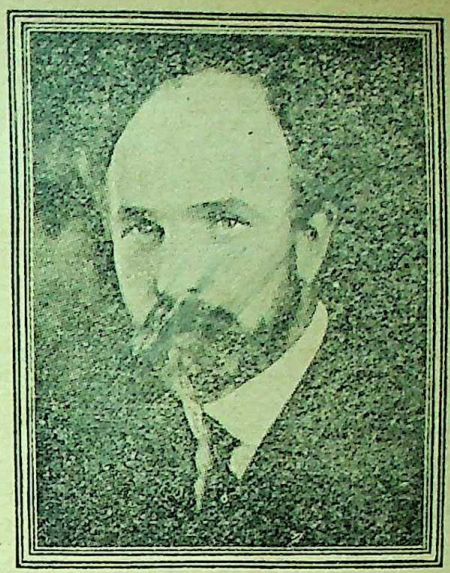

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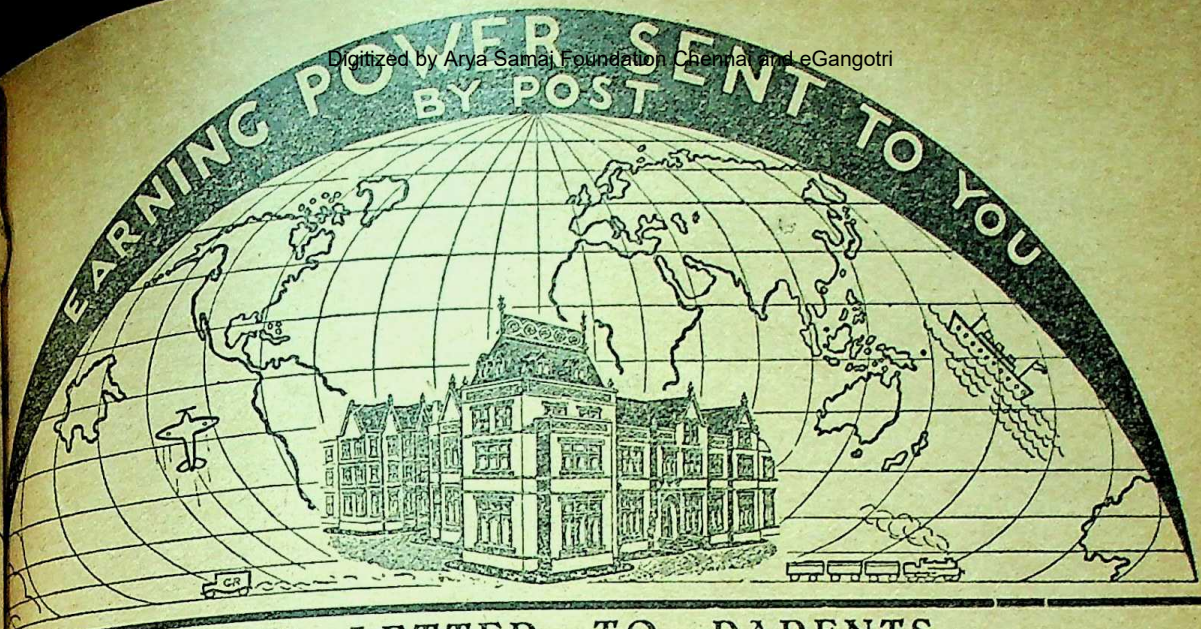

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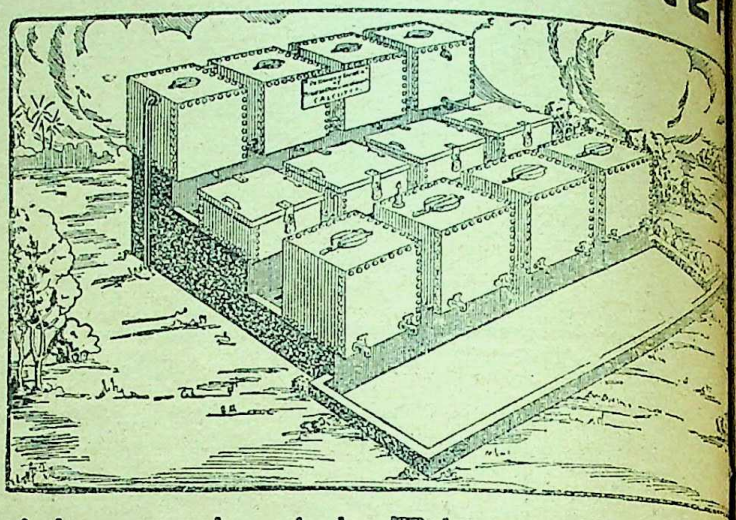

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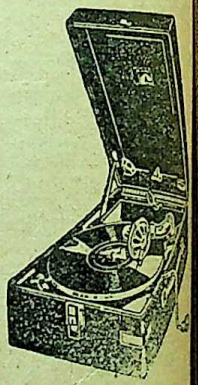

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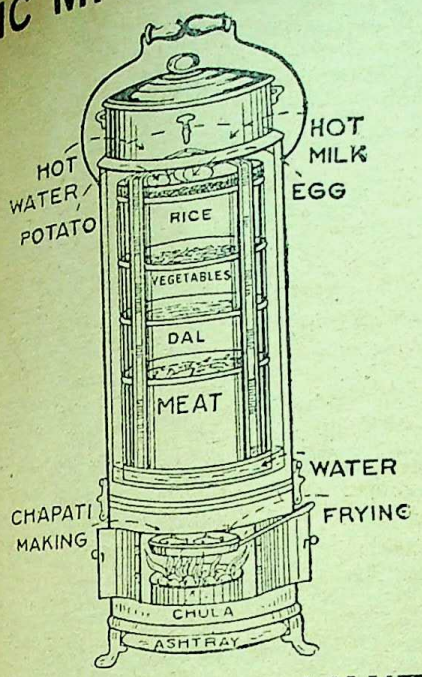

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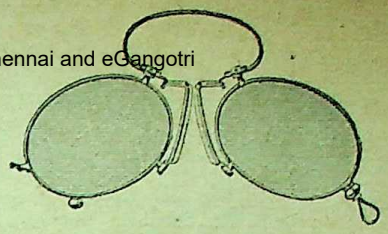

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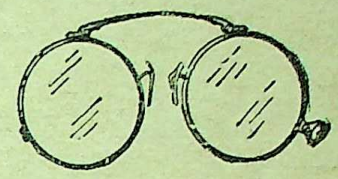

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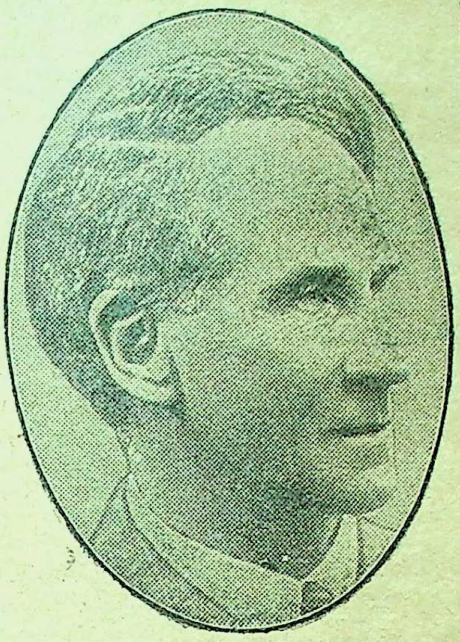

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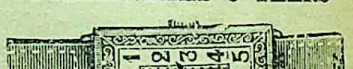

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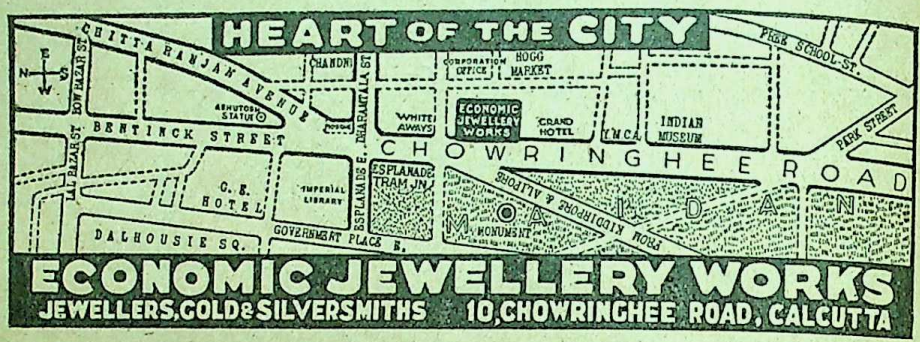

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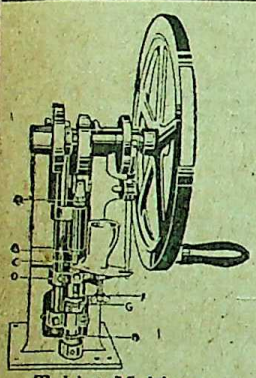

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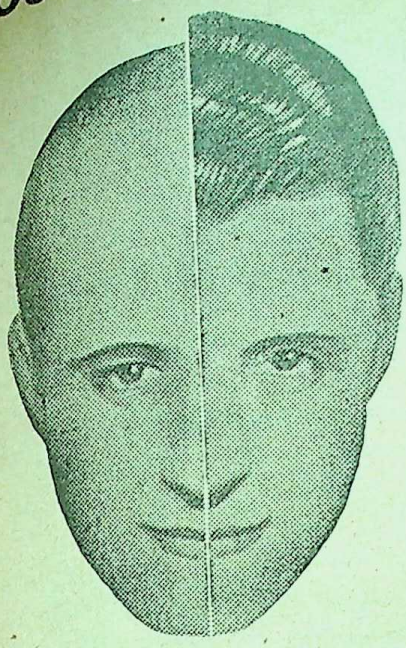

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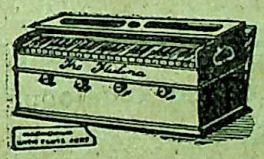

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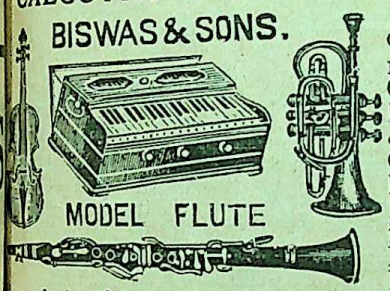

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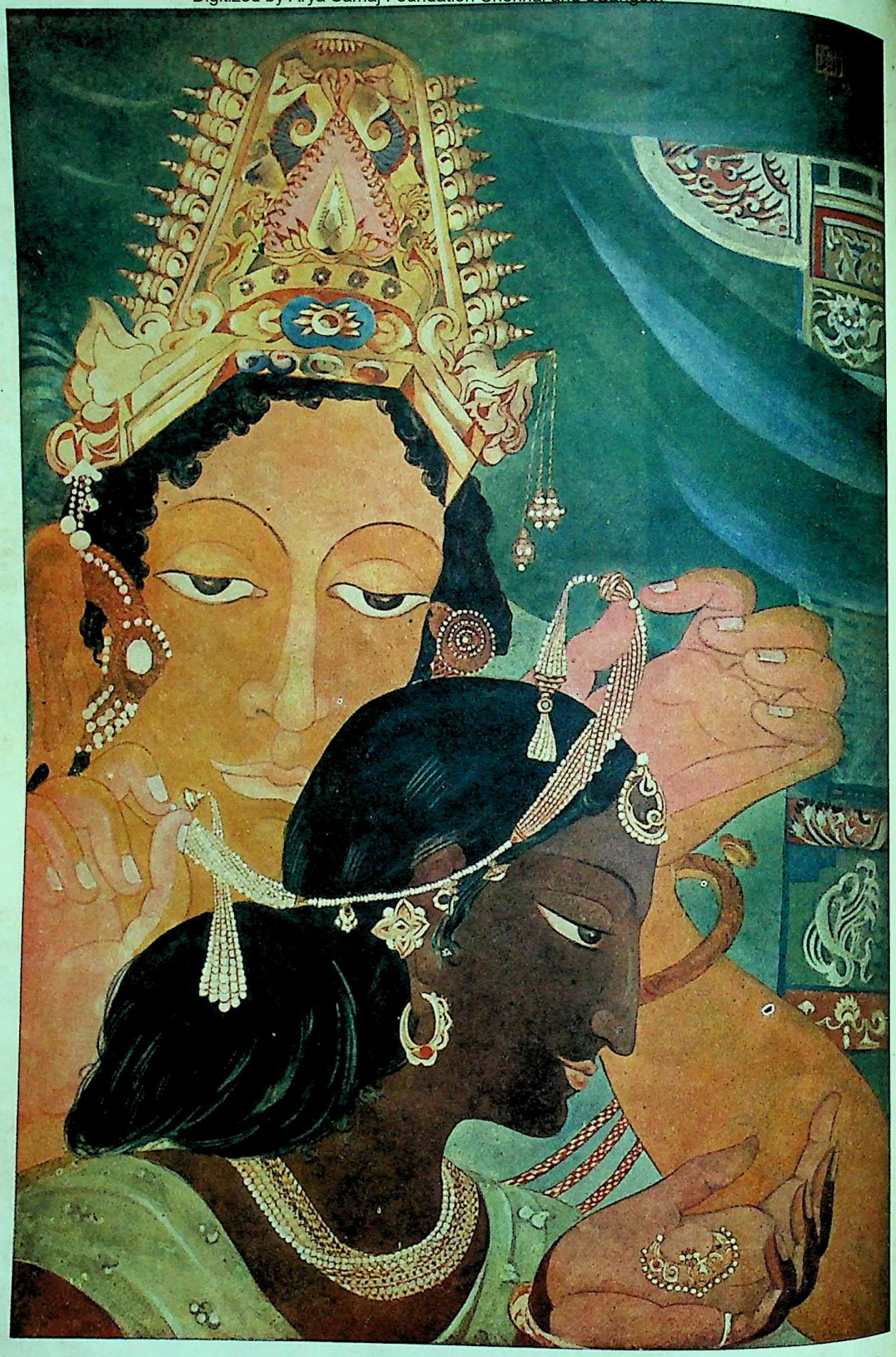

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THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL 1936

VOL. LIX., No. 4 WHOLE No. 352

A PERSON

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

An oldish upcountry man
tall and lean,
with shaven shrunken cheeks like wilted fruits,
jogging along the road to the market town
in his patched up pair of countrymade shoes
and a short tunic made of printed chintz,
a frayed umbrella tilted over his head,
a bamboo stick under his armpit.

It is a sultry morning of August,
the light is vague filtering through
thin white clouds.
The last night seemed smothered
under a damp black blanket;
and today a sluggish wind
is fitfully stirring a dubious response
among *amlaki* leaves.

The stranger passed by the hazy skyline of my mind,
a mere person,
with no definition, no care that may trouble him,
no needs for any the least thing.
And I appeared to him for a moment
at the farthest limit of the unclaimed land of his life,
in the grey mist that separates one
from all relations.

I imagine he has his cow in his stall,
a parrot in the cage,
his wife with brass bangles round her arms
grinding wheat,
the washerman for his neighbour,
the grocer's shop across the lane,
a harassing debt to the man from Peshawar,
and somewhere my own indistinct self
only as a passing person.

Translated by the Author from the original Bengali.

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KING ALFRED THE GREAT

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

It will be a fitting introduction to a study of the Life and Achievements of King Alfred the Great of England, if we give first a brief account of the impressive celebration of the One Thousandth Anniversary of his death, held in the city of Winchester, in September 1901. The celebration was held in Winchester because that was his capitol city. It was very imposing. Royalty gave it full support. The large committee which had it in charge was made up of many of the most eminent men of the Kingdom, including the Prime Minister, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Lord Chief Justice; Canada was represented by Lord Strathcona, and the United States by the Hon. John Hay, the Secretary of State.

A fine statue of King Alfred, of heroic size, the work of Mr. H. Thornycroft, R.A., was unveiled.

A meeting of learned societies was held in Winchester at the time of the commemoration, and visits were made to the many places of historic interest in and near the city. The most important of these was the Cathedral, which is one of the largest and finest in England, and has been associated with more events of importance in English history than perhaps any other cathedral in the Kingdom. The edifice goes back almost to the time of Alfred, and stands on the site of a Saxon church of Alfred's day. It represents every style of English architecture from the early Norman to the late Perpendicular Gothic; and thus is architecturally one of the most interesting cathedrals to be found anywhere. But its greatest attractions are historic, because Winchester was so long an early English capitol. As you wander about amid the stately pillars and underneath the splendid arches, your guide tells you that under the tower yonder lie the bones of King William Rufus. In one part of the Cathedral are some high stone screens, elaborately carved, on the top of which you observe a number of richly colored mortuary chests. You inquire about them, and are told that they contain the remains of King Ethelwolf, King Egbert, King Canute, and two or three other kings who reigned near to the time of Alfred. If you seek the resting place of King Alfred himself, you are taken away from the Cathedral, to the Abbey, near the old West Gate of the city, and are told that the greatest ruler of England was buried there.

Of course there is more or less that traditional and legendery connected with these old places. Historians and antiquarians have much more work to do before it will be possible to decide with certainty how much credit is to be given to the various stories that are told, and the various claims that are made. But this we know, that Winchester, and all part of England, are most intimately associated not only with King Alfred, but with many of the older kings and great men of England, many of the most important events of English history, from the time of the Romans down to the 12th Century. Indeed Winchester was a place of great ecclesiastical dignity and importance down to the time of the Reformation, the 16th Century.

Thus we see how fitting it was that the great celebration of the 1000th anniversary of King Alfred's death should have been at Winchester.

One of the interesting features of the celebration was the fact that there were present representatives of the leading learned societies and universities, not only of the British Islands, but of the whole English speaking world. The Canadian Universities were represented. So were those of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India. There were a dozen or fifteen of the leading Universities of the United States.

With so much in the way of introduction we come to our study of the distinguished King himself,—to an inquiry as to who he was, what he did, and what are his claims to the "great" which by universal consent has been attached to his name.

Alfred was King for thirty years, from 871 to 901; but not of all England,—only of what was known as the Kingdom of Wessex in the South, which comprised about one-third of England. However, he made this Wessex the solid enduring nucleus which by and by inevitably drew to itself all the rest. It was Alfred's rule in Wessex that laid the foundations of the England that was to be.

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what he had done the unity of England was only a question of time. Nor was this all. He made it practically certain that English institutions and English civilization would develop along essentially the lines which he marked out. Thus he laid a moulding hand not only on his own time but upon the ages to come.

Alfred lived at a crucial period in English history. The earliest inhabitants of England were Britons, a Keltish people, from whom comes the name Great Britain.

A little before the Christain Era the Romans set foot in Britain, and by and by conquered it as far north as the firths of Clyde and Forth in Scotland. They ruled the land for about 350 years, and then took their departure.

The Britons were originally a hardy, brave and vigorous race, whom the Romans found it very difficult to conquer, and by no means easy to hold in subjection even after they were conquered. But their being ruled so long by a foreign power seems to have broken their spirit, emasculated their nature and made them incapable of resisting the encroachments of enemies. As a result, when the strong arm of Rome was gone they were helpless. This was not strange. It is what the rule of one people by another always means. We have in history numerous examples of one nation conquering another and holding it in subjection; the result is always the same. The people robbed of their freedom and ruled by others are always weakened and rendered less capable of defending themselves. The Britons learned this lesson to their sorrow. When the Romans were gone, they fell an easy prey to the free, independent people around them.

The Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons on the other side of the North Sea, saw the situation, and came swarming into the Island. They had no difficulty in driving back and overcoming the now weakened and spiritless Britons, and it was not long before a large part of the land was in their power.

This was three or four hundred years before Alfred's time.

By the beginning of Alfred's Century the Angles and Saxons had not only conquered the land, but had established themselves, their institutions and their language so firmly, that we get few traces any more of the Britons as such, and all the southern part of the Island that had formerly been known as Britain had become truly the Angle's land, or England.

But now came another foe and another struggle. The Angles and Saxons had gained for themselves a new home, but they must fight if they would keep it.

Across the same sea that their ancestors had crossed three or four hundred years before, but from a region further north, another hardy and warlike people, of Teutonic blood, and therefore distantly related to themselves, began to make their appearance on English shores. They were Danes—a part of that great migration of Norsemen—vikings, sea-rovers—men of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, who in the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, peered forth in their black boats with high prows across all those northern waters, overrunning, pillaging, colonizing and settling many lands. Iceland was settled by them, and soon developed a unique and high civilization. Greenland was discovered and colonized by them. They seem to have crossed the Atlantic and discovered New England, planting a short-lived colony there. They settled in large numbers on the Russian side of the Baltic, and exerted a profound influence upon Russian history. They overran the northern coast of France, giving their name to Normandy, and contributing a very important element to the population of the French nation.

What concerns us is that great numbers of them overran the British Isles. By the time Alfred came to the throne, in the year 871, they had fought many battles by sea and by land with the English, often gaining victories, and had established themselves in power in many parts of the land. Indeed it was the question that was waiting to be settled, which should possess and rule the country, the Anglo-Saxons (or English) who had now been in possession for three centuries, or these fierce and determined newcomers,—these Danish Norsemen—who were pushing their boats up all the rivers, landing on all the coasts, sacking villages and towns, robbing monasteries and churches, and planting themselves down, to stay, wherever they found or could make an opening.

King Alfred came to the throne at the early age of 22. To him it was given to settle this great question, upon which the future history of England depended. It was a situation to tax his highest powers. Fortunately he proved equal to it.

I will not attempt to sketch the events of his life, but will only give results.

His first task was military. The land must be defended against the invader. For this he must have an army. But an army was

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not enough. The foe came by sea. He must have ships to meet them upon their own element Still further, the rivers and the sea coasts must be protected by fortifications. The difficulties in his way were enormous, and could only be overcome by the utmost determination, persistence, energy, patience, courage, genius. But he pushed on, never faltering. He had to put faith into the people by his own faith, and courage by his own courage. He was again and again defeated; but he persevered until victory came. At one time he was a hunted outlaw. It was then that he took refuge in the hut of a swineherd, and, as the legend says, was set to baking cakes by the swineherd's wife, burning them and getting scolded because his head was full of schemes for his kingdom instead of thoughts about the cakes. But his faith, his determination and his genius won the day at last. He defeated the Danes by land and sea. He did not drive them out of England, but he drove them out of his own kingdom, and made that secure. This was his great aim, and this he achieved. This done, he turned to the task, far more congenial, far dearer to his heart, of making his kingdom worth preserving, of ruling his people well, of promoting the arts of peace, of advancing all the higher interests of his realm.

King Alfred was a brave warrior. Perhaps England never knew a braver. But he loved not war. He loved peace. He loved everything that made for peace. He defended his country with a heroism which nothing could daunt. But when the enemy was driven out and his country was safe, then he turned from war to peace as from a great horror to a great joy. His sword was never stained by any blow struck in a war of aggression or by the subjugating of other peoples. He did not believe might makes right. He believed that right makes might. Of that evil spirit of aggression, of imperialism, which during the last century or two has been so strong in England and in all Europe, carrying European greed and European arms around the globe, bringing two-thirds of Asia and practically all Africa into subjection to European powers, and today threatening to create another and greater World War,—of that bad spirit, that satanic spirit, that spirit dangerous to civilization and to the world's very life, King Alfred had none. Important as was his work in driving out the Danes and giving protection to his kingdom, his military designs stopped there. If his country had always followed his example how different would have been her condition today, and how different the condition of the world! His heart was always in the th peace. His greatest achievements were of peace. Let us see just what his achievements were.

I have said that he built ships for pur of war, by means of which he could mee sea-faring foes upon their own element. in a sense he may be called the king created the beginnings of the British But side by side with this he did some else still more important, and which his was far more in. He built ships for merce, and thus laid the foundation of British marine. He labored and planned cessantly for the industrial and economic fare of his people. He promoted agricul He encouraged trade and such manufac as were possible in those simple times. He much building, bringing architects and sk builders from other lands. He built up towns which had been destroyed by the D He rebuilt London, making it once more a of great importance.

He established schools, and gave con attention to education. He promoted with greatest zeal the erection of new monast and the restoration of old ones which the D had destroyed; for monasteries in those were seats of learning. He brought lea monks and teachers from abroad. He great pains with the education of his children, and all the children and youth nected with the royal household. Thus result of his example it became a fashion the nobles to educate their children.

He devoted much time and attentio improving of the laws of the land. He did cause the enactment of many new statutes fear of moving faster than the people follow; but he revised and consolidated the codes, casting out the poorer laws and bring the better into prominence. Especially gave much attention to the courts and practical administration of the laws. caused all decisions to be laid before him that he might examine them and see wh they were just. He insisted that equal ju should be meted out to rich and poor, to n and common people. If he found judges partiality or judging unjustly, he sev censured them or removed them from places.

To nothing did he give more earnest tion than to religion. He was deeply relig himself, and he everywhere encouraged re among his people. He gave religion a

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minent place in his schools. He promoted the education of the clergy, and took care that the men who were given positions of influence in the Church should be men of learning, high character and sincere piety.

By these means he steadily promoted the welfare and elevated the whole life of the people of his realm.

Perhaps in nothing did he benefit his people or the generations that came after him more than by his work as an author. We may not be accustomed to think of authorship in connection with him. But if not, we fail to do him justice. Judged of by the standards of today, what he wrote would have little importance. But judged of, as they should be, by the standards of his own time, his writings have an importance that is very great. It would be hardly extravagant to call him the father of English literature. It would be entirely sober and just to call him the father of English prose. When he appeared upon the scene all there was in his mother tongue that could in any sense be called literature was a few poems such as those of Coedman, which were sung by the people and handed down for the most part orally from parents to children. Nearly all written literature was in Latin, which to all but the very few was an unknown tongue. When he died he left to his people versions in their own language of the best historical, philosophical and religious works which those times afforded.

Let me go a little into detail. First, he translated from the Latin what was regarded as the best universal history of his time, that of Orosius, a learned Spaniard. Second, he translated from the Latin Bede's Ecclesiastical *History of the English Nation*, which extended from the landing of Julius Caesar in Britain down to the year 731. Third, he translated from the same learned language a famous philosophical work entitled *The Consolations of Philosophy* by Boethius, a learned and devout Roman of the Fifth Century, which Gibbon calls "a golden book, not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully." Fourth, he translated from the Latin a religious work called Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, for the benefit of both the clergy and the people. Fifth, he culled a large number of choice passages from the writings of St. Augustine, gathered them into a book, and translated them into the language of the people under the title of *Blossom Gatherings*. Sixth, he seems to have written or compiled a book of proverbs, or sayings, in verse and prose. Toward the end is what purports to be an address from the King to his son. It runs thus:

"Thus quoth Alfred: My dear son, sit thou now beside me, and I will deliver thee true instruction. My son, I feel that my hour is near, my face is pale, my days are nearly run. We must soon part. I shall to another world, and thou shalt be left alone with all thy wealth. I pray thee, for thou art my dear child, strive to be a father and a lord to thy people; be thou the children's father, and the widow's friend; comfort thou the poor and shelter the weak; and with all thy might right that which is wrong. And my son, govern thyself, by law, then shall the Lord love thee, and God above all things shall be thy reward. Call thou upon him to advise thee in all thy need, and so He shall help thee the better to compass that which thou wouldest."

We can hardly conceive of nobler advice given to a son. We have here a window through which we are permitted to look very deep into the great and good King's heart.

There are other writings and translations attributed to Alfred. Among them are *Selections from the laws of the Greeks, Saxons and Danes*, and original treatises upon several subjects, among them *A Manual of Meditation*. About some of these we cannot be certain.

We are told that he translated the whole of the Bible, from the Latin Vulgate. This of course is a mistake. But he was earnestly desirous that the people should have the scriptures in their own tongue; and we know with positive certainty that he translated the Psalms.

It is believed by not a few scholars and historians that his efforts to promote schools and learning both inside and outside of the monasteries, to create an educated priesthood, and to give to the people religious literature, especially the Bible, in their own language, instead of keeping it locked up in Latin, planted the first seed in England of what later developed into Protestantism.

Thus we see what is meant when we are told that King Alfred, in a very true sense, was the Father of English literature, both religious and secular, and should have honor as such.

We conclude with an interesting question which very naturally arises concerning King Alfred: Why by common consent has he been called "the Great?" And why has the title been given to no other English King? He was not great in conquest. He was not great because he commanded vast armies. He never led to battle more than a handful of men. Still more insignificant were his fleets. His kingdom was small. He conquered no new lands. He did no imperial deeds and had no

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imperial ambitions. Why, then, have the ages united in conferring upon him the highest of all titles? The answer is clear. It is because he did the greatest things for his people that can be done for any nation: he defended them from their foes, and then he gave his whole strength, not to subduing and ruling other peoples, but to making his own people wise, strong, happy, noble, intellectually and morally great. This was true greatness. The English people themselves have confessed it, in the fact that only upon this wise, just, honorable peace lover and peace promoter have they conferred this most conspicuous designation, and not upon any of their imperialistic kings, or queens, or statesmen or warriors who have foolishly and wickedly sought greatness for themselves and their nation by conquering, subduing, robbing other nations.

King Alfred is a rebuke to our age, civilization, and our religion. Why have few Alfreds in our modern world? Because we give so little attention to the things to create Alfreds. Wealth cannot give us Alfreds. Material prosperity cannot. Science cannot. Telegraphs, telephones, airplanes, radios, inventions and machinery, no matter how wonderful, cannot. Certainly battleships, bombs, poison gases and wars cannot. The only things that can give us Alfreds are character, religion. And our religion may be better than most of the religion of the world, which has done so little to purge the world of its wars, tyrannies, injustices, and wrongs.

THE PLAYHOUSE OF THE HINDU PERIOD

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Professor Keith has traced the origin of the Hindu drama in his masterly treatise,[1] where, however, the enacting of dramas in properly built theatres did not receive the due attention of the eminent scholar, probably because it was thought that dramas were composed in Sanskrit more for reading like epics, poems, novels or stories rather than for seeing them enacted.[2]

Some scholars have, however, boldly endeavoured to draw out a picture of *Theatre Architecture in Ancient India*[3] from chapter II of Bharata's *Natyasastra*. But the Text of Bharata and the more confusing commentary of Abhinavagupta appear to have frustrated such attempts. For no correct picture of the theatre is possible without an exact and accurate knowledge of the numerous architectural terms in which are expressed the main idea both by Bharata and Abhinavagupta as also the other texts where the subject has been referred to. And all those scholars appear to have been tired of the apparently confusing dimensions, classifications, shapes, component members and seating arrangement, which are important features of a practical theatre. The more essential matters in theatres, however, are the stage proper and the auditorium, which naturally vary in accordance with the situation and size of the permanent theatre. Unlike in other architectural objects, light, ventilation, acoustics and safety and security of the theatre-goers, especially the royalty and stage-performers, have to be specially considered in these structures. There is, therefore, need for more scientific knowledge and artistic skill. That the essential matters in connection with theatres were clearly understood and practised in Hindu India can be shewn clearly and convincingly by a thorough study of the architectural texts like the Manasara, supplemented by those of the Natyasastra and dramas.

Like many other things the Indian tradition has ascribed a divine, that is, an indigenous origin to Sanskrit drama rather than a Greek influence. The *Natyaveda* is stated to have been created by Brahma for the benefit of all castes including the Sudras, who had no access to the Vedas. It is significant that dramas were intended at origin to provide facilities for the enjoyment of all classes of people, thus increasing popularity and interest in the subject among the general public, men, women and children, who could hardly be expected, even if they were all literate, to read the texts in Sanskrit

1. The Sanskrit Drama, in its origin, development, theory and practice by A. B. Keith, D.C., D.Litt. 1924.
2. Keith: *ibid*, p. 358 "nor is there the slightest doubt that the early dramatists were anything but composers of plays meant only to be read."
3. Mr. V. Raghavan, *Triveni*, Vol. IV, pp. 715-723; and Mr. D. R. Mankad, *Hindu Theatre, The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, 1932, pp. 480-499.

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order to enjoy the dramas. Thus the drama stated to have been composed of the element recitation from the Rigveda, the element of nting or songs from the Sama-Veda, the ement of mimic art from the Yajurveda d the element of sentiment from the tharvaveda. Siva and Parvati are stated have contributed the Tandava and Lasya nces, and Vishnu "the four dramatic styles sential to the effect of any play." Visvakarman, the divine architect, is stated to have built e first playhouse in which the sage Bharata rried into practice the dramatic art thus eated.[4] This traditional account has been thered from Bharata's *Natyasastra,* which atise the Western scholars have placed in the ird century of the Christian era. But the alogues and other elements have been disvered in the early Vedas.[5] These dialogues e romantic in nature and dramatic in essence. us the conversations between Yama and mi, or Pururavas and Urvasi would charm modern audience in a most up-to-date theatre. of. Keith has further recognized that "the edic ritual contained within itself the germs drama" and in the ceremonies "there was ndoubtedly present the element of dramatic presentation."[6]

It will be, therefore, difficult for Indians to bscribe to the curious conclusion of Hopkins[7] at the Epics Ramayana and Mahabharata d not "recognize in any explicit manner the istence of the drama. It is, however, not enied that mention is made in the Ramayana dramatic artiste (Nata), professional dancer Nartaka), even plays in mixed languages Vyamisraka). Although similar matters are ot explicitly mentioned in the Mahabharata, ention is made of "players who made a drama t of the Ramayana legend," in the Harivansa, hich is recognized to be "a deliberate conuation of the Mahabharata." In this conection it is unfortunate that scholars should orget that neither the Vedic nor the Epic and her general literature were intended to be a istory of everything, and whatever we find entioned therein are but casual references and at absence of mention therein of any thing ould not be interpreted to indicate their nonistence. Although dramatic elements existed n 1500 or 2000 B.C. in the Vedic period, the xistence of drama in the Epic age in the fifth century B.C. has been ingeniously denied by prejudiced historians in order to obviously substantiate the Grecian origin of the Indian play in the third century B.C. Thus it is observed that

"It is undoubtedly far from easy for any people to create from materials such as existed in India (before the advent of the Greeks in the third century B.C.) a true drama; it was a perfectly legitimate suggestion of Weber's that the necessary impetus to creation may have been given by the contact of Greece with India, through the representation of Greek plays at the courts of the Kings in Baktria, the Punjab, and Gujrat, who brought, with them Greek culture as well as Greek forces."

By way of an explanation of the curious fact that one or more theatrical parties should accompany a military force of an invader in a distant unknown country, it was felt necessary to add that "Alexander was fond of theatrical spectacles with which he amused himself in the intervals allowed by his victories" (and probably occasional defeats also). One wonders, however, that although similar fondness for amusement and need for diversion still exist no such theatrical or dancing parties are heard of accompanying a land, sea, or air force of more efficient character of the modern times. But what is more puzzling is that Indians of Alexander's time were so forgetful of their relation with a foreign invader and so callous of their defeat, disgrace and calamity that they ran to and were also unhesitatingly admitted into the courts of the Kings forcibly occupied by the invader, where Greek plays in an unfamiliar foreign language are stated to have been performed in the intervals of battles. This doubt is corroborated by the following incident recorded by Megasthenes :

"When he (Alexander) arrived at Taxila and saw the Indian gymnosophists (yogin), a desire seized him to have one of these men brought into his presence, because he admired their endurance. The eldest of these sophists, with whom the others lived as disciples with a master, Dandamis by name, not only refused to go himself, but prevented the others going. He is said to have returned this for answer, that he was also the son of Zeus (God) as much as Alexander himself was, and that he wanted nothing that was Alexander's (for he was well off in his present circumstancees)."[8]

This would clearly indicate the feelings of self-respecting Indians towards Grecian invaders. Nor have the exponent of the Grecian origin of Indian plays found out any convincing reason for such a belief. The untenable theory of borrowing curtain for the plays based upon the word *Yavanika* used in Sanskrit dramas has been discarded by the more careful

4. Prof. Keith: *ibid.* p. 12.
5. For instance, Rigveda v. 10, 51-53, 86, 95, 108; iii. 100, i. 179, 28; iv. 18.
6. Keith: *Sanskrit Drama,* p. 23.
7. *The Great Epic of India,* pp. 55 ff.

8. Magasthenes' *Indica,* Fragment LI, as translated by Prof. J. W. McCrindle in his Ancient India, 1877, pp. 115-116.

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and generous Western scholars because the Grecian dramatists of that time did not know the use of curtains in plays.[9]

The evidence of a drama being actually played in a theatre as found in the Mahabhashya, which is placed in the third century B.C., has been recognized both by Keith and Weber. The views of the latter have been modified to the extent that "a certain influence might have been exerted by the Greek on the Sanskrit drama," and the former having concluded by saying that "in all these matters indeed the Indian drama rather is akin to the Greek than otherwise."[10] Full-fledged dramas of various kinds began to appear from this period. But general literature also bears convincing evidences of the existence of regular theatres both for enacting plays and having musical performance and dancing. The *Prekshagara* or auditorium is mentioned in the Malavikagnimitra, a drama by Kalidasa, Act I. "It is a perfect Natyasala (theatre), there being mention of green-room and the curtain." In the *Sakuntala,* another famous drama of Kalidasa, the queen Hansapadika is stated in Act V to have been practising music in the *Sangitasala* (Music hall). The *Bhavaprakasana,* a work on Rasa and dramaturgy assigned to A.D. 1175-1250, refers to three types of theatres and thirty different kinds of dramas which were actually played by a dramatic company under the direction of one Divakara (Chap. X, 5-18).

The Sangita-chudamani, a text in MSS. on Music, is stated to refer to the drop scene and the other curtain. "The first curtain is the front drop which is removed as soon as the show begins. Behind the mist-like curtain, the *danseuse* performs the dance called Lasya." Further sceneries appear to have been referred to by Bharata in his *Natyasastra.* These include representation of houses, cities, gardens, groves, streamlets, hermitages, forests, seas, islands, earth and heaven, netherlands (patala), as also the abodes of the demons. In accordance with need, the external, internal or side views of these objects in near or distant perspective are, further, stated to be indicated in these sceneries.[11] By the time of the Bharata *Natyasastra* the subject r its full perfection, like the art of p reaching perfection in the Ajanta caves in its technical and æsthetic features artistic skill surpassed the fourteenth c Italian paintings. In (some) thirty chapters[12] the subject of dramatic pla been described thoroughly and exhaustiv the *Natyasastra.* Thus are found references to the origin of the dramatic ture, construction of playhouse, the invo of the stage deities, varieties of dancing staging rules connected with arts like p to be learnt before entering the stage, ments to be staged, training in expre exercise of limbs and body, corresp harmony of the feet, legs, thighs, hip buttocks, similar movements of the upper sceneries, dialogues, recitation, conver mimicry, languages, ornamentation, v kinds of acting with reference to different of dramas, chorus, harmonious, instru and vocal music, and semi-nude posture,

The contribution of the Silpasastra t subject is naturally limited to one feature namely, the construction of the play which has been incidently referred to in *Natyasastra* and several other texts on da singing and instrumental music. Thus *Vishnu-dharmottara* is stated to have ref to two types of theatres, of which, how no structural details are available. *Sangita-Makaranda* (V. 2-9,) of Narada plies a literary account of an unspe type of the stage and the auditorium. In description the constructional details wanting. The playhouse (natyasala) is to be sixty-four cubits with four corners twenty-four pillars and furnished with va paintings. Walls of various shapes and de tions, eighty-four positions charmingly d four doors with decorations of various j silk cloths, chowries, flags and arches, w platform of twenty-four cubits in the m (of the playhouse). Therein should b lion-throne for the king who is to be a panied by nine or seven groups of courtie

It will be noted that in this descripti is not clear whether the dimensions refers to the stage and auditorium. Height of m portion of the whole playhouse is mentio at all. Nor are supplied the situation measures etc., of the walls, pillars, doors Apparently this text like many others carelessly borrowed from a standard tre on architecture and in order to complete

9. Keith: "Behind the (Indian) stage is the painted curtain (Pati, apati, tiraskarani, pratisira) to which the name Yavanika (Prakrit Javanika) is given, denoting merely that the material is foreign, and forbidding any conclusion to the Greek origin of the curtain itself or the theatre" (Sanskrit Drama, p. 359).

10. Sanskrit Drama, pp. 57, 68.

11. Bharata Natyasastra, ed. Joan Grosset, Paris 1898, Chap. XIV, 4-8.

12. Vide Joan Grosset, *ibid,* p. xxii-xxiii.

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description the architectural features are casually and imperfectly mentioned.

The seating arrangement is clear in the *Sangita-Ratnakara* of Nihsanka-sarnga-deva (VII, 1351-1361).

'In the variegated music hall decorated with flowered walls, various flags and jewelled pillars the president (king) is seated in a beautiful lion-throne (in the middle of the auditorium). To his left should be seated the court ladies of the harem but the chief ones (queens) should be to his right. Behind there should be the seats for the chief treasury officers; close thereto should be the learned experts in human study as also the humourous poets and the clever people conversant with all customs. The honourable astronomers and astrologers and physicians should be seated among the learned. To the right [? left side behind the court ladies] should be seated the Council of ministers and therein should also be the seats for the honourable military officers and others. The fashionable males and females should be seated surrounding the court ladies. In front of the king and behind him should be the female guards full of youth and beauty and holding beautiful chowries and tinkling bracelets. The forward (guards) should be to the left side having in front the vocal singers, conversationalists, bards learned and talking pleasantly, experts in panegyric and clever in all tunes. Thereafter should be the family members in the surrounding places. The dexterous (guard) holding canes should be kept seated. All over the body-guards should stand with weapons in hand. The audience being thus placed the president (king) should see the music performance.'

In this account the reference to the architectural features is very casual and scanty. It has been apparently based upon a fuller description in some other architectural or non-architectural text. No specific reference is made to the shape, size, or dimensions of the stage or the auditorium. The seating arrangement itself is confused. If the unamended text is to be followed, the side of the auditorium to the left of the royal box would remain mostly empty, while the other side will be overcrowded. The front-most row to the left appears to have been reserved for the orchestra, because, otherwise, these musicians should not have the place of honour even before the king.

In this theatre there appears to be no place for the general public. This is apparently a royal theatre built in the palace itself. There is no reference to show if it were an open or closed theatre, but possibly it was a closed one.

The seating arrangement in a temple-theatre as also in a palace theatre is succinctly referred to in the *Manasara* (XLVII, 1-3, 26-33). Herein the 'theatres are stated to be built in continuation of the open courtyard connected with the tank (or shed) in a temple and a palace (of which further details are referred to later). Therein (in the theatre and) in the auditorium the divine and royal thrones of ordinary and ceremonial use for the gods, goddesses and kings and queens as well as seats made of wood, stone and brick for the ordinary public should be arranged in compartments partitioned by dwarf walls.'

The partition walls in the auditorium to provide accommodation for different groups of audience would lead to the conclusion that the auditorium was divided into front stall, back pit, and possibly into galleries and balconies, as made more explicit in the Bharata *Natyasastra*. The architectural details of the auditorium are clearer in some respect in the Bharata *Natyasastra*. It is stated that the divine architect Visvakarma designed in accordance with the science (of architecture which is not, however, specified), the audience-house in three types, namely, the circular or semi-circular[13] (lit. elongated, rather divided into extended parts, Vikrishta), quadrangular and triangular pavilion.[14] These three types of the auditorium admit of three sizes each, namely, large, medium and small.[15] Thus according to the commentator, Abhinavagupta, there are nine types of auditorium. The small size is recommended for the triangular type, medium size for the quadrangular type, and the large size for the circular type. Again the medium size is more suitable for an ordinary use in palaces and towns, while the large size is reserved for big temples, and the small ones for countryside and dwelling houses. Then follow some specific dimensions and other features of the auditorium.[16] The maximum diametrical length of the auditorium should be 64 cubits or 96 feet and the breadth in front of the stage 32 cubits or 48 feet. For reasons of acoustics it should not exceed these dimensions in theatres for the general public.[17] But in divine

13. This is definitely suggested by Saradatanaya in his *Bhavaprakasana* (quoted above) wherein place of *Vikrishta* the reading is *Vritta* or circular the other two types, quadrangular (Chaturasra) and triangular (tryasra) being common in both the texts.

14. *Natyasastra*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XXXVI, Chap. II 7, 8, 25.

15. Natyasastra, II. 8, 26.

16. Natyasastra, II. 15.

17. *Ibid.* II, 20 ff.

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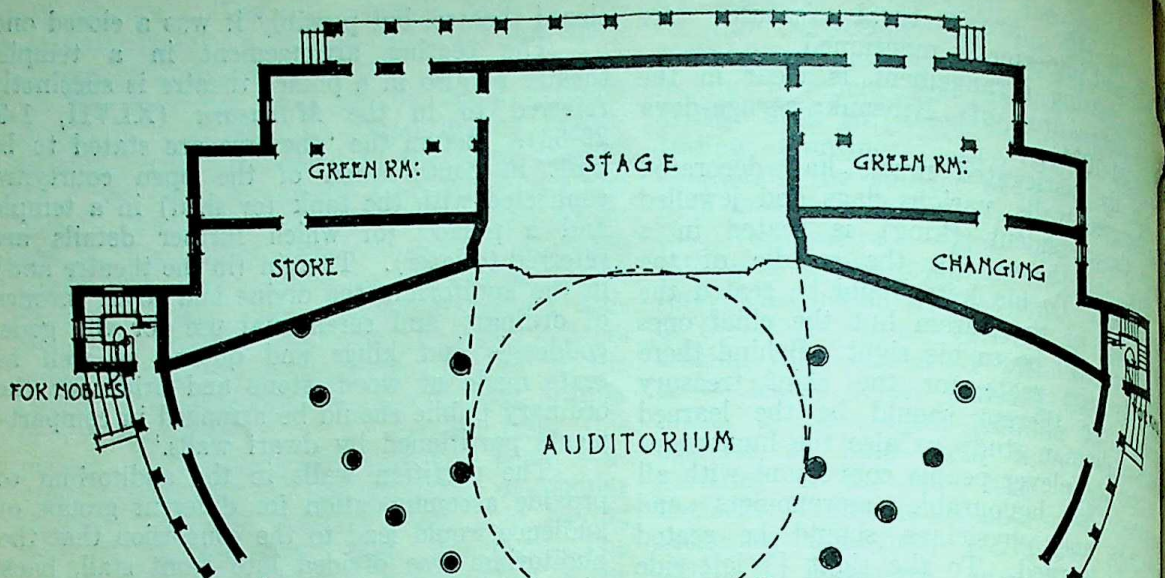

Hindu Playhouse—Semi-Circular Type

theatres built both in temples and forests or gardens it may be larger.[18] 'This 64 cubit dimension should be divided into two parts, the back part thereof should be again sub-divided into two parts and an equal half part of that should be the measure of the head of the stage front (Rangasirsha). In the hind (western) part thereof should be the green room.[19] Thereafter the walls should be raised and then the pillars should be set up.[20] The pillars are divided into four groups, called, Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra.[21] But Bharata leaves abruptly the subject of pillars, doors, roofs, walls and green-room saying that the practical details of architecture should be gathered from the science (of archi- ture).[22] Then he gives a similar descriptio the stage proper (Rangapitha). 'On the sides of the stage should be erected an enta ture (mattavarani) over the four pillars it should be 1½ cubits or 2 feet 3 inches This should be the total height of the st pavilion' (Rangamandapa, *i.e.*, Rangap as stated by the commentator).[23] The acc of the stage is also left abruptly, saying th should be built according to the science architecture).[24] The fore part of the st (Rangasirsha) which would correspond to platform is stated to be built of six piece wood and furnished with two doors as in green-room as also in the auditorium.[25] should be smooth and even like a mirror decorated with jewels.[26] The wooden wall

18. *Ibid.* II, 27, 28.
19. *Ibid.* II, 36, 38.
20. *Ibid.* II, 46-47.
21. *Ibid.* II, 49-50.

These are not architectural divisions of the pillars. Professor Keith appears to be right in surmising that these pillars demarcate the quarters in the auditorium reserved for the four castes. For architectural and other divisions of pillars, see the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, under Stambha, and p. 850.

22. Natyasastra, II, 65, 66.
23. But neither the height of the platform nor of pillars above is mentioned: thus the actual height of stage is left unspecified here. See later.
24. Natyasastra II, 71.
25. Natyasastra, II, 71, 72 see 78.
26. *Ibid.* II, 75-77.

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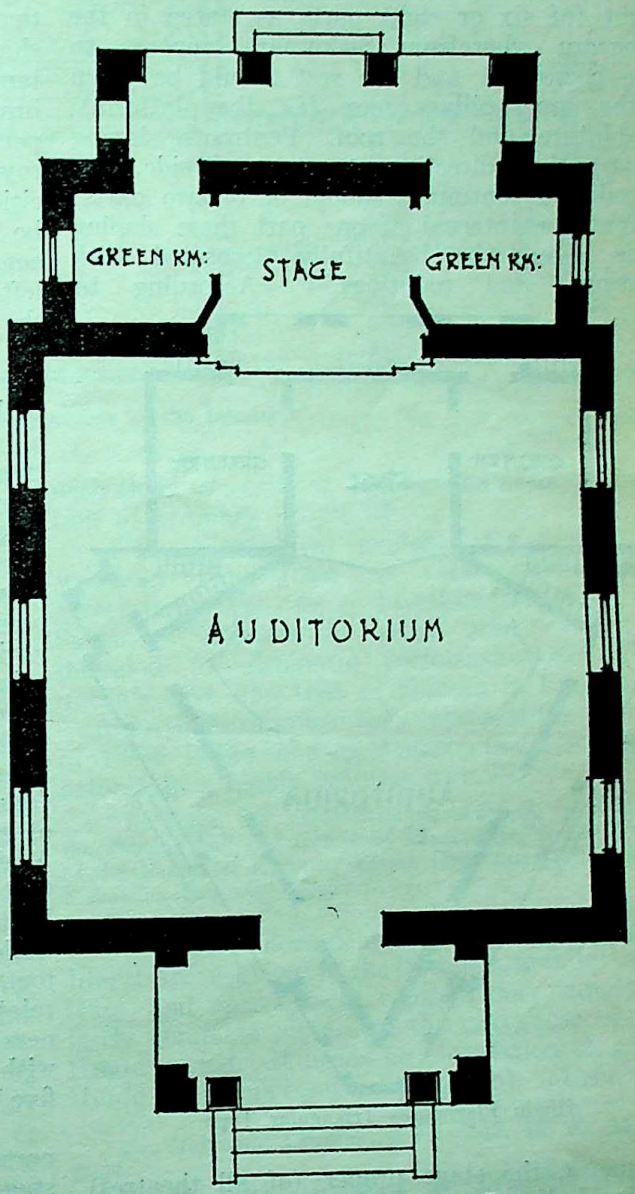
this part of the stage which is decorated with various carvings, paintings, closed windows to prevent air in, turrets, towers and pillars should make it (stage) look like a turret-like cavity (Nirvyuha-kuhara) or a mountain cave (Sailaguhakara) with a variously formed platform and the stage pavilion (natya-mandapa) should thus be of two-storeys.[27]

Thus is stated to be built the large type of playhouse (comprising the auditorium and the stage).[28] The other types, namely, the quadrangular medium ones and the triangular small ones do not materially differ from the circular or semi-circular large type.

The quadrangular type of auditorium should be a square of 16 cubits or 24 feet sides. Externally the walls all over the theatre should be made strong of well fitted bricks. Internally the stage (Rangapitha) should be supported by ten pillars. Towards the outside the pillars should be connected with flights of stairs to the pedestal (or stage platform). The auditorium should be furnished with rows of seats made of brick and wood and raised to one cubits or 1½ feet above the ground so that the stage can be easily seen. A set of six pillars strongly erected (from the floor of the auditorium) should support the stage) pavilion (*i.e.*, platform and above should be erected a set of eight pillars extending to the entablature of same height (*i.e.* 1½ cubits or 2 ft. 3 inches) as in the case of the large type. (Thereafter) should be the green-room. Therein should be one door for entrance to the stage. In a line to this there should be corresponding door to the auditorium opposite for the entrance of the audience: this second door should be made facing the stage. The stage should be of 8 cubits or 12 feet dimension. It should be square and furnished with the platform (*i.e.* the Rangasirsha). This platform should have four pillars on the sides. The height of the platform should be same as in case of the large type.[29]

In the triangular type of the small size the auditorium is stated definitely to be triangular in shape. The stage in the middle should also be of triangular shape (of which, however, the dimensions are not specified). At each corner there should be one door. At the back of the stage (rangapitha) there should be a second door. The walls, pillars and other members are stated to be as in the case of the quadrangular type.[30]

Thus it should be noted that the dimensions suggested here are neither complete nor unchangeable. In fact in the architectural texts



Hindu Playhouse—Quadrangular Type

proper dimensions of all kinds of buildings are comparative and suggestive and they can be altered to suit the requirements of various kinds. Thus it is laid down in the *Silpasastra* of Srikumara quoted above that the playhouse (natyamandapa, *i.e.*, the auditorium) of two

27. *Ibid.* II, 70. 84. See *Kumara-Sambhava*, 1, 10, 14 and *Meghaduta*, 1, 25.
28. *Ibid.* II, 90.
29. Natyasastra, II. 90-105.

30. Natyasastra, II. 105-109.

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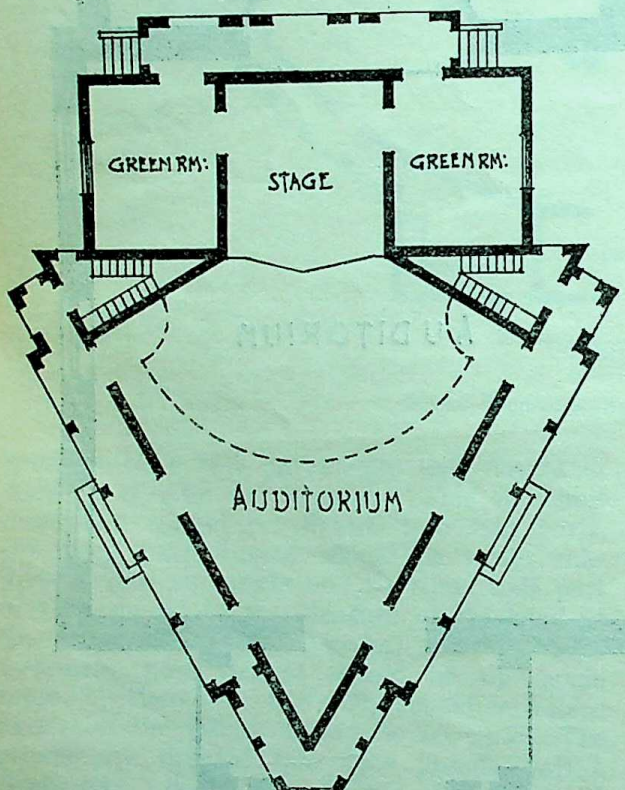
or three types being divided into four (equal) parts either by drawing lines lengthwise or breadthwise, externally or from top to bottom, each part or each two parts should be separated by pillars for the audience and the fourth part should be left for the stage proper. The dwarf pillars supporting the raised platform of the stage should be two or three parts of the total height (of six or eight parts as stated in the *Manasara* wherefrom Srikumara appears to have borrowed) and the rest should be given to the upper pillars, base (*i.e.* the platform), entablature and the roof. Pentroofs sloping towards eight directions, two on each side, prolonged and continued, should be of two parts; and at the interval of one part these sloping roofs should be beautifully decorated with buntings, and paintings.'[31] According to



Hindu Playhouse—Triangular Type

Srikumara, the stage proper (of all theatres) forming half part of the whole platform should be furnished with four pillars extending to the sloping roof and look like the oval drum (*mridanga*). Thereafter should be the green-room of the required size. The bottom of the stage should be in level with the floor of the auditorium and the wall underneath of the raised platform about one cubit or 1½ feet should look by association of member lock of hair. Alternately the whole from end to end may be divided by pillars forty, twenty-eight or twenty parts should be distributed as detailed above). music hall in front of the temple towards right may be divided into two portions twenty-four parts each, of which ten should be given to the width; or alternately temple theatre the proportion of length breadth should be sixteen and six parts pectively. But in the public theatre and royal theatre built in the palace or cities the dimensions and other features be discreetly given. The rest of the comprising the auditorium and the stage left to be built according to the discretion the architect.[32]

This architectural text also appears have borrowed its contents from a more prehensive text, which have been too abbreviated. The *Manasara*, the stand treatise on architecture, has also treated subject rather briefly, obviously because auxiliary members like the platform, pil doors, walls, roofs, etc., have been separ described in detail, and also because pavilions for music, etc., in temples, palaces various other localities have been descri exhaustively elsewhere. Thus it is stated connection with dwelling houses that "in north-west, the Bhallata or Naga quarter of houses should be built pavilions for mu (dancing etc.) of the females."[33] The det of such family playhouse are given elsewhe Again in the chapter on Pavilions it is sta that "thus should be the Sala pavilion and Krita pavilion; the wise (architect) sho build the theatre underneath the pinnacl ten parts square." The elevation (lit. relative or divisional measurement), the thi ness of the walls, the verandahs, and the sh with yards and the shapes of pavilions: th five features are described in order.[34]

Thus in the Chapter on Theatre the co parative measures of certain members of stage only are referred to. An open courtyar

31. This would supply a festive look to the whole theatre.

32. *Silparatna*, Trivandrum Oriental Series, LX Part I, Chapter XXXIX. 60-68.

33. *Manasara*, XXXVI. 73. Theatres for females also referred to in the Ramayana (1.5.12), see writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, p. 534.

34. *Manasara*, XXXIV, 246-247, 3-4, for further including classification in accordance with shape, number of pillars, see the writer's *Architecture* *Manasara*, pp. 338-372, and *Dictionary of Hindu Archi* *ture*, under Mandapa, pp. 468-490.

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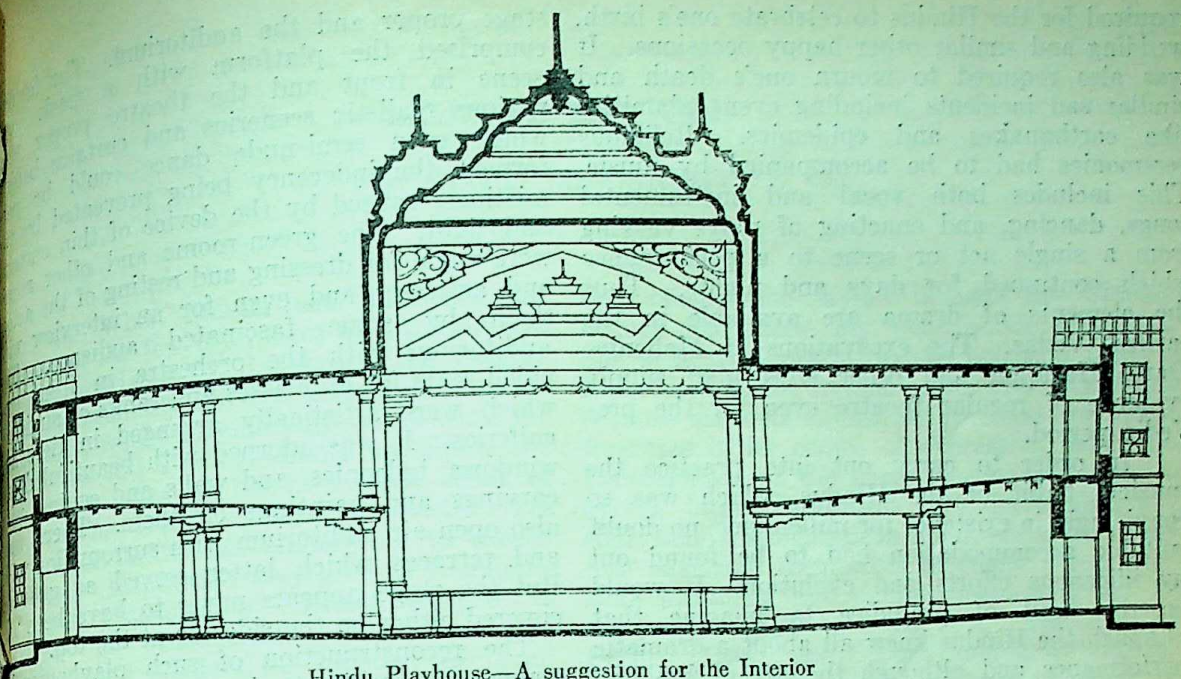

Hindu Playhouse—A suggestion for the Interior

stated to be made "within the central theatre, the breadth whereof should be divided into thirty-two parts, and the breadth of the shed proper is desired to be one part less on each side. Of the four parts of the height of that shed proper) the height of the plinth (or platform) should be one part; twice that should be the height of the entablature. As an alternative the whole height should be divided into eight parts in particular; of these the height of the platform should be one part and a half, or the height being divided into six parts, the height of the platform should be one part, and the height of the pillar four parts, and the height of the entablature one part. It should be adorned with all ornaments. Four half-pillars may be, otherwise, erected with one-third of the total height as their length. The pillars should be circular, square, octagonal or sixteen-sided. There should be made four porticos on the four sides, but according to some there may be only one portico. There should be eight or sixteen small vestibules on all sides. Its (shed's) top-portion (*i.e.* the ceiling of the auditorium) should be decorated with the images of leographs and crocodiles, etc. There within (*i.e.* inside the auditorium) the thrones etc. should be arranged in tiers in the middle (of the yard, that is, comprising all kinds of seats) assigned for ordinary, special and occasional uses to the Chakravartin and the other (eight) classes of Kings as well as to the gods to be seated together with their consorts, as also for the accommodation of ordinary people."[35]

The epigraphical evidence are also not wanting. Thus from its arrangements and inscriptions the cave in Ramgarh hill in Sarguja "appears to have been evidently intended for dramatic performances.[36] The queen's cave and that of Ganesa in Udayagiri "are further examples: they represent the doings of these ladies and gentlemen (actresses and actors) in a highly realistic way."[37]

"By Naga, the Vira-Ballala-pattan-Svami, were built the dancing hall and terrace of Parsva-deva, and in front of the Basadi of Kamatha Parsva Deva stone pillars and a dancing hall were made."[38]

All these documents, comprising general literature, technical works on music, architectural texts, and epigraphical records, may supply a fairly complete picture of the playhouse of the Hindu period. It needs no elucidation that the Hindu mind was essentially musical. Music was

35. *Manasara*, Chapter XLVII, 2-12, 16, 20, 24, 25. 26-29.

36. Dr. Block: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen, Bd. LVIII. S. 455.

37. Luders: Indian caves as pleasure resorts, *Indian Antiquary*, XXXIV, pp. 199-200. But Jacobi is still under the old prejudice when referring to the cave theatre of Ramgarh hill he says that "it is arranged after the Greek pattern." The cave theatres are, however, referred to in the *Kumara-Sambhava* (1, 10, 14) and *Meghaduta* (1. 25) of Kalidasa.

38. Rice: *Ep. Carnatica*, Vol. II. No. 130, Translation, p. 178. See also the Hampe Inscription of Krishnaraya, lines 24, 32, North Face.

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required for the Hindus to celebrate one's birth, wedding and similar other happy occasions. It was also required to mourn one's death and similar sad incidents including even calamities like earthquakes and epidemics. Religious ceremonies had to be accompanied by music. This includes both vocal and instrumental songs, dancing, and enacting of plays varying from a single act or scene to a performance which continued for days and nights. Thus the elements of drama are available in the earliest Vedas. The excavations at Mahenjo-Daro, Harappa and other sites may supply evidence of regular theatre even for the pre-Vedic period.

In order to carry out into practice the musical habit of the Hindus, which was so convicingly in existence for milleniums, no doubt suitable accommodation had to be found out by idigenous efforts and evolution. It would be the limit of prejudice to imagine that although the Hindus knew all about a dramatic performance and although the art of building was understood and successfully practised at least between B.C. 3000 and 4000, when Mahenjo-daro edifices might have been erected, yet they did not think of constructing a playhouse even after the model of then existing natural caves until the Grecian invaders supplied the pattern between B.C. 300 and 350. Those who are not thus prejudiced will find it easy to infer from the evidences quoted above and to come to the conclusion that there were in Hindu India rustic theatres for folk dance or popular performance, as well as regularly constructed playhouse of various shapes and sizes. They were built with scientific knowledge of acoustics, light, ventilation, safety and security. They were erected in villages, small country towns, centres of pilgrimages and in big capital cities. They were attached to commodious dwelling houses, king's palaces, and god's temples. In all these constructions provisions were distinctly made for the stage proper and the auditorium. The [illegible] comprised the platform with a thick [illegible] scene in front and the theatre proper [illegible] various realistic sceneries and curtains [illegible] which even semi-nude dance could be [illegible] formed, the indecency being prevented by [illegible] mistiness caused by the device of thin [illegible] and light. The green-rooms and other [illegible] were made for dressing and resting of the [illegible] and actresses and even for an interview [illegible] them by some fascinated audience. [illegible] auditorium with the orchestra in front [illegible] vided seats for all classes and ranks of audi[illegible] which were artistically arranged in tiers [illegible] galleries. It was adorned with beautiful [illegible] windows, balconies, and walls and ceilings [illegible] carvings and paintings on them. There [illegible] also open air auditorium with surrounding [illegible] and terraces which latter served as gal[illegible] But the stage appears never to have been [illegible] covered either on the sides or at the top.

The reconstruuction of such playhouses [illegible] competent architects is not impossible. [illegible] restoration has been undertaken and the [illegible] and measured drawings inclosed here[illegible] indicating plans and elevations[39] will [illegible] further materials for a judgment of the pra[illegible] architects and engineers.

Editor's Note: Mr. S. C. Mukerjee, B.A., [illegible] A.I.I.A., who has prepared the plans illustrating [illegible] article, joined the School of Architecture, Bombay, [illegible] having obtained the B.A. Degree from the Univers[illegible] Calcutta. He was appointed as a Government of [illegible] Scholar in Architecture (attached to the Archaeo[illegible] Dept.), while studying at the school. He passed [illegible] Govt. Diploma in Architecture, having stood fir[illegible] order of merit. As a Scholar in the Archaeo[illegible] Survey, he prepared Architectural Illustrations for [illegible] *Manasara*, an ancient work on Hindu Architecture, [illegible] has been noticed several times in this journal. [illegible] a keen student of Indian Architecture and of E[illegible] Architecture in particular, he is at present engage[illegible] illustrating a Dictionary of Hindu Architecture. He [illegible] started to practise in Calcutta as a private Archite[illegible]

39. *Vide* for more illustrations the writer's *Ency[illegible] pedia of Hindu Architecture* and *Hindu Archite[illegible] India and Abroad* which have been going throug[illegible] press.

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LINES TO MY GURU

By MAUD MacCARTHY

"Tandra Devi"

(*Note.* When Maeterlinck undertook the refacing of the few utterances of intuition and spiritual experience of Ruysbroek the Belgian mystic, he probably did not anticipate that his introduction would considerably outmeasure the original; nor did Yeats probably anticipate the same of his notes to his own little sheaf of lyrics in *The Wind among the Reeds*. Yet it is natural for mental elaboration to exceed inspiration. Inspiration may give us fragments of spiritual sustenance—"Bread steeped in midnight" as Maeterlinck called them—but when the mind ponders the mystery of bread and the profounder mystery of midnight, there is no end to the possibilities of exposition.

The poems of Maud MacCarthy are of this kind. To those who, like myself, have had experiences beyond the usual and have brooded over their significances, the poems present substance outside the categories of ordinary literary criticism; and this substance has in and about it the strange tang of what may be only darkness to those who see with the outer eye alone, or may have all the profundity of Shelley's "Solemn midnight's tingling silentness" to those who have deeper sight and acuter hearing.

The nearest literary affinities to Maud MacCarthy's poetry are, I think, the *bhakti* (devotional) singers of India and the hymnologists of Europe. Yet there is a wide difference between them and her, seeing that their utterances came out of an intellectual naivete which accepted much that is not now accepted, whilst hers have come through a human instrument sensitive to both the rationalist criticism and occult assertion that is characteristic of our complicated era. For let it be borne in mind that the singer of these songs of experiences that are normal to her but abnormal to others carries the double reputation of a supreme artist in music and a supreme organizer of affairs. Maud MacCarthy is no recluse in the ordinary sense; though she was and is a true recluse in the deeper sense of carrying her "ark of the covenant" about with her wherever she goes. The poem "Home" written last year should be read with this in mind. "I made that poem," she says, "because my Master's beauty had made my poor abode a palace." She is nearer, indeed, to the spiritual poets of India than to the hymnologists of Christendom, because her song is entirely personal and therefore free in its choice of expression, while the hymnologists of the early Catholic Church, as of the latest Protestant sect, have always a choir and congregation in mind, and must therefore moderate themselves to easily comprehensible meanings and simple mass-rhythms. Of the present batch of lyrics two, "The Winding Path" (1934) and "The Conqueror" (1916) would meet the needs of group-singing as distinct from free personal expression. Both present the required stanza-form; but both also present a variation as if in protest against restriction. "The Winding Path" varies its rhyme-scheme; "The Conqueror" drops a beat in its first and last lines. These are deliberate devices of the poetess, who steadfastly refuses to permit academic rules to thwart beauty of expression. Thus in "The Conqueror" the first word of the first and last lines requires a pause, hence the dropped beat. These two poems have a vocal and figurative quality that carries them back to the era of Donne and Herbert; yet their subject-matter is specifically Indian, the first referring to the poetess' Himalayan Master—whom she first met in London—the second, to the Yogi who has conquered not others but himself. Of "The Winding Path" she writes: "The 'sweet voice and low' heard below life's sweetest music, the 'sustaining tone,' are not metaphors. These are the wondrous sounds which the disciple hears, literally, below and above earth's grandest harmonies. This is my idea of music —the only music that moves me now."

In studying Maud MacCarthy's poems I had always felt some kind of musical accompaniment to them, not harmonic in the Western manner, but spontaneously melodic like the *pallavi* and *anupallavi* (*sthayi* and *antarah*) of Indian classical music. I am interested to learn from the poetess that many of her poems "have come with (or before or after) music." She does not, however, record this spontaneous

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music, as she believes in freshly improvised music, instead of the fixed melody and harmony of the ordinary song and accompaniment. "Every passing mood of mind and nature," she says, "has its music, and the true musician should find and sing *that*, on the passing moment." Many, if not all, of Rabindranath Tagore's lyrics of spiritual experience were a twin birth of words and music. Some kind of simple chant went with certain of AE's poems which I heard him recite shortly after their creation. Yeats tried a harp accompaniment to his lines (and Maud MacCarthy improvised song to them in public at his imitation). I once overheard him making successions of sounds in a corner of a room in Normandy, and then learned that his method of composing poetry was to fit words into sound-moulds. Round about these facts lies a field of study as to the nature of music in poetry. It seems to me that the poetry of spiritual experience carries with it some primary music; while aesthetical poetry, that is stimulated from outside, rises to a secondary music. This last is the "heard melodies" of Keats, worked into the tegument of the expression and placing song in the category of literature; while "those unheard" those "ditties of no tone" that are piped to the spirit by the spirit, can only be reached by opened inner ears, or perhaps are intended to compel us to make our own improvised music for the songs . . . . But I have again to remind myself that these are introductory notes and that I am no Maeterlinck . . . . All the same, I must add, on the matter of technique, that along with the sensed accompaniment to Maud MacCarthy's poems I have been conscious also of an equally spontaneous *tala* (time) that gives to the recorded words a rhythmic variety suiting changes of thought or feeling, like the Pindaric ode in which Coventry Patmore chanted the mystery of the Unknown Eros, as Maud MacCarthy chants the open vision of the known Lover of the Soul. Which brings me to what is, after all, the special distinction of her poetry, that is, its voicing of direct contact with other planes of life than those normally contacted by the vast majority of humanity, and with beings functioning on those planes.

It has to be repeated that the reader of these poems must not regard them as just creations of an aspiring imagination. The Guru whom the poetess addresses in the present group is to her a reality. He is not the Jagad Guru in the universal sense, but a definite entity to whom she has given her unstinted devotion. He is as real to her as the Divine M... Sri Ramakrishna or the Irish Gods a... desses to AE. "My Guru has told me t... Masters frequently travel disguised as ... folk, so we must watch for them every... she says. Thus, to her, the Master is e... physical embodiment, and may, as she s... "Nothing of this World," (1935) go al... human way in the garb of a cow... shepherd or a mariner. This element in ... MacCarthy's poetry will pass the majo... Indian readers without question; and it ... bable that there is a small but expandi... of students of the deeper things of life ... India who will welcome her poems as ... sions of experiences too intimate and sa... mere prose.

JAMES H. COUSINS, D...

ONLY THEE!

Lord I have only Thee
Only Thee!
In all the world
None other—only Thee!

I blindly sought to find another
But in my pain
I see
O Lord, in all this world of pain
No love, no friend, but Thee.

Here in my room
Alone I sit
And think
On Thee—
Yet not alone—
For Thou art near to me.

Thy gentle eyes
Between the shadows of my thoug...
Look out
Like rays breaking through clouds
And shining on a troubled sea.

Thy gentle hands are raised
Not to protest
Nor to defend or blame—
But O
To ease the pain
Of mine own perfidy.

Thy lips are parted
Smiling welcome to the renegade.
How can it be
That Thou
Such welcome could afford
To one like me—

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A fool, a faithless steward
A blighted tree ?

Ah by Thy love
I see
Why Thou art kind to me—
Thou knowest that in all the world
I have none other—
None to weep to—
None to fly to—
None to creep to—
Only Thee—only Thee !

—

THE CONQUEROR

ail to him who for Love's sake casts down
ll honour to himself, all praise, renown !
ll things and ways that stand 'twixt time and
Love—
he holy gift which cometh from above.

ehold he of himself hath made a tree,
hereunder all may rest perpetually ;
o that his body like the Lord's is made,
hat giveth to all things a cooling shade.*

lest, blesséd is the holy Tree of Love !
blesséd are the Everlasting Army !
lest are Thy leafy shades, below, above !
lest, Thy shady branches, Lord of Love !

—

THE HOLY FEET

Lord, I lie at Thy feet—
Sitting—lying—standing ! At Thy feet—
Thy pearl-feet, O my Lord !)
Where were these hands that clasped them not
before ?
Where, these eyes wandering ?—
Wandering in sightless seeings,
Seeing them not, O stars that tread the earth !
O footprints of Love's very Majesty !
O Lord ! O Heart ! O blessed feet !
Treading to wake Love's very self in me—
Where, where wandering ?

—

THE PRISONER

Ah Love !
Let in the light of Thine eyes between the bars
of my cage—
Let in the strength of Thy longing,
So I may break its bars and hold Thee !

I have counted the years—
Heart-beats of expectancy.

Urgent unresting time,
Wasting oceans of forgetfulness,
Muffled my sighing.

But now—O Love !
Let in the glance of Thy beauty
Through time and space and death,
And set me free !

—

WAKEN MY HEART !

Waken my dead heart,
Flower of Love !
I am trying to make a song to Thee,
But it has a hollow reverberation.
O waken my heart !
The high sound is like a cry
Echoing back from the lonely world;
The rhythm
Is indeterminate,
Uncreative—
The dull throb of a heart in it's sleep.
Waken, O awaken this heart !

I have come across a wilderness
To a place which is desolate;
My voice returns to me
From the hot rocks—
Old, dry, dusty.
O waken my heart,
Thou dewy Flower !

I have lost the way
Amid long shadows;
My song is not clear
Because I am bewildered.
I sought Thy perfume
In desert places—
But the storm dispersed it—
Now it is lost again
Among the foothills,
And I am lost
In a sick sleep.
O waken—
O waken—
My heart !

When wilt Thou come—
Flower of Sweetness?
When wilt Thou come?—
Dew of Morn?
When wilt Thou waken me,
Perfume of Loveliness—

* The Yogi or liberated man is one in whose person ills and evils are dissolved. He has become the Tree of Life, and all living things near him are fed and sustained in the shade of its mystic branches.

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That I may drowse no more
Among the rocks—
Among the foothills—
That I may see Thee
And rejoice?

NOTHING OF THIS WORLD

Thou hast nothing of this world
O Guru !
A simple mariner art Thou—
A cowboy, a shepherd
Or a carpenter.
Thou hast nothing of this world !

Thou art one with all priceless things—
Love, truth,
Faithfulness and patience :
With all eternal things—
Death, birth,
The tides and seasons,
And fertile space.

Thou stealest into the unexpecting heart
(Only the poor know Poverty).
Like a soft cloud veiling the lovely moon
Thou comest upon the heart that is a light unto itself.

Thou hast nought of this world !
But, O Guru !
Thy wretched rags, thy soiled hands, thy parched skin
Shame its splendours—
It's might and dazzling pomp.

Let us come to thee
Out of poor trivialities,
Quietly, one by one,
With dedication
And with assurance.
For thou, O Beggar among men !
Shalt not ask in vain for our love !

HOME

Where'ere Thou art
Home is.

When Thou leavest me
I am homeless, lost and dying.

I will make my home where Thou art, Beloved—
Where Thou canst never forsake me—
In the trees and winds and the undying waters—
In the earth and stars and the unyielding rocks—
In the thoughts of quiet and the deep humbleness—
I will find Thee, perfect and supreme,
In my secret homeless home,
Inly and alone !

There no winter will assail,
No suns will scorch.
The fears of night will flee
No plunderer will penetrate.

In the calm, cool solitude
Of my hidden home,
I see Thee, and rejoice.

Wild things will come about us—
Birds, creatures of the forest—
Timid lizards—
Snakes and stinging creatures—
Made fearless by the Harmless One.

O Guru !
In this my home with Thee—
Thou wilt open mine eyes to loveliness
And mine ears to Wisdom's voice.
In this, my home,
Thou wilt show my hands right doing
And feed me with truth.
The perfumes of the clouds will be upon
And every fruitful flower will comfort sojourning.

Home is where Thou art !
O Guru ! I have found my home with Thee

THE WINDING PATH

O Thou Who art the winding path,
The mountain top,
The valley low—
The curved hill,
The bright rainbow—
Lie on my heart, Thou Heart of Snow !

O Thou Who art the river's edge,
The Boat to cross
The river's sedge—
The foaming stream,
The watery gleam—
Lie on my heart, Thou Heart of Dream !

Sweet voice and low I hear below
The softest flute,
The faintest lute.
Sustaining Tone !
Thou, Thou alone
Can'st pierce my heart—my heart of stone

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tender Sage! My life I give
Thy hands—
I would live
ceforth in Thee!
w set me free—
heart, Thy life, and Thou the Key!

—

RIDER OF STORMS

have laid down my burden,
e ache of it oppresses me no more.
have laid down my burden—
who am deaf and lame and blind,
least I can feel Thy feet in the darkness,
d there I have laid it down—
e burden which is myself!

my Ocean Lord! Thou unseen traveller in storms!
wind and lightning and sharp rain
hou hast ridden unto my poor house!
the oceans' blast Thou camest in
d I laid me down at Thy feet.

As roaring waves they came over me;
But I laid my burden down
And it was washed out into Thy tempest—
Lost and gone!

When morning comes, bright, sun-wrapped,
I shall forget the raging of the black night,
The rain, the ocean, and the unseen Feet.
Then, through the dust of many days,
Fresh burdens will appear.
But the hot days will bring more storms to cool the heavy hours.

I shall welcome Thee again, Lord of Seas!
When the burden of my accumulating
Has grown too great.
Again, again, in the stormy dark,
I shall lay it down by Thy feet;
Again and yet again,
The fierce winds blowing through Thy garments
Shall whirl it away into the infinite canopy—
Into the fathomless oceans—
Where I lose and find and lose myself
In endless nights and days!

DISCIPLINE AND THE CHILD

By Mrs. LILA RAY

As long as man lives in a society which entails group responsibility, there must be discipline. Every individual must make certain concessions to the group. If the child is to be helped to fit into its surroundings without friction, it must be prepared for the demands that will be made upon it. Its freedom then is, of necessity, limited. The collective interest determines the extent of the liberty it may enjoy.

The disciplining of a child is a delicate and difficult task. Parents and teachers have the right to object to childish acts that disregard the collective interest. These they must correct, if they are to fulfil their duty to the child itself and to society. But they have no right to hinder any other act, no matter how inconvenient it may to them at the moment. Those who deal with children are thus called upon constantly to discriminate between the desirable and the undesirable. By what criterion should they judge? Which actions call for correction and why? How are they to be dealt with?

Activity may be regarded as being of two kinds, personal and social. The first is less directly related to the general good than the second in that it primarily involves the individual only in its consequences. As it is detrimental to any group to have within it crippled, sick, or ailing persons, however, consideration for the collective interest as well as for the individual good must govern certain aspects of private behaviour. Under this head we can place a type of act about the undesirability of which there cannot possibly be two opinions. Play with inflammable materials, fire, sharp instruments, filth or in unsafe places is dangerous under all circumstances at all times. Disobedience invokes the reproof of natural law. The major rules of health also, involving the regulation of dietetic and living habits, may be considered beyond dispute.

Midway between the personal and the social we have deliberately wasteful acts. Waste is the great curse of our society as it is at present constituted. As long as a single person remains ill-clad or ill-fed, we have no right to wantonly destroy any article which might be of use to another. A child inevitably and unintentionally wastes much in the process

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of mastering the movements of its body. Due allowance must be made for this, but deliberate or careless destruction should never go uncorrected. If justice is ever to find its rightful place in our day-to-day life, the unjustness of waste must be a familiar concept to the mind of the next generation.

Perhaps the larger part of a child's activity is concerned with these things and only the remainder with the social side, that which, as the mother usually puts it, is "nice" or "not nice." Here every inch of ground is fought over. There is no code of conduct which is universally considered good breeding. The aristocrat may snub with impunity, a Nazi may beat up a Jew, a Fascist may bomb Abyssinians, a Brahmin curse a sweeper-boy, a father terrorize his family and a Communist kill a child because it is royal.

The liberty of the child is bounded by the collective interest. The family, the caste, the class, the party, the state, the nation are all collectives. So is the human race. And there are many others. Each imposes its own restrictions. The result is, very little of liberty remains. The child at the start of its life is burdened with so many shackles that, when adulthood has at last released it from parents and teachers, it can only regain something of freedom at the cost of arduous effort and bitter experience. Those who succeed have little energy left over to devote to the actual improvement of themselves or of their environment. Yet our hope of a better world is futile unless children be better than their parents and know better what to do and how to do it. Without greater freedom it is not possible. They cannot grow wiser or stronger as long as we bind their minds as the medieval Chinese bound women's feet, the resultant objects resembling anything but what they are. To refuse to impose or allow others to impose such bonds upon our children would be to permit and help the young to begin where their elders (those of them who succeed in emancipating themselves) are forced to leave off. They would have a fair chance of making some progress towards a maturity early and vigorous enough to cope successfully with the world's problems.

Greater liberty for the child implies a less exacting collective interest. As we cannot do without a collective, altogether, the best course is to have the minimum of limitation, which means choosing one out of the many and abiding by the discipline it demands. Which will enable us to dispense with the rest? A detailed discussion of all the possibilities is ou[illegible] scope of this essay. I think it is fairly [illegible] that, if we consider the interests of [illegible] alone, we find ourselves obliged to [illegible] accordance with the best tenets of all the [illegible] groups. Their narrower aspects are [illegible] automatically eliminated.

Now I do not mean that a child [illegible] caught slapping its playmate, should be [illegible] up against the wall and lectured ab[illegible] sideration for the human race. What [illegible] mean is that, as a touchstone is used [illegible] gold, so parents and teachers must use [illegible] deration for humanity to evaluate each [illegible] tionable point of behaviour as they sho[illegible] young life or lives entrusted to their ca[illegible]

When the mother or the teacher is [illegible] happy mood she perhaps says, "Please [illegible] do that, dear," quite politely. The [illegible] demurs. "Why do you do it?" a [illegible] follows. There is no reply. "Stop it!" [illegible] command shows that her good humour is [illegible] wane. "Aren't you ashamed of you[illegible] she tries to awaken a sense of guilt. "S[illegible] at once or I will punish you." Her threa[illegible] fails. "Remember the tiger that carri[illegible] naughty little boys." The victim still [illegible] his ground, concealing his fright. "Oh [illegible] are a nasty, despicable child!" The [illegible] gates are down before her mounting anger [illegible] a sharp blow completes the gamut of her [illegible] rective methods.

Adults have power. If they use [illegible] power to abuse the child quickly learns [illegible] might is right and conducts himself accord[illegible] Children model their conduct upon [illegible] They behave with their associates as we [illegible] have with them. A blow of any kind, w[illegible] or physically administered, contradicts [illegible] lesson in good deportment we wish to in[illegible]

Now-a-days almost any competent [illegible] who is concerned with children can tell you [illegible] likely results of deliberately frightening [illegible] child. Yet I believe it is probably still [illegible] most widely practised method of obtai[illegible] obedience. From tigers and bears and p[illegible] men and doctors elders resort to abstract[illegible] with direct or veiled threats. Feelings [illegible] shame and guilt are also rooted in fear [illegible] fear of ridicule, of being held in contemp[illegible] the group. Fear in any shape or form ha[illegible] the free activity of the individual and th[illegible] his development. Conditions of life b[illegible] what they are, none of us can escape [illegible] altogether. But our mental growth is d[illegible] mined by the extent to which we can master [illegible] fears, and even at times forget them.

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imposition of superfluous terrors upon the major or necessary ones sends fear rocketing out of control until the individual cowers beneath it in a wretched state of shattered nerves. Appeals to fear defeat our purpose and the realization of a better human race is postponed by as many lives as we deliberately help to maim in this fashion.

There is a method different from all these which yields the desired results without endangering psychological health. When you discover a bottle of ink poured over your best Benares *sari* or an expensive time-piece smashed and the torrent of your indignation carries you to the point of striking the guilty child—stop. Just stop. Keep perfectly still for as long as it takes to master yourself and then say quietly, "Come now, let's do something else." Take the child with you without another word about the monstrous deed (you cannot in any case undo it) and engage it in some game. Later when both of you have quieted down, tell it without heat why what it did was wrong. The result will fully reward the effort it costs.

Its confidence in your ability to control your temper restored, the child will come to you with much it would otherwise conceal. No child originally wants to be naughty. A child respects a temper controlled; it has contempt for the adult who cannot keep himself in hand. As yet an undeformed soul, it rebells against authoritarianism. Its naughtiness is a healthy reaction to unexplained or too exacting demands made upon it. No normal child will brook a dictator; it only bides it time.

Every one makes mistakes. If an adult were suddenly transferred to Mars, he would make many there in the strange surroundings. A child, new to this earth and new to its body, feels at a great disadvantage among huge and competent adults. A little sympathy will go a long way. The child will come to trust you and love you, for love has to be won, even the love of one's own children.

Diversion, for so I like to call this method, has many possibilities. It covers any means by which the energy of the child can be diverted from undesirable to desirable activity. And its practice demands self-restraint from the adult first of all. Mere lip control will not work it. A set face and taut irritated feelings immediately antagonize the child. It does not matter what you say as long as these remain. Melt completely, divert its attention, be kind to it and when a suitable opportunity occurs give it a simple explanation of your objections and the reason for them.

Wise disciplining of a child means self-discipline for the adult. We cannot help children to be better than we are unless we better ourselves. To give them a new and more universal code of conduct we must reshape our own.

FOREIGN CAPITAL FOR INDIA

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

Every nation attempting industrial and general economic development requires capital. It is, therefore, an important economic issue to decide the source from which the necessary capital should be obtained. It is also important to discuss the terms on which a nation should raise capital for its requirements. Capital, as we know, is instrumental wealth. It is required and used with a view to aid the production of wealth. So that the questions as to how, where and when capital is used, very often determine its yield and value to those who make use of it. The same amount of capital can be used judiciously or wastefully, in a highly productive employment or non-productively, at a period of boom or when trade is at a standstill generally or in the particular field in which the capital is employed. It is clear, therefore, that, capital can appreciate or decrease in value accordingly as it is used intelligently or wastefully, in a productive field or in a location barren of possibilities, and for the production of goods or services in great demand or in excess of what is wanted by ready purchasers. The method of putting capital to use, the particular place it occupies in relation to raw materials, natural resources, markets, and labour and the time when it is brought into use determine the value it will attain *after* employment. A thousand rupees put into an industry engaged in the exploitation of rich, abundant and hitherto unworked natural resources, with a ready and eager and ever-expanding market when made available for use, will yield a return, perhaps, much higher than what the average thousand rupees would be earning elsewhere.

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The result will be, that, on account of a high percentage return, the stock representing the original thousand rupees would find buyers at a much higher figure. This appreciation in the market value of the thousand rupees is not at all due to any inherent quality in *this* thousand rupees. The appreciation is due to the surroundings it has been able to find in the form of virgin natural resources, and cheap labour and a ready market for the products thereof. Of course, no one can deny its share of credit to the enterprising agency which had brought the capital to this profitable employment. But usually the actual investors, who are the chief beneficiaries, hardly know anything about the use their capital will be put to. What is required here to be emphasized is the fact that the economic environment of all capital investments react essentially upon their future market values.

Capital investments which are nationally negotiated are usually of dimensions looming far beyond and above the reach of the average individual or joint stock enterprise. Railways, steamship lines, airways, road development, canalization, irrigation, international marketing ventures, large scale financing with the object of controlling better prices or tiding over difficult times, etc., etc., are all instances where state enterprise should find useful outlets though, of course, private enterprise has been found to undertake such work on numerous occasions. Smaller industrial ventures which are aided in their activity by state protection, or bounty, provide instances of indirect support by the state. Such enterprises, being often semi-monopolistic, are capable of yielding high profits. Investors, whose capital goes into ventures directly or indirectly sponsored by the state, usually do not expect a high return, because of the guaranteed nature of their interest return or of the security they obtain on account of Governmental aid and association. For example, investors in Government of India loans would never dream of participating in future increases in revenue, any more than they would be asked to forego interest in years of deficit, and investors in guaranteed railways, or similar enterprises would not look for high returns. On the other hand, a person investing in Jute Mills shares would expect a variable return from his investment, which will rise or fall with the profits of the Mills. So far as the investors are the nationals of the Country in which the industries are located the payment of high dividends, has generally speaking the effect of State Capitalism on the economic life of the nation. For, the high dividends earned in one industry located within the territories of the Country get invested into other industries located in the same territories or find their way into numerous pockets belonging to numberless other nationals as wages, price of purchase or fees paid for services. If the dividends are paid, however, to foreigners, it leads to a drain of wealth and turns the balance of trade against the dividend paying country, or results, through reinvestment of the dividends, by the foreigners, within the country of origin, to an ever-increasing foreign claim to a share of the annual national sum total of income.

The British investors who originally put their Indian earnings (of every kind) into industries in India, have thus been enabled to obtain an everincreasing control over the growing industrial capital of India. They, no doubt, showed intelligence and enterprise, but the major portion of their gains are due to the fortunate political supremacy in this country and to the as yet unexploited nature of the economic resources of India, at the time when their investments began. Some outstanding examples of capital appreciation in some of the British controlled industries would not be out of place here. These figures are made out of recent market quotations and as such reflect the effects of the existing worldwide depression.

BANKS

	Paid up per share.	Present price (Approximate)
Bank A.	100	300
„ B.	100	400
„ C.	100	250
„ D.	100	350

JUTE MILLS

	Paid up per share.	Present price (Approximate)
Jute Mill A. ..	100	450
„ „ B. ..	100	350
„ „ C. ..	100	400
„ „ D. ..	100	530
„ „ E. ..	100	850
„ „ F. ..	100	660

COAL COMPANIES

	Paid up per share.	Present price (Approximate)
Coal Co. A. ..	100	275
„ „ B. ..	100	350
„ „ C. ..	100	375
„ „ D. ..	100	225
„ „ E. ..	100	590
„ „ F. ..	100	340
„ „ G. ..	100	335

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TEA COMPANIES

	Paid up per share.	Present price (Approximate).
Tea Co. A.	100	226
" " B.	100	280
" " C.	100	350
" " D.	100	600
" " E.	100	545
" " F.	100	486
" " G.	100	480
" " H.	100	325
" " I.	100	435
" " J.	100	1,000
" " K.	100	1,075
" " L.	100	905

PAPER MILLS

	Paid up per share.	Present price (Approximate).
Paper Mills A.	100	450
" " B.	100	1,000
" " C.	100	185

ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO.

	Paid up per share.	Present price (Approximate).
Electric Supply Co. A.	100	200
" " " B.	100	190
" " " C.	100	320
" " " D.	100	200
" " " E.	100	220
" " " F.	100	230

These figures do not in any way exaggerate the increase in value that these stocks some time attained; the present market prices, which are shown above, being phenomenally subnormal owing to the worldwide trade depression. At one time the prices were even double and treble of what they are now. And in such times a very large number of shares changed hands. An assumption, therefore, that the original holders of these shares got back more than what they had originally spent by selling off less than half their holdings would not be fantastic. It is quite likely, therefore, that some present holders of these stocks, who may be holding, say, 49% of the total stock, have paid to the original holders the whole amount of the latter's investments in exchange of a less than half share. The firstcomers have by this development got a permanent (lion's) share of the profits as well as a refund of their money. They have incidentally retained their control over the management and most of the prize jobs and lucrative privileges.

It is not the intention of the present writer to prove here that the British *entrepreneurs* who industrialized India in the last and towards the beginning of this century, were guilty of any large scale fraud or illegitimate conduct. They had an opportunity before them and, being the true descendants of Drake or Hawkins; they made good use of it. One cannot condemn their action when one takes into account the moral outlook of the men concerned. The above description of what happened during the first phase of our Industrial Revolution, has been given with a view to explain to the public how capital investments, made in favourable surroundings, lose their usual meaning and assume the dimensions of a gigantic windfall. A far-sighted view of national economy also points out the dangers of such investments, when foreigners are allowed to secure them. Just as an army seeks to occupy positions from which a great number of enemies can be checked and controlled by a small body of men, capital seeks to occupy certain vantage points, whence it can easily exploit the resources of nature, human labour and eager consumers, and earn profits far in excess of what may be normally obtained by it in other fields. These vantage points of investments should be under the entire control of the nation, and, if that is not possible, under the control of only nationals. This is necessary for two reasons. Firstly, there is the question of drain of wealth and loss of control over the nations' assets and income when foreigners are allowed to invest capital in the most fruitful enterprises. Secondly, foreigners may not be expected to exploit the natural resources of a country with any far-sighted attitude of mind. They will make money while the going is good and will not work things keeping in view the conservation of resources for the future. Nor will they avoid indirect damages to the nation's assets. Thus, a spirit of short-sighted economic adventure will induce foreigners to cut down entire forests for timber without planting any new trees for future use. Coal mining may be done in a way which will render unworkable further and greater deposits in less readily accessible regions. The list of possible economic indiscretions by foreigners may be increased but it should suffice to point out that those whose aim is immediate profit for themselves cannot be depended upon to look to the ultimate gain of the nation. Moreover, foreigners will use the labour power of the nation without thinking whether the terms and conditions of labour, would, in the future, react harmfully upon the working capacity of coming generations of workers. It may be argued that capitalists belonging to the nation will be no better. But, one may expect the inhabitants of the country to harbour a more friendly feeling for their workers, as well as to think in terms of the prospects that they would be creating for

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their grand-children for earning profits. Thirdly, foreigners usually complicate economic issues by linking up politics with economic rights. History will prove that there have been many occasions when nations have been politically coerced in order to make them yield up economic vantage points to foreigners. Wars have been fought to make nations yield up yards after foreigners have had a taste of the profits that the inches have provided them. For these reasons, generally speaking, foreigners should be avoided by all nations in securing capital for their economic development.

Now, assuming that a nation *must* have capital and that national sources are either insufficient or difficult to tap; what should then be the policy of the nation in approaching foreign sources for the required capital?

Foreigners may supply the capital required for the development of a country in different ways :—

1. They may themselves take the initiative in the matter of investment.

2. They may be induced by the nation or its nationals to make the investment.

In the first case the foreigners may supply the whole of the capital or only part of it. They may also keep entire control over the management of the enterprise in which they invest or, again, they may share the control. In some cases they have been noted to float a company and invest little in it themselves, while keeping all control in their own hands. In other cases, their control is only proportionate to their investment. Of these alternatives the foreign-controlled and almost entirely nationally-financed concern is the most objectionable form of foreign enterprise.

In the second group we come across enterprises which are nationally organized but seek foreign capital on different terms. Sometimes a share of the management is given to the foreign investors. In others the foreign investors get a preference in the distribution of profits, in that their share is first paid a certain guaranteed dividend and the rest of the shares are alloted any dividend only out of what is left over. In yet others the foreign investors obtain a guaranteed profit and besides this also participate in the general profits. There are also instances of pure and simple division of profits without question of preference. And occasionally foreign capital is taken on a fixed rate of interest and for a fixed period only after which the money is repaid. In the case of State borrowings the loans are always fixed interest bearing. They are usually repayable after a certain number of years. It may, however, also be a permanent charge on the revenues by being redeemable only at the option of the State.

So that, we have to judge the merits of the various forms and terms of obtaining foreign capital for national industrial or State requirements. It is quite evident that in no case should foreigners be allowed to control any concern without investing in it. They should be restricted in their control as far as possible in order to safeguard the nation's permanent interests. Control and investment should at least be on a proportionate basis between foreigners and nationals and in no case should national control fall short of 50%. But wherever possible the foreigner should have only a claim on a share of the profits and no more. If foreigners could be induced to invest only at a fixed maximum rate of dividend with a clause by which they could be repaid their money after a guaranteed minimum period would be to the best advantage of the nation. Let us say, the State or any large corporation wanted foreign money for some big enterprise. The best course for them would be to obtain money, say, for only 5, 10, 15, or 20 years at a fixed rate of interest. So that while the ever moving national capital found its way into enterprise or enough profits accumulated to replace the borrowed capital, the ready foreign money may be used to hasten up matters. If the foreigners would not invest in repayable debentures or loans, they should be given non-votable preference shares in the case of joint stock enterprises. Failing in this also, ordinary preference shares may be given; but the total number of votes going to fereigners should be less than what remains in national hands.

India is now facing her *national* Industrial Revolution. In the last century and down to present times, the nation had no economic programme or outlook. Economic ventures were either an expression of capital's eternal quest for newer fields for bringing labour and natural resources in conjunction with a view to individual as opposed to social profit; or of State enterprise for military, administrative or revenue purposes. That national economic outlook which seeks to develop the human and natural resources of the country with a view to obtain the maximum usefulness out of everything, so that the nation may live a more comfortable, cultured, leisured, healthy and independent life, so that the nation's productive power for peace or war may remain ever on the increase, has hitherto been absent. Mills for the benefit

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the mill owners, factories for the profit of industrialists, plantations for the good of the planters and so on and so forth, have been our guiding principles so far. And in calculating profits, indirect losses to the community or to future generations have never been counted. Such a rich field, as India has seldom been offered to foreign or local profit-makers in the entire economic history of the world. Foreign investors specially got a rare opportunity to multiply their capital at high speed in this great and unexploited field. Yet, the majority of Indian workers and Indian natural resources retained much of their economic potentiality undeveloped through this period of exploitation. Indian labour has yet a great amount of productive ability, which can be turned to proper use by training and organization. The natural resources of India are also mainly undeveloped in the sense that with better skilled labour and equipment, these resources can be worked to yield a very much greater usefulness to the Indian nation.

The question of economic planning has often been discussed. Planning is nothing but utilizing all national resources in the most profitable manner *for the nation.* In a scheme of national economic reconstruction, electrification, road, railway and canal construction, industrial training, irrigation, scientific cultivation, storage, transport, marketing, manufacture of metals, machinery and heavy chemicals, research, education, health and sanitation, in short everything that will benefit the nation economically now and hereafter will have to be included. Such a scheme to be worked into effect will require enormous capital. International capital will readily see the possibilities of a second and faster Industrial Revolution in India. That they have seen it already can be proved by the investment of American, French, Japanese, Czechoslovakian, Swedish and other capital in India during recent years. The question is, should we allow all individuals or individual groups of financiers to have the freedom of Indian investments or should we make the economic development of India a purely national affair, taking foreign capital on a national guarantee and reserving to the nation the future and cumulative benefits of this development?

It is not impossible for the Indian Nation to make a thorough and scientific survey of the economic potentialities of this country. We can also chart out our own requirements in the various fields, that are not directly economic, but on which economic progress depends fundamentally, *viz.*, education, sanitation, national health, research, technical, agricultural and other institutions, etc., etc. If a nation can borrow money to wage war or to meet budget deficits, surely it will not be sinful from the point of view of Public Finance to borrow with a view to improve our national life and future prospects. It will be better; for wars impair the future productivity of a nation, whereas public benefit arrangements improve it. Money thus spent will certainly increase future revenues, out of which the borrowings can be repaid. Apart from public works of the nature of road, railway or canal construction, building ports, docks, wharves, or irrigation projects, etc., which the State can directly finance and manage, all necessary industries or economic ventures, when adjudged profitable by experts, can be financed by the State from their borrowings. A mechanism can be set up whereby persons desirous of engaging in an approved enterprise may secure whatever foreign capital they may require through the agency of the State. Their own share of capital will guarantee the contingent liability of the State and they shall not be permitted to make a more than scheduled rate of profit out of their business. If the economic experts appointed by the State do not approve of any venture, surely such a venture would be of doubtful utility and for such things the State should not keep the doors of the nation open to foreign investors. The State can lend to approved enterprises, say, fifty per cent of the required capital against debentures. If the enterprise cannot fully pay back all the money borrowed within the specified period, one set of debentures can always be replaced by another. State supervision and connection will also induce our hesitating capitalists to invest more readily in all important and basic economic enterprises.

The whole of the above discussion has been carried on, not with any immediate expectation of State action in the national economic field. It is quite likely that the Indian nation will hand over many more economically strategic positions to foreign investors, manufacturers, bankers, etc., etc., but the eyes of the nation should be opened to the risk of becoming highly organized in production in the future, but under an entirely foreign overlordship; so that the fruits of the increased productivity will be denied the producers. Unrestricted individual control, whether foreign or indigenous, over essential economic institutions, can never result in true national prosperity. When foreign, it is odious; when indigenous, it is iniquitous. We, who are striving for Swaraj,

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should never lose sight of the ultimate implication of foreign economic enterprise in India. In the past such ventures have exploited our resources on a small scale. Any large scale development on similar lines must be [illegible] Capital has its own true share of pro[illegible] But that share is not whatever cap[illegible] grab.

TRAVELLERS IN THE NIGHT

By SITA DEVI

(3)

As the rickshaw raced towards Satyasaran's temporary abode, he felt his excitement subsiding. But a crowd of thoughts assailed his mind at the same time. He had acted like a modern Don Quixote and rescued the damsel in distress, but how was he going to provide for her future? If it had been a boy instead of a girl, the problem would have been less acute. He might have served as a servant in Biswanath Babu's house. Kanakamma too, would not mind working as an *ayah*, as she probably belonged to the same class from which *ayahs* are recruited in Rangoon. But Satyasaran knew no lady here, who could employ the girl. The girl might be entrusted to the Christian missionaries, but the very thought was unpalatable to his Hindu mind. Besides, he did not know whether the girl would agree to becoming a convert. By this time he had arrived at his destination.

He knocked loudly at the door. Kamini opened the door and looked a bit amazed at Satyasaran's sudden return. Satyasaran rushed in without a word of explanation and taking out two hundred rupees from his trunk, jumped into the rickshaw again. He was back in a few minutes.

The fat Madrasi grinned from ear to ear, as the money was placed in his hand. "Babu, Salaam," he cried to Satyasaran, and departed with heavy resounding steps down the stairs. Kanakamma sat in her corner, gazing at Satyasaran, with large frightened eyes.

The gentleman who had befriended Satyasaran now introduced himself as Babu Gopalchandra Chowdhuri.

"What is to be done about her now?" Satyasaran asked him.

"These Southerners have a big colony in Rangoon," said the gentleman. "Let us ask her whether she has got any friends or relatives here."

The question was put to the gir[illegible] answered that she had no relatives in R[illegible] But there was an old woman in Kalabus[illegible] she called aunt. She might put Kana[illegible] up for one night, but she would not s[illegible] keep her for long. They were very poor [illegible] and the aunt's husband was a great dru[illegible] Kanakamma would feel very much frig[illegible] if she had to stay there for long.

"We must not take her out of the [illegible] jaws, merely to fling her to the crocodile[illegible] Satyasaran.

"But my dear sir," said Gopal [illegible] "these people cannot swallow her up i[illegible] night. Let her go there for a day or two [illegible] turned to Kanakamma and asked, "Wou[illegible] be able to recognise their house?"

Kanakamma replied that if she were [illegible] to Kalabusti, she would recognise the [illegible] Satyasaran was a newcomer and he [illegible] nothing of the town. He turned to Gopal [illegible] again and said, "Please help me a bit [illegible] since you have done so much. Come wi[illegible] and see the girl to her aunt's home."

They called a carriage again and s[illegible] with Kanakamma. Kalabusti was but a s[illegible] of Rangoon and was not far off. As [illegible] reached the suburb, they got down fro[illegible] carriage and proceeded on foot. Kana[illegible] led the way. They traversed a large n[illegible] of streets and lanes, before Kanakamma s[illegible] She pointed to the lane in front, saying th[illegible] aunt lived here. The lane was extr[illegible] narrow and filthy. The smell here w[illegible] abominable, that the party had to cover [illegible] nostrils with their clothes. There were [illegible] rows of dilapidated huts on the two si[illegible] the lane.

Kanakamma pointed to a shed, saying [illegible] her aunt lived here. A man sat on a m[illegible] front of the shed, busy smoking. Th[illegible] probably the uncle. At the sig[illegible] Kanakamma, he cried out hoarsely, [illegible]

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mething in his own dialect. A dozen people peared on the scene, immediately, as if by gic. Kanakamma pointed to an old woman. is was the aunt, and a more horrible old oman it was difficult to imagine.

"Ask her whether she is willing to put you " said Satyasaran to Kanakamma.

The girl spoke to the old woman. A storm Telugu words assailed their ears in reply. ter it had subsided a little, Kanakamma plained to Satyasaran, that her aunt was lling to put her up, but for two days only. d she wanted eight annas in advance for the 's food. Satyasaran took the required sum of his pocket at once, and handed it to the woman. "Do you think they would spend on the girl's food?" asked Gopal Babu. No fear. They are going to spend it on nk."

They would come and take her away after days, Satyasaran assured Kanakamma d started on his way back with Gopal Babu. ey called a rickshaw and got into it. Satyaran looked back and found Kanakamma king at him piteously. He began to feel sorry r the poor girl. They should not have left her that stinking hole, after making such a show rescuing her. Perhaps the old drunkard d already begun to beat her.

They got down from the rickshaw as they ached one of the bigger thoroughfares of the y. "I must be off now", said Gopal Babu.

Satyasaran's head was still full of the new oblem. "Cannot we provide the girl with a ore respectable dwelling place, within two ys?" he asked.

"We ought to," said Gopal Babu. "We ve got two full days, that means, forty-eight urs. Kingdoms had been huilt and ruined in s time."

"If you are going to remain at home in e evening," said Satyasaran, "I shall call on u again with Biswanath Babu. I cannot do ything alone here as I know no one. You ust help me kindly."

"So you have put up at Biswanath Babu's use?" asked Gopal Babu. "Is it Biswanath aitra, who works in the bank?"

"The very same," said Satyasaran. "Do u know him then? That is very good. I all bring him along with me."

Gopal Babu came a little way with Satyaran, then proceeded to his own home. Satyasaran reached his host's house and found at he had not yet returned. He sat in a hair, turning over an old newspaper. He did ot feel like going out again, as his first venture that way had cost him too much. Kamini brought him a cup of very strong tea, and some sweets prepared at home, which tasted like dough in Satyasaran's mouth. He left it alone, and finished the tea at his leisure.

Biswanath Babu returned at this stage. He threw away his hat, as soon as he entered the room, and taking off his coat hung it on the back of a chair. He sat down then and began to wipe his face with his handkerchief. "It is too much for an old man like myself!" he muttered. "This daily slavery. I wonder when I shall be free of it." Then he turned to Satyasaran and asked, "Now then, how much did you see of the city? Did you like it? Some people like it very much."

"I did not see much of it," said Satyasaran. "I got mixed up in an ugly affair, soon after I went out and so could not proceed farther. Some Madrasi chap has relieved me of some money."

"How is that?" cried out his host, with anxious concern. "Tell me what happened."

Satyasaran told him everything in detail. Biswanath Babu slapped his thigh in excitement as Satyasaran concluded his tale, and cried out, "What a shame! Why did you try to shoulder another's burden? What if the girl was being sold? Those creatures are quite accustomed to being sold. Their menfolk regard them as no better than cattle. They are bought and sold and beaten; that's all in the day's work. But what are you going to do with her, now that you have rescued her?"

"We must arrange something for her," said Satyasaran. "The girl has never been sold before, as I understood. You and Gopal Babu must decide what is best to be done."

His host did not seem to have heard him. "You are a young man, but Gopal Chowdhuri is old enough to know better," he said. "He should have given you sound advice. You threw away two hundred rupees, in this time of scarcity! What a thing to do! How much more have you got with you? Give it to me, or some swindler or other will relieve you of that too. You don't know this land. It is full of crooks."

"I have very little left," said Satyasaran. "However I shall give it to you to keep."

Kamini brought in tea and sweets for his master at this juncture. Biswanath began to eat and mumbled, "Yes, give it to me, I shall put it in the Postal Savings Bank. The land is bad and the house is unsafe. It is better not to keep money here."

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He finished his tea, and set out with Satyasaran, after changing his English suit for a Bengali dress. Rickshaws seemed to be rather cheap here, the fare being two annas for any distance, within the city. So few people took the trouble of walking here. Biswanath Babu too, got into a rickshaw with his companion and was soon in Gopal Babu's house. The latter was waiting for them. He received them cordially and began to press them to have tea. But both of them refused, as they had just had tea. Then Gopal Babu looked at Satyasaran and said, "I have secured a good job for that Kanakamma. If you agree to place her there, it would be a good thing for her."

Satyasaran wanted more details.

"One of my friends is looking for an *ayah* for his small daughter," said Gopal Babu. "The trained *ayahs* want big salaries here. They don't want to work for less than twenty-five. But the gentleman cannot afford to pay so much. He can pay up to ten rupees, besides board and lodging. You can put Kanakamma there. They won't expect a trained servant on so small a salary. She will learn her work in a few days. I can guarantee the safety of the place. She would not be safer, if she resided with her own parents."

"In my opinion, the girl should be placed there," said Biswanath Babu. "She will learn the work of an *ayah* and would be able to earn a bigger salary in future."

"Then we must go to-morrow and fetch her from Kalabusti," said Gopal Babu. "She must have received some beating by this time. But let this be a lesson to you. Don't meddle with any such thing in future. In this world, you must take care of yourself first, and let others care for themselves."

Satyasaran could but smile in reply. After some more talk, Biswanath Babu got up to go. The heat was terrific and his rooms must be like furnaces now. Besides, Kamini would be lighting the kitchen fires now, making the house full of smoke. The prospect of returning to it now seemed so unenviable that Biswanath Babu proceeded straight to the cinema instead. Satyasaran was no cinema fan, still he went with his host, not liking to spend a solitary evening.

Next morning, as soon as they had finished their tea, both of them started for Gopal Babu's house. Picking him up, they then proceeded to Kalabusti for Kanakamma. They had to do a lot of searching before they could discover that wonderful lane. They had omitted to notice its name the other day. After time they succeeded in finding it out.

Kanakamma sat outside the tin busy with a big pestle and hammer. She up with a smile on her face, as soon could recognise Satyasaran and his compa Next she ran inside to inform her re about the arrival of the visitors.

"So this is Kanakamma?" Biswanath Babu. "She is very young."

A crowd of people rushed out immediately after from all the huts in neighbourhood. The Babus had come to Kanakamma away, the news had sp They all gazed at poor Satyasaran wi much interest that his face turned posi red. He could understand quite well that people were regarding him as the girl's husband.

Kanakamma came out again. She done some dressing up within these minutes. She had washed the turmeric o hands, combed her hair and changed her o torn *sari* for the yellow and red bordered which she had been wearing yesterday. aunt had probably given her some we presents, as the girl carried two coloured and a pair of brass utensils in her hand.

The hackney carriages in Rangoon made to sit three people only. As they now four in number, Gopal Babu propose go by tram.

But Biswanath Babu was not at all ing to be seen in the same carriage Kanakamma, so he interposed quickly, sa "I shall go by tram, you follow me in carriage. I shall wait for you in front of station." He opened his umbrella and wa off at a smart pace without waiting for others to speak.

Satyasaran called a carriage again and three got into it. Kanakamma took leave everyone quite cheerfully and it was evi that the pang of separation was not ca her any sorrow.

As they came near the station, Biswa Babu was seen waiting for them. They down from the carriage. "Is your here?" asked the girl with a smile.

Satyasaran had to explain that his was far off, but the gentleman, who was to employ Kanakamma as an *ayah*, lived by. The poor girl looked at him, her distorted with dismay and amaze "Won't you keep me with you?" she sa She no longer trusted the cruel world. known dangers lurked at every corner fo

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and safety dwelt only in the company of this stranger, who was no longer a stranger to her. She depended wholly on Satyasaran.

Satyasaran felt a clammy sweat breaking out on his forehead. So the girl, too, had been expecting this? But how was he going to make her understand that it was absolutely impossible? She was simple and innocent as a wild gazelle. It was fortunate that Satyasaran's other companions were busy scolding the coachman, otherwise he would have felt still more embarrassed.

He began to tell Kanakamma that as he had no family here, he did not want a maid-servant. She must work in this gentleman's family for the present. If she could learn her work well, she would soon get other jobs at a higher salary.

Kanakamma stood silent and sad. Satyasaran's arguments did not seem to have convinced her much. She had probably never heard before of people buying *ayahs* for other peoples' benefit.

They left her at her new employer's house, and went back to their respective homes. Satyasaran felt utterly wretched, so full was his heart of shame and sorrow. What a situation! Did the girl really expect that she was going to live with him? Was she very much disappointed? The more he thought about it, the more complex became the situation. Should he see her again or should he not? But how could he totally refrain from meeting her? As he had become her self-constituted guardian, he must look after her to a certain extent. The sorrowful look in the girl's eyes had made a deep impression on his heart.

Biswanath Babu began to get ready for his office, as soon as he reached home. Satyasaran sat in a corner, immersed in his thoughts. Before his host left, he gave Satyasaran plenty of advice about minding his own business and letting other people mind theirs.

But Satyasaran went out again, after his midday meal, though he kept Biswanath Babu's advice in mind. Whenever he saw a crowd, he gave it a wide berth. He walked about the whole of the afternoon and came back home when it was evening.

(4)

A few days passed in this manner. Satyasaran spent his mornings in search of employment. The evenings, he frequently devoted to visiting Kanakamma. He went rather unwillingly, nearly everytime. He would usually find her in the lane, walking about with her two small charges. Her large eyes would become bright with joy as soon as she would catch sight of him. She would rush up to him at once and ask, "Are you well, Babu?"

Satyasaran would feel very guilty at this. Why was the girl so glad to see him? He had tried to do good to her, but actually he had brought a great sorrow and disappointment into the girl's life. Why had he let her nourish such an impossible hope? He would ask about her health and would then rush away from the place. He wondered how much sorrow fate held in store for the innocent girl. But still there was some consolation in the thought that he had saved her from a most hideous fate.

His own problems were becoming more and more acute every day. There did not seem to be any chance for him here. His host was most considerate and polite, yet Satyasaran began to feel very awkward. He could have gone away to a "mess," but how long would he be able to afford that? He had brought very little money with him. He had a few acqaintances here, these he requested again and again to find a job for him. But he soon learnt how hard it was to get a job. If he could have played the sycophant to some important person, he could have got a job. Or if he could have bribed people, he would have succeeded. But he had learnt none of these arts. So he got no job. This enforced dependence made him fret day and night and he lost all peace of mind.

But worse was soon to come. Biswanath Babu took leave from the office, as he had to proceed home, in order to give his daughter in marriage. He called Satyasaran and asked, "What have you decided to do, my dear boy? It will be some time before I return."

"I shall remove to some "mess" or other," said Satyasaran.

"I know of a few," said Biswanath Babu. "I shall see if I can secure a 'seat' for you. You must look about too. You must see whether the house is big and the situation good. Don't go into a dirty lane. The food must be good, too. You will be extremely uncomfortable even in the best 'mess,' but there is no help for it."

Satyasaran secured a 'seat' easily. But this new place was horrible, and nearly made him weep. In Calcutta, he had a suit of rooms for himself, a car and a valet. Now he had to live in a small room with some strangers. He had to sleep here and to dress

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here. These people had many habits which jarred on Satyasaran terribly. There was only one servant. He had to cook for all the boarders, and was too tired to sweep or clean the flat. So the rooms were rather untidy and dirty. Satyasaran flung himself in a chair after putting his luggage down, a crushing sense of hopelessness filling his heart.

He went out in the evening, after having his tea. His feet carried him to Kanakamma's home, as if unconsciously. The girl was walking about as usual, with her charges. Satyasaran approached her and found that she had become very thin. Her eyes appeared larger than ever in her thin face. But they brightened up at the sight of Satyasaran.

She was going to ask him about his health. But Satyasaran forestalled her by asking whether she was well and was getting enough to eat.

"I am well, Babu," she replied in broken Hindi, "The mistress gives me plenty of food too. But my heart is very uneasy."

Satyasaran did not know what to say to this. He remained silent for a few minutes, then he left her after informing her about his change of address. He also told her to let him know if ever she wanted anything.

The girl took him at his word. She visited him twice or thrice. In Rangoon, nobody bothers much about propriety. So his fellow-boarders winked at one another rather knowingly and there the matter ended. It was fortunate for Satyasaran that he did not see them. The next time Kanakamma came, he went down to the lane to meet her and asked why she had come. Did she want anything.

"No, Babu," the girl replied. "I have come to pay you some money." Satyasaran stared at her in amazement. What money did she mean? The girl explained that she wanted gradually to pay back the money, he had spent on her. Why should he suffer pecuniary loss on account of her? She could have paid larger instalments, but she had also to pay her aunt something every month on account of some clothing and brass utensils, she had given to Kanakamma.

Satyasaran at first thought of refusing to take the money. Then he reconsidered and agreed to take it. It was not right to force obligation on a person, if the person desired to be free of it. Next month, too, he got a small sum from the girl. Satyasaran was surprised to find such a strong sense of self-respect in an illiterate girl of the lower classes. Such people are generally extremely unwilling to part with their money. But the girl [illegible] to harbour finer sentiments than were [illegible] one of her class and Satyasaran's respe[illegible] her increased accordingly.

Thus three months passed away. [illegible] Satyasaran did not succeed in securing e[illegible] ment of any kind. His fellow boarders [illegible] advised him to do some business on a [illegible] scale. But even a small business meant [illegible] outlay of some capital. Satyasaran [illegible] brought only a few hundred rupees with [illegible] He had very little left now in his hand, [illegible] meeting all necessary expenses. The ge[illegible] men who lived in the "mess" were all fr[illegible] of Biswanath Babu. That gentleman had [illegible] quested the manager before he left, not to [illegible] Satyasaran for payments, until he secured [illegible] job. He had assured the manager again [illegible] again that Satyasaran would never go [illegible] without paying his dues. Still the small [illegible] he had with him, dwindled very rapidly. [illegible] felt ashamed to eat without paying for it. [illegible] there were other expenses too, which were [illegible] evitable in the case of a person who [illegible] Satyasaran's bringing up.

The goddess Lakshmi had dwelt ra[illegible] long in the house of Satyasaran's father. [illegible] the fickle dame must have got thoroughly [illegible] up with the family. So, once she was rele[illegible] from the cage of gold in which Saktisaran [illegible] imprisoned her, she showed no more inclinati[illegible] of visiting them.

Satyasaran's health too began to decl[illegible] due to this ever-increasing worry. He co[illegible] have returned easily to Calcutta, but w[illegible] could he have done there either? His si[illegible] Saroja had been ailing much of late. So t[illegible] doctors had advised Akhil to take her [illegible] Switzerland, which he had done. He had [illegible] faith in the vitality of a woman whose wh[illegible] family can die out in the course of twenty-fo[illegible] hours. So it was better to give her the costli[illegible] treatment possible.

On Sundays, the boarders got up rath[illegible] late. They did not have to go to office, bec[illegible] they went to sleep on Saturday nights m[illegible] later than usual. So they slept till ten in t[illegible] morning on Sundays. The servants, too, to[illegible] things easy on that day, as they did not h[illegible] to supply breakfast early.

But on this Sunday, this rule was violat[illegible] A scream of terror from the servant roused [illegible] the whole house at once. Then men got [illegible] to find most of their boxes and trunks miss[illegible] and the window which stood directly over [illegible] small lane at the back of the building w[illegible] open.

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Everybody understood what had happened. Their shouts and screams brought the neighbours to the spot. The people of the street followed on their wake and lastly the police made their appearance. They began to threaten and abuse the servant first of all, but it was evident very soon that the poor wretch was not to blame in this case. He had served dinner to the gentlemen and had then gone to sleep in the kitchen, as was his custom. The boarders had talked till late at night, in their bedrooms. They had gone to sleep very tired and had evidently forgotten to close the window.

Most of the things, which they had given up for lost, and the boxes, with their locks broken, were soon recovered from the narrow lane at the back of the house. Some costly clothing were missed. And needless to say, Satyasaran missed all the money that had been in his trunk. The other boarders knew the land they lived in, and never kept much liquid money in the house. So most of them suffered very little compared to Satyasaran. Biswanath Babu had returned all his money when he left for home, so Satyasaran lost every piece he had.

The day passed off, horribly oppressive and cheerless. Satyasaran had been dejected enough, as it was; now he became absolutely hopeless. He could not think of anything that could help him. He did not touch anything during these twenty-four hours. The others ate and drank, as usual. What was the use of punishing one's own body, because there were thieves in the world?

Satyasaran now became worse than a beggar. Though he had no job up to this he had some money, but that too was gone now. The beggars were better off than Satyasaran in one respect, they could beg, which he could not. He could not ask anything of anyone, even if he had to starve to death. He had no relative at home either, who could help him with money

In the evening he came out of the house, which had become unbearable to him. He wandered about in the streets till it was quite dark. The very thought of the mess was torture to him. He could not bear to return there. So he went on to Kanakamma's place. Here was a creature as unfortunate as he was.

He did not find her in the lane. It was late and she had returned home with her little charges. Satyasaran followed her there. The master of the house was not at home, he was informed. So he asked openly for Kanakamma. A small boy went in and Kanakamma came out with him. "Are you well, Babu?" she asked as soon as she saw him.

Satyasaran replied that he was not well, and gave the reason for that, unasked. There was no need to tell her, as she could not have helped him in any way; but Satyasaran wanted to share his sorrow with some one. In this strange land, he had neither kith nor kin. To whom should he go with his sorrows? He felt somehow that this girl from South India would smpathize with him.

"What will you do now, Babu?" asked Kanakamma, after a few minutes silence.

Satyasaran did not know himself. So he could not enlighten her. But he could not stand on the staircase for ever, talking to an *ayah* of the family. So he had to go away, after a while.

From next day, he began to feel a change in the attitude of his fellow-boarders. He had been here for almost three months, he had paid his dues, only partly. Still everyone had treated him very well hitherto, knowing that he had got money with him and could settle his accounts any time. But things had changed now. A penniless man is never treated well, not even in his own family. So, needless to say, Satyasaran was not treated well in this strange land. Humiliation, scorn and insult followed one another in rapid succession. There was no milk in his tea now, and if there was milk, there was no sugar. Others got big pieces of fish, while Satyasaran had to be content with a piece of its tail. The servant did not make his bed, neither did he wash Satyasaran's clothing any longer.

Satyasaran began to suffer horribly. He felt like a galley slave, chained to his pillar of torture. He thought and thought but found no way out. He began to fear for his sanity.

In the evening the others had sweets and tea, for Satyasaran there was only a cup of cold tea, that too was without milk. He could not swallow it, and after the first sip, he pushed away the cup. The servant came and took away the cup. The manager was heard commenting on this from the next room. Those who ate in the mess, free of charge, he was heard to say, should at least be considerate enough not to waste food.

After this, it became impossible for Satyasaran to think of eating any thing here. He called the servant and told him that he would not dine at home. He had taken no breakfast in the morning, but he could not help it.

He had no money to pay for rickshaws, so

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he walked about the streets aimlessly. At last he felt ready to drop down and looked about him for a place to sit down. Soon afterwards, he found himself standing in front of the house where Kanakamma lived. She was strolling about as usual. She hurried forward, as soon as she saw him, and asked why he was looking so unwell. Was he ill?

Satyasaran said that he was not ill, but the girl did not believe him. It was rather difficult to believe it from Satyasaran's dejected and emaciated looks. The girl asked again whether he had taken anything before coming out.

Satyasaran did not try to hide facts this time. He was ready to drop down now from hunger and fatigue. The girl seemed to understand and said, "Come with me, Babu."

But Satyasaran hesitated. He knew neither the master, nor the mistress of the house. So it would hardly look proper if he went and sat in their drawing room, on the strength of being the *ayah's* friend. But Kanakamma said that everybody had gone to the cinema, with the exception of the child, who was in her arms. They would be late coming back. She and the other servant were looking after the house.

Satyasaran was too exhausted to hold out any longer. He took Kanakamma at her word, and followed her inside. She left the baby in the drawing room to keep him company and went into the kitchen. Satyasaran was hardly in a state to make friends with the baby, so he kept silent.

After a while the girl came back. She was carrying a plate, full of food. She had bought bread, mutton curry and tea from an adjoining tea shop and brought it for him. "Eat, Babu," she said, placing the plate before him.

Satyasaran was ravenously hungry, still he could not touch the food before asking Kanakamma how she came by them. The girl told him that she had bought them with her own money. Her master had nothing to do with them. Satyasaran then began to eat, without further delay.

After he had eaten his fill, he talked to her for sometime, then rose to go, Kanakamma asked him to come again next day. She would keep some food ready for him. Satyasaran fell rather awkward at this invitation. The master or the mistress of the house might object, if he came here every day for his food. But Kanakamma insisted. Why should they be angry if she paid for the food? They were very good people, she said and not easily angered. Satyasaran had to eat, in order to live, but the food at the mess had become poison to him. So he had to accept her invitation. The girl picked up the plate and glass and went back to the kitchen with it. Suddenly Satyasaran found her gazing at him surreptitiously from the next room. She was trying to unravel some mystery, but did not know how to do it. She did not dare to ask him anything more.

Satyasaran returned to the mess and very soon convinced that he had done wrong in not refusing Kanakamma's invitation. The servant brought him a notice as soon as he came in. The manager was sorry to give him a week's notice, he must leave at the end of that, of course, after paying his dues, which amounted to one hundred rupees. If he paid up readily, the management might allow him to stay on. If he did not pay, he would have to be turned out and his luggage would be held back, though they were not of much value.

Satyasaran had refused their food already, but after this notice, he began to feel it impossible to stay any longer under their roof. He went out almost at once and passed the night walking about the streets and on a bench of a public garden.

He returned again in the morning to take a wash and to change his dress. The other gentlemen had finished their tea, and were busy with the morning paper. The servant had gone to the bazar perhaps, as Satyasaran did not see him. Nobody asked him to have tea, though he would have refused, even if they had. The manager came in to enquire whether Satyasaran had succeeded in procuring the money.

Satyasaran replied that he was trying his hardest, but had not yet succeeded in procuring any.

"Try your best, sir," said the manager. "I would not like to go to the courts, nor would you."

Satyasaran felt as if his brain was on fire. This world was a strange place. Here he, the son of Shaktisaran the millionaire, was insulted by a rascally manager of the boarding house for a paltry hundred rupees. There was a time when he had thrown away hundred rupees with his left hand.

He stood there for a while, too dazed to move. Then he changed his dress and went out again. After a while, he arrived at Kanakamma's place. He must have been looking pretty bad, as the girl hurried off to get his food, after the first glance at his face. She waited till he had finished eating.

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"Have you got any money, Babu?" She asked then. Satyasaran replied in the negative. He was a stranger here, who would trust him with money?

"Why don't you write home?" asked the girl again. Satyasaran had to explain that even at home there was no one who could help him with money.

Kanakamma began to look grave. Would the other Babus turn him out and not allow him to have his meals in the mess now, she asked.

Satyasaran had to tell her the truth. What was the use of hiding his misfortune? Kanakamma had nothing more to say and Satyasaran too got up to go after an uncomfortable silence. If he stayed on any longer, things might become hot for the girl. The master and the mistress might be very good, but they were human after all.

Kanakamma followed him to the foot of the stairs. "Don't be afraid, Babu," she said then. "You have taken care of the helpless, God will take care of you." She then went back, her head bowed as if under a heavy load.

Satyasaran had not much faith in God's mercy. He smiled bitterly and began his endless stroll again. Very late at night, he returned to the mess, and had some hours sleep.

He had been lying in the front room. Early in the morning, a noise at the door woke him up. Someone was knocking at the door, very gently. He got up and opened the door, to find Kanakamma standing there. He hurried out on the landing, pulling the door too, behind him.

He looked enquiringly at the girl's face. She thrust a packet of currency notes in his hand and said, "Take these, Babu, and go back to your country. Don't stay here any longer."

Satyasaran stared at her utterly bewildered. Whence had this poor girl got so much money, within such a short time? He counted the money, there was hundred and fifty rupees.

"Where did you get so much money?" he asked the girl.

The girl was unwilling to tell him, so she remained silent for a while. But as he insisted, she said that she had gone and sold herself to that fat Madrasi again. She would go to him on the next day.

Hot tears surged to Satyasaran's eyes. He tried to thrust the packet back into her hands, saying, "Take these back, I won't accept them."

But Kanakamma was already running down the stairs. "God will look after me, Babu," she cried. "Don't be sorry for me."

Before Satyasaran could follow her, she was gone. He stood there for a while, like one turned into stone, then he rushed down the stairs and looked all around him. There was no one on the road. The girl had vanished.

(To be continued.)

THE BOMBAY SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE

By RANGILDAS KAPADIA

The Social Service League of Bombay is an offspring of the Holika Sammelan movement, a movement started in the city of Bombay to put down some evil practices. In the year 1911, the Holika Sammelan movement was organized on a grand scale, and the late Mr. G. K. Devadhar took a most leading part in it. Under him, a very large number of volunteers, for full one week, night and day, exerted their utmost to make the movement a success. The very fact of a large number of young men carrying out willingly the orders of their head created a deep impression on the minds of several leaders of the movement, but the idea of harnessing the energies of these young men by way of uniting them in a common bond of service suggested itself to Mr. B. N. Motivala, who in his turn approached Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar. The latter agreed with him, and thereupon on March 19, 1911, in a final meeting of the Holika Sammelan Committee, Sir Narayan in an impressive speech moved the formation of a Social Service League in Bombay. The proposal was received with cheers and on that day this institution was founded.

The aims and objects of the Social Service League as stated by the Committee are as follows :

I. The collection and study of social facts; the discussion of social theories and social problems with a view to forming public opinion on questions of social service.

II. The pursuit of social service generally and specially with a view to ameliorate the physical, moral,

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mental and economic condition of the people by—

(*i*) endeavouring to secure for them better and reasonable conditions of life and work and taking necessary steps for the accomplishment of this object;

(*ii*) providing for them education by means of day and night schools and continuation classes for literary and industrial education, lecture series, lantern demonstrations, reading rooms and libraries;

(*iii*) providing for them medical relief;

Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar

(*iv*) spreading amongst them the co-operative movement in the form of co-operative credit societies, co-operative stores, co-operative housing, co-operative insurance etc.;

(*v*) providing for them means of recreation such as social clubs, gymnasia, open spaces, week-end excursions, etc.;

(*vi*) promoting sanitation and hygiene—personal, domestic and public;

(*vii*) combating actively the evils of intemperance, gambling, prostitution and other vices;

(*viii*) taking measures for the education and reclamation of convicts and criminal classes;

(*ix*) endeavouring to relieve poverty and di[illegible]

III. Adoption of measures for the training [illegible] workers.

IV. Adoption of measures for organization of [illegible] and social work.

Barring the partial unfulfilment of th[illegible] aim of the above-mentioned objects, it [illegible] boldly said that the League has done its [illegible] in fulfilling all its other objects.

To use the words of the late first [illegible] and energetic president of the League [illegible] League was founded with the object of [illegible] ing the spirit of social service among our [illegible] men, helping the masses to grow in the [illegible] ledge and practice of healthy life and pr[illegible] ing the spirit of mutual service among [illegible] high and the low. The League may well [illegible] that the actual social work conducted by it [illegible] the active propaganda for the promotio[illegible] social service that it has carried on, are re[illegible] sible in no small degree for the favo[illegible] atmosphere that has been created in B[illegible] for service in the cause of humanity. [illegible] League stands for education, organizatio[illegible] operation, self-help, general uplift of the [illegible] ing classes, and above all, for the spir[illegible] service actuated by love and enlightene[illegible] knowledge of actual facts.

A cursory glance at the work ac[illegible] plished by the League during the last tw[illegible] five years.

The League's Pioneer Work

The foundation of the League is in it[illegible] a service of great significance. Before enter[illegible] into a general view of its manifold activiti[illegible] deem it proper, in the initial stage, to state [illegible] directions in which the League did pio[illegible] work. The League was the first institution [illegible] start a Social Service Quarterly and also [illegible] first to start a Monthly in Marathi for the s[illegible] object. The League was the first body [illegible] start a Hindu Division of St. John's Ambula[illegible] Brigade in Bombay. The League was the f[illegible] institution to start a Central Institution [illegible] doing welfare work in a mill area. The Le[illegible] was instrumental in holding an All-India In[illegible] trial Welfare Conference, being the first [illegible] ference of its kind ever held in this coun[illegible] It was also the first body in the Presidency [illegible] commence holding local conferences for ve[illegible] lating the sanitary grievances of a loca[illegible] mostly inhabited by poor and lower m[illegible] class people. The League had the un[illegible] privilege of opening, for the first time in I[illegible] a Welfare Centre for the mill operatives of [illegible] two groups of mills conducted by Mes[illegible]

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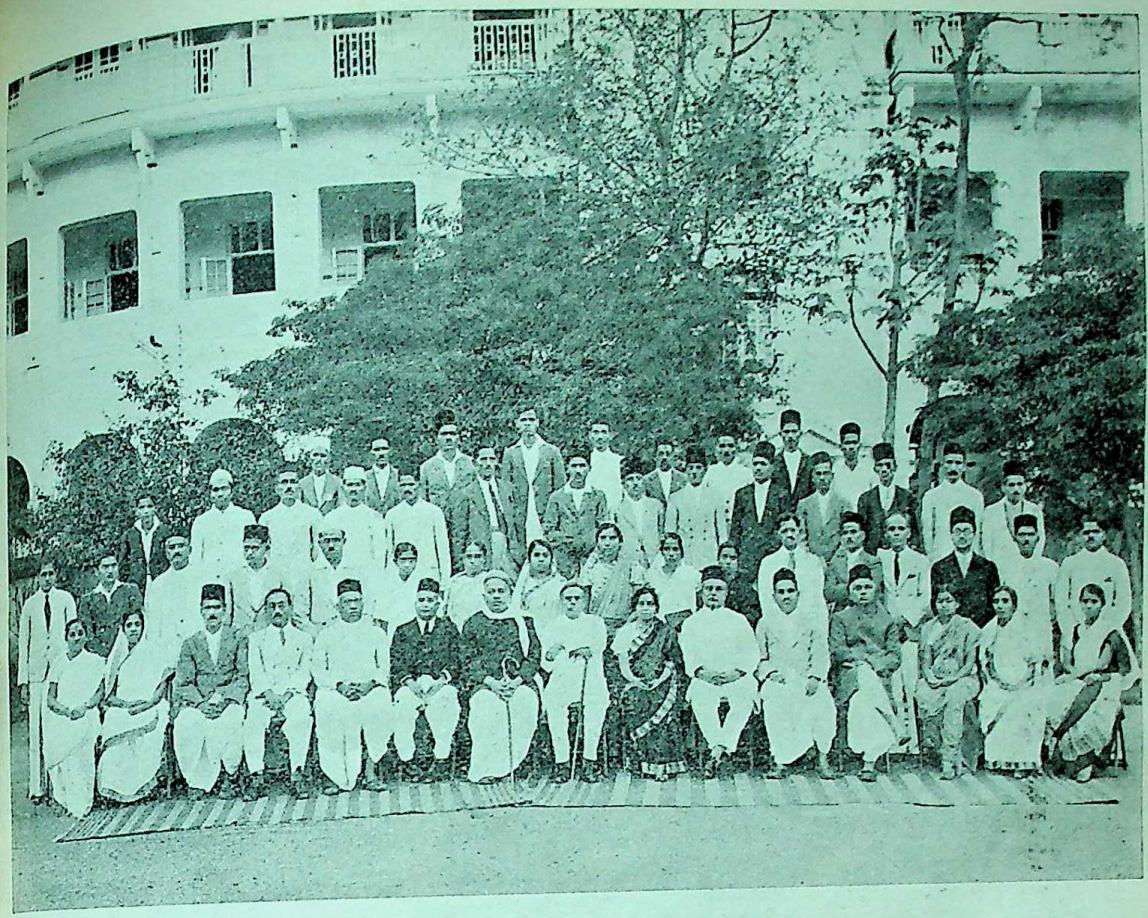

The office-bearers and the staff of the League

Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons and by Messrs. Tata & Sons.

Service in the field of Education

In 1912, the League started Free Travelling Libraries of Gujarati and Marathi books for creating a taste for reading among the masses. This work is still continued. During all these years, the League spent nearly Rs. 18,000 for this purpose. It conducted several Night Schools and is still maintaining 4 Anglo-Vernacular Night Schools. Till 1935, it spent for this object Rs. 1,20,721. From 1911 to 1923, it conducted Sanitation, First Aid, Hygiene and other classes both for men and women. Throughout its career, it arranged University Extension Addresses, Lantern Lectures and Lectures on Social Subjects. The League started 3 Standing Libraries and 3 Reading Rooms. One of these Standing Libraries is a specialised Library containing many useful books on social and labour problems. In 1914 the League started a quarterly organ of its own called the Social Service Quarterly for the discussion of social problems. For 10 years, the League brought out a Marathi magazine for the same object. For six years, it was instrumental in helping poor students of schools and colleges with text books. For a few years, the League undertook educational work in two jails in Bombay. It brought out many pamphlets and leaflets in English and Vernaculars on social and sanitary subjects. Chief among these were (*a*) List of Hindu Charities in Bombay; (*b*) Directory of Social Institutions in India—outside the city of Bombay; (*c*) Directory of Social Work in the city of Bombay. Since 1918 the League started an institution called "The Mahila Seva Mandal" for promoting social intercourse and happy relations among the women of different classes . . . classes, castes and creeds, for diffusing general information on useful subjects among them and for giving such practical training in arts, crafts and professions as will render them more accomplished and enable them to achieve their economic independence and for helping their all round progress and for creating a liking for social service among them. Under this Mandal, 3 Industrial Schools for

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women are conducted, 1 at Parel, 1 at Girgaon, and 1 in the Ville Parle suburb of Bombay. The League spent for these Schools, till 1935, Rs. 75,000. Since 1921, the League has been conducting a Night High School at Parel for the benefit of working-class people who earn their living by doing work in mills, factories, offices etc. The League has up to now spent Rs. 11,000 for this purpose. In 1923, Messrs. N. N. Wadia and Co., the Agents of the Bombay Dyeing and Manufacturing Company, donated to the League a sum of Rs. 35,000 for erecting a special building for its Textile Technical School. In 1923, the building was completed and in August 1924, a Textile Technical School was started for giving instruction, both theoretical and practical, in spinning and weaving, through the vernacular. The League built for this School a special Shed for locating the spinning and weaving machinery by spending about Rs. 10,000. This School is still continued. The League has spent for this School Rs. 52,000. From 1925, the League started Social Workers' Training Classes, with a to stimulate interest in and provide infor on some outstanding problems of social These classes have been continued all years.

Collection of Funds

In 1911, the League collected Rs. for the Bombay Central Famine Relief In 1912, it collected Rs. 7,000 for the

The Doctor (Miss Muktabai Turkhud) and patients of Bai Bachubai Kanji Karsondas Charitable Dispensary for women at Parel Working men's Institute

Sanatorium Fund. In 1918, it collec Rs. 53,000 for the Relief of sufferers from Influenza Epidemic. In 1933, it collec Rs. 17,872 for giving relief to the sufferers w huts were completely burnt down by the astrous fire which occurred at the Kumb wada at Dharavi in Bombay.

Relief Work

In 1924, the League afforded relief to poorest section of the mill-workers' popula when it suffered much owing to the produ tion of a strike. When the Indian Work

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The teachers and pupils of the League's Night High School

The President and some members of the Managing Committee

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The teachers and pupils of the Mahila Seva Mandal Industrial School
(Girgaum Servants of India Society's Home)

Compensation Act came into force in July 1924, the League undertook the work of helping workmen to obtain compensation under the Act. For some years the League arranged to appoint a Poor Man's lawyer to give free legal advice to the poor people at some of its Centres. In 1927, it sent one of its life-workers to help Mr. A. V. Thakkar for two months in the relief work carried on in the flood-stricken districts of Gujarat. In 1933, the League gave permanent relief to 500 potters at Dharavi by building 102 pucca corrugated ironsheet huts (14′—6″×14′ in dimensions with a verandah 7′×6′ wide) for 110 families. This we were enabled to do because of the donation of Rs. 5,000 which the Sir Dorab Tata Trust gave us for providing shelters for the ruined families.

Social Purity Work

For some years, since its foundation, the League carried on the movement to put down the evil of gambling found prevalent among certain sections of Hindus in the sacred month of Sravan. The League's existence being due to the Holika Sammelan work, the League since 1912 to 1923 continued that activity.

Service in the field of Sanitation, Hygiene, Medical Aid etc.

For 12 years, from 1913 to 1924 the League maintained a Charitable Homeopathic Dispensary at a cost of Rs. 14,000. In 1918, at the time of the second influenza epidemic, the League opened 28 Relief Centres, and through the active help of volunteers and doctors relieved 17,684 cases by visiting 1010 chawls. On September 29, 1918, the League started the Bahi Bachubai Charitable Dispensary through a donation of Rs. 44,000 given by Seth Kanji Karsondas. This Dispen- continued and every year it affords r relief to thousands of women and ch Since 1919, the League has been admini the Florence Nightingale Village Sani Fund along lines set forth in the Trust For two years, the People's Medical Society conducted a Dispensary, a M Store and a Nursing Home for the bene the people. Since 1913, the League comm to give to the children of workmen oppo ties of enjoying the pleasure of fresh air of learning to appreciate the beauties of and art, by organizing Fresh Air Excur This activity is still continued. The L started and continued for 5 years, a Te ance Club. The League has since some started the practice of taking Sanitation Re particularly in the slum areas of the city of bringing to the notice of the proper au ties the sanitary grievances of the poor p

Service in the Field of Recreation

In May, 1922, an Indian Gymnasium started in the League's Parel Settlement. Gymnasium is still continued. It annuall ceives a grant of Rs. 600 from the Bo Municipality.

After the Bombay Workingmen's Ins was started, the League was instrumen organizing an amateur dramatic club, the Sahakari Manoranjan Mandal, com of members mostly drawn from clerks workmen employed in mills and workshop the object of giving dramatic performan the Damodar Hall at cheap rates for the tainment of the working classes. The M

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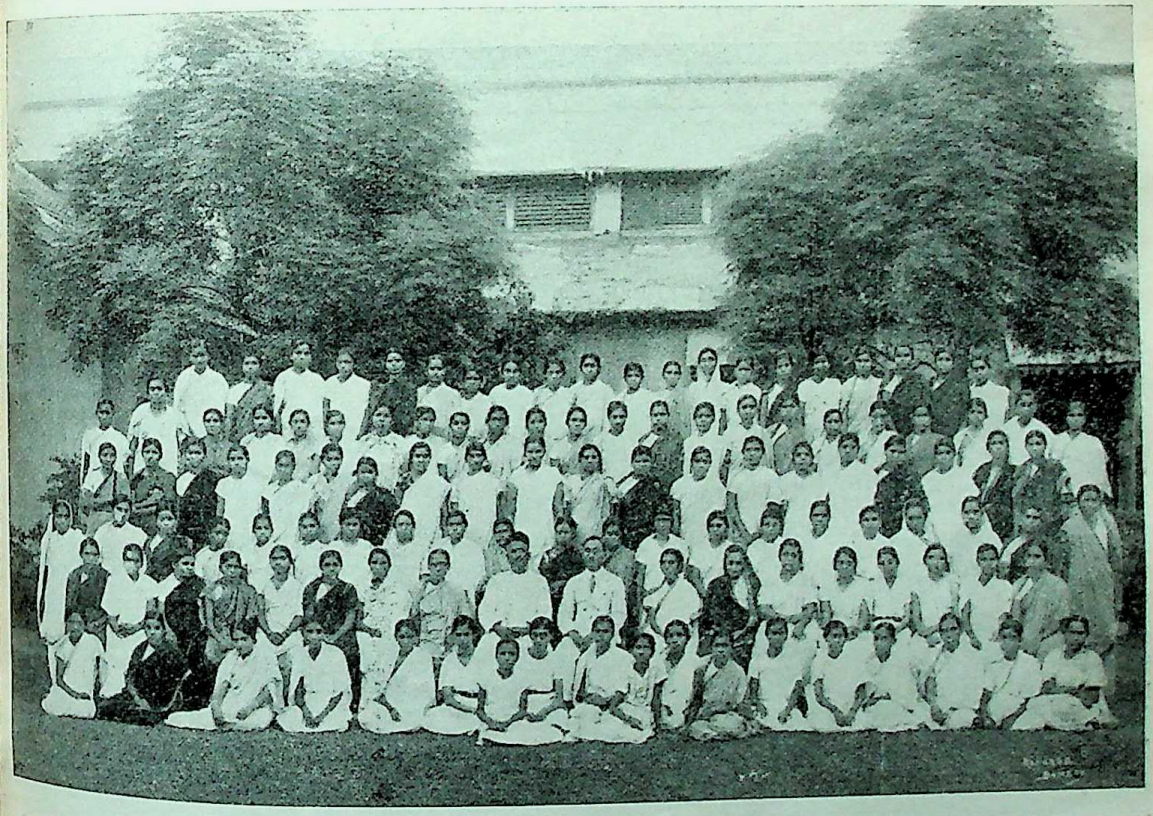
The Mahila Seva Mandal Supervising Committee



The teachers and pupils of the Mahila Seva Mandal Industrial School at Parel Working men's Institute

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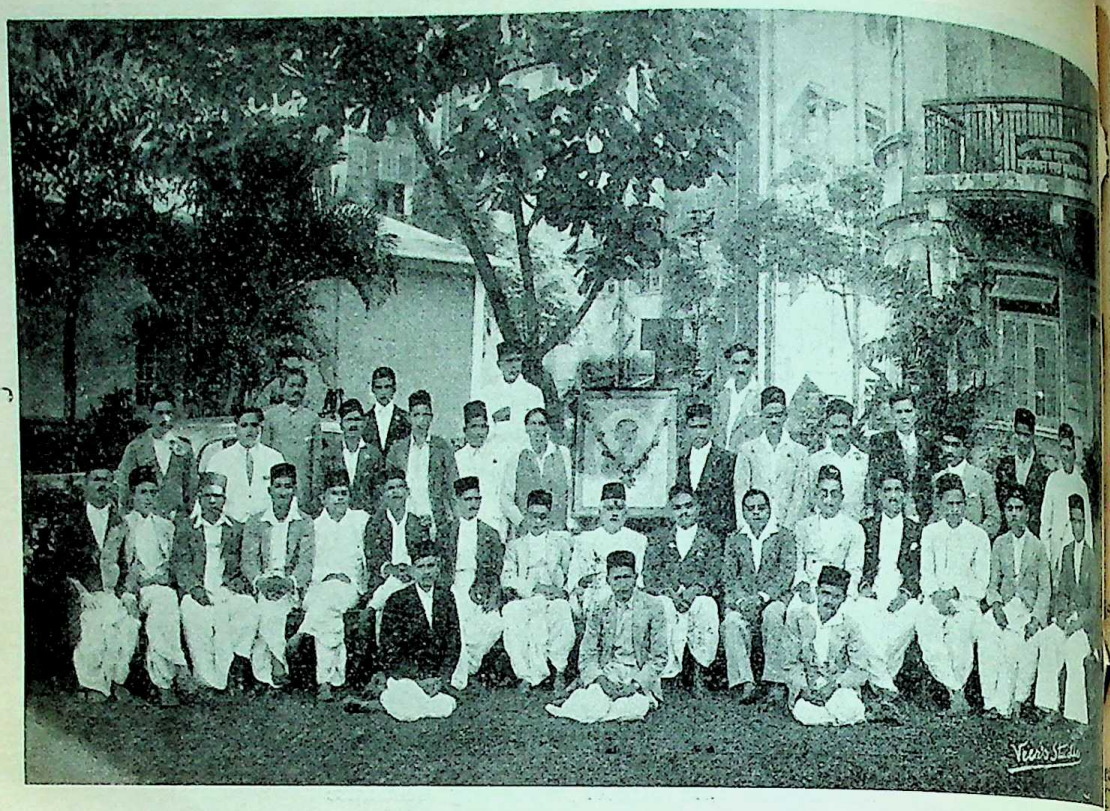
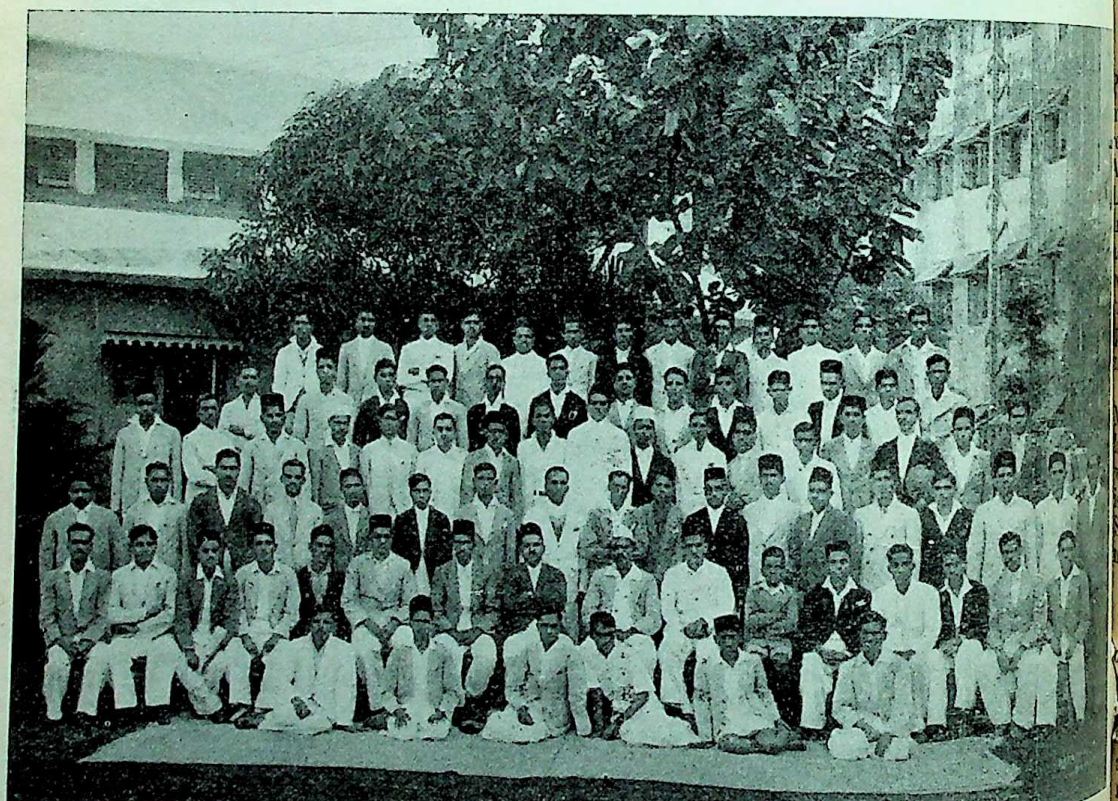


Members of the Masik Manoranjan Mandal



The teachers and pupils of the Textile Technical School

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The teachers and pupils of the Mahila Seva Mandal Industrial School at Ville Parle

still working under the League. Its object is create a refined taste among the working sses.

Social Centres

From the year 1913 to 1917, the League carried on various activities at Tardeo, Chikalwadi and Parel, three localities inhabited by a large number of working class people.

Parel and Madanpura Settelments

In January 1917, the League started the Parel Settlement, the Parel locality being the main centre of the labouring classes, with two resident workers. This Centre is still continued. At this Settlement the League maintains a Library, a Gymnasium, and a Reading Room. In 1917-18, the Parel Settlement undertook an active campaign against rent profiteering and rendered valuable service in relieving the distress among large sections of the labouring population by bringing their grievances to the notice of the proper authorities.

In February 1918, the League founded at Madanpura a Settlement for the benefit of the large population of Mahomedan weavers who were mostly illiterate. This Settlement work is still continued. It was in the charge of Mr. Syed Munawar, a Mahomedan graduate, for many years.

Belgaum Criminal Tribes Settlement

From April 1, 1928, the League having an offer from the Bombay Government undertook the management of the Industrial (Criminal Tribes) Settlement at Belgaum. The League is successfully carrying on this work under the able management of Mr. M. R. Bade, B.A., B.Sc., one of its life-workers.

Dharavi Free Colony

In July 1933, the League, at the request of the Government of Bombay, undertook the management of the Free Colony at Dharavi, and appointed one of its senior life-workers, Mr. G. N. Sahasrabuddhe, B.A., to be in charge of the same. The Government, however, decided to discontinue the Colony, and hence at the end of May 1934, the League handed over the charge of the Colony to the Government.

The Trustees of the League's property

The Currimbhoy Ebrahim Workmen's Institute and The Tata and Sons' Workmen's Institute

On March 15, 1918, the Currimbhoy Ebrahim Workmen's Institute was opened by Her Excellency Lady Willingdon to conduct welfare work among the employees of a group of mills of which Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons were the Agents. This Institute's work

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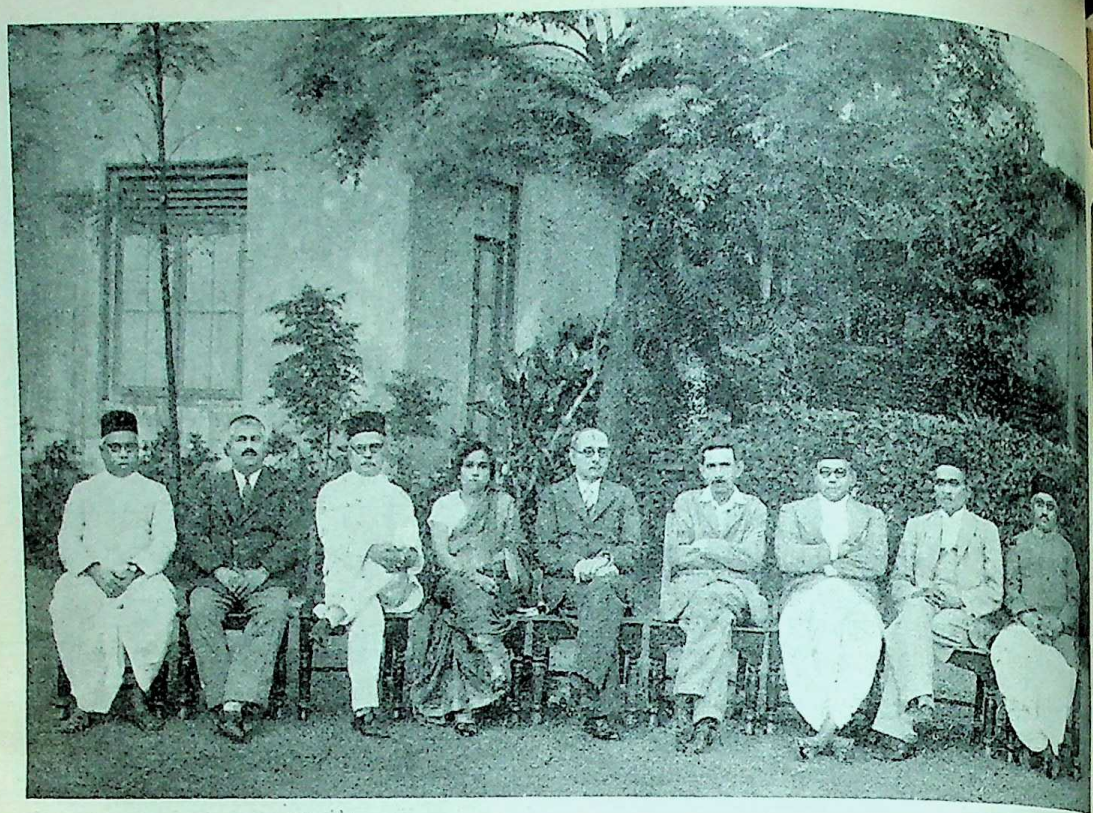

Bai Bachubai Dispensary Supervising Committee

was carried on by the League for five years. It was financed by the firm of Currimbhoy and Rs. 1,84,433-12-4 were spent for the welfare of their employees. In 1924 the Institute was handed over to the Agents of the mills, as they desired to run the Institute departmentally.

In 1918-19, the League started welfare work for the Tata group of mills by founding the Tata and Sons' Workmen's Institute. This work was carried on for five years. During this time the League was instrumental in spending Rs. 3,03,667-11-3 for the welfare of the employees of Messrs. Tata & Sons. In 1924, the Institute was handed over to the Agents of the mills.

Conferences

For some years, the League held the Parel Ward Conferences for ventilating the sanitary grievances of the general residents of the Parel locality. In 1921-22, an All-India Industrial Welfare Conference was held under the auspices of the Currimbhoy and the Tata Institutes of the League.

In 1923, under the auspices of the League, the 4th Session of the All-India Social Workers' Conference was held, 450 delegates representing 100 institutions took part in its work. The League collected Rs. 7,282 as donations and contributions for it. Side by side with Conference, a very successful Social Exhi was held.

The 4th All-India Social Workers' C ference resulted in the formation of the Bo Council of Social Workers. The League keen interest in this Council. This C organized in December 1925 the first Sess the Bombay Social Service Conference, 60 institutions took part. Sir Lalubhai S das was the president of the Conference. second Session of this Conference was h April 1928, under the presidentship of M Natarajan.

Service in the Field of Co-operati

During the last twenty-five years League was instrumental in starting and s vising more than one hundred co-ope credit societies; but since 1931, owing to cial stringency, the Government stopped annual grant of Rs. 1,000, and the Leagu obliged to stop this work.

Boy Scouts

For many years, since 1919, the Leag been maintaining its own Boy Scouts' Tro

Miscellaneous items of Social Servi

a. In January 1919, a Police Court Age appointed by the League in co-operation w

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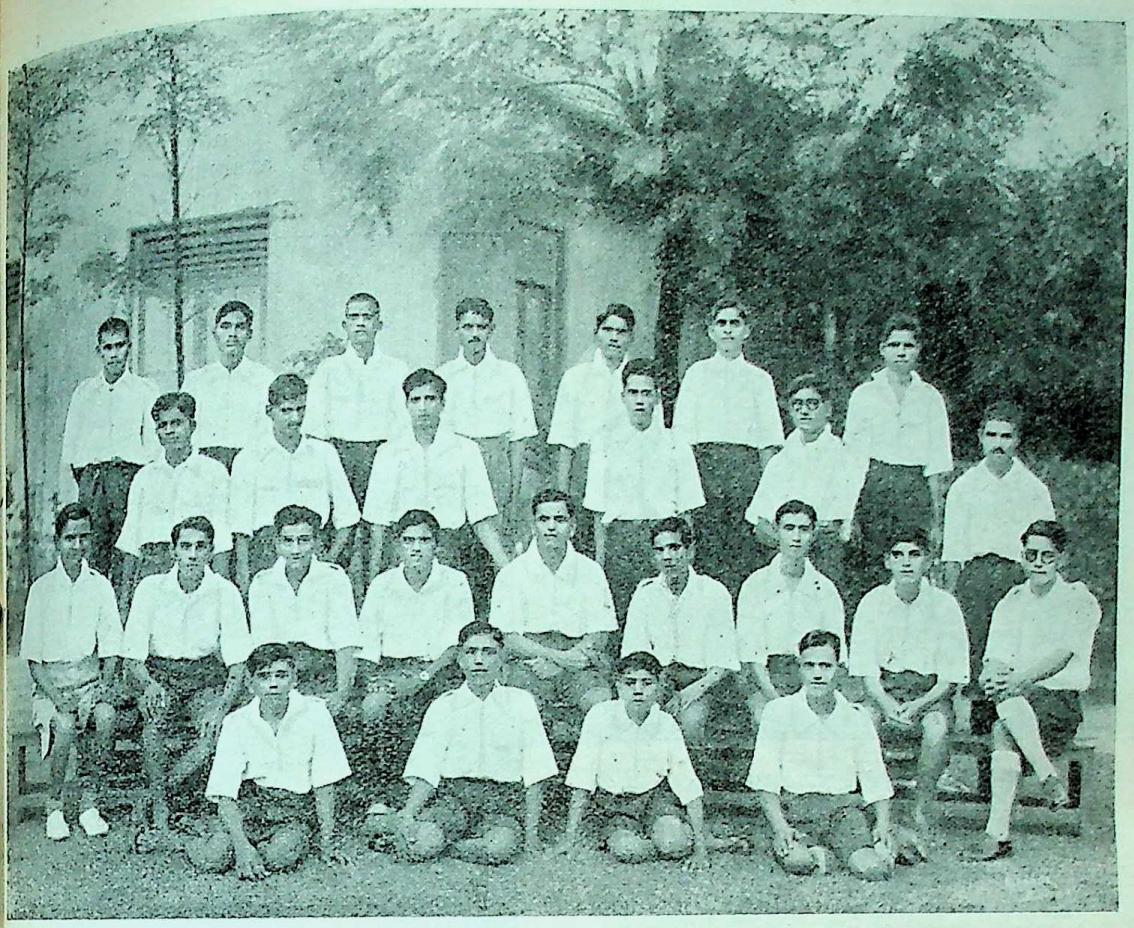

The League's Night High School Boy Scouts' Troop

eased Prisoners' Aid Society, which bore all his penses. The Agent's work was to secure for the first enders the advantage of Section 562 of the C. P. Code, keep in touch with prisoners after their release, and try to prevail upon them to lead an honest life.

b. The League appointed a Committee in December 0, to investigate complaints made by released prisoners garding their treatment in jails, as also about the rking of the new jail rules in the Bombay Presidency, d to suggest the necessary reforms in the present stem. The Committee was presided over by Diwan hadur K. M. Jhaveri. In October 1931, the investiga- ns were completed. The Committee's Report as proved by the Managing Committee was sent to the vernment for the necessary action.

c. In 1931, as requested by the Fundamental Rights d Economic Programme Committee of the Indian ational Congress, the League's Managing Committee warded to the Secretary of that Committee its reply n the subjects.

d. The Superintendent of the League's Madanpura ttlement took a leading part in the months of May and ne of 1932, in forming batches of volunteers for the rposes of maintaining peace in the Mahomedan locality Madanpura during the communal riots.

e. For some years, the League has been lending to the Bombay Presidency Released Prisoners' Aid Society, the Children's Aid Society and to Bombay Vigilance Association, the services, either part-time or full-time, of its trained workers, and these have been well appreciated.

f. In 1932, the League's Managing Committee requested the Bombay Hindu Burning and Burial Grounds on the Queen's Road and at Walkeshwar to give representation to the Depressed Classes on its General Committee and to allow all sections of the Depressed Classes to burn the dead bodies of their people at the Hindu crematoriums. The League's Managing Committee also submitted a scheme for the uplift of Harijans to the Provincial Board of the All-India Anti-Untouchability Society.

g. The League throughout its career of 25 years co-operated with several institutions, and sent its own representatives to serve on the committees of several of them and on several important questions submitted representations to the Government.

h. The League's Buildings have been allowed to be utilized either free or at nominal rents for public functions.

The League's Present Activities

The Social Service League was founded in Bombay on March 19, 1911, with a view to ameliorating the people's physical, moral, mental, social and economic condition. Its motto is "Know, Love and Serve." Its emblem is a lotus flower. All persons over 18 years of age, irrespective of caste, creed or sex, sympa-

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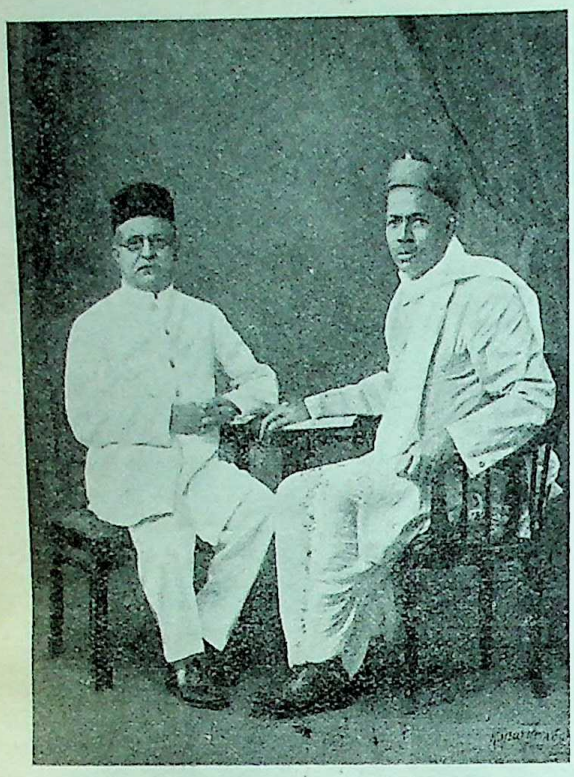
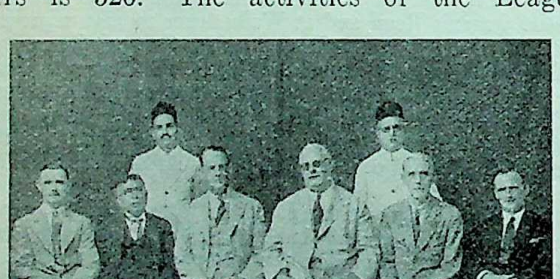


Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A. and
Mr. B. N. Motivala, B.A., LL.B.,
two of the Honorary Secretaries of the League

thizing with the objects of the League, are eligible for its membership. The League consists of Patrons (including honorary), Supporters, Life Members, Honorary Members and Ordinary Members. The total number of members is 520. The activities of the League



The Textile Technical School Supervising Committee

are confined to the City and Island of Bombay, its suburbs and to the Bombay Presidency. It affiliates institutions. It is registered under Act XXI of 1860. All its properties are vested in the following five Trustees:—Sir L. Samaldas, Diwan Bahadur K. M. J. Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., Mr. K. J. Du and Mr. B. N. Motivala. The League are managed by a Managing Commit elected members exclusive of office The Managing Committee carries on its

Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL President, The Social Service League, Bomb

service activities through a staff of five life-workers who have dedicated their serve the League for a period of not les 20 years, through volunteers and a whole-time and part-time workers. The mittee divides its responsibility by cen the supervision of the work to differen committees. The League is maintain subscriptions, donations, grants-in-aid from the Government and the Bombay cipality, and by annual grants from the Merchants' Association and the Mill Association. It is also partially main from income it derives from its prop Parel. The League is helped substanti its honorary legal adviser, its honorary a its honorary treasurers and its honorary tors. The League's annual reports are lished and its accounts are regularly

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The staff of the Industrial Settlement for criminal tribes people at Belgaum

and submitted to the members. The League co-operates with several institutions. It is represented on several philanthropic institutions in Bombay. It is consulted by Government on important social and labour questions. On important occasions it submits special memorials or representations to Government. The League sends delegates to various social conferences both in India and foreign countries. The scope of the League's social service is mainly confined to women and to the depressed, backward and working classes in Bombay. The League offers its whole-hearted service to people in distress in times of flood, famine and fire. It holds local ward conferences for ventilating the people's grievances regarding insanitation. It holds local Social Service Conferences and All-India Social Workers' Conferences. The League maintains one Anglo-Gujarati, one Anglo-Marathi and two Anglo-Urdu Night Schools for the benefit of the working class people. It also conducts a Night High School. This high School is affiliated to the Bombay University and is recognized by Government. It runs a Textile Technical School for the benefit of ordinary mill-workers. The League arranges a series of lectures on useful social topics for the benefit of the students of the Social Workers' Training Class. It arranges lantern lectures and lectures on social topics. It maintains an institution called the "Mahila Seva Mandal" under whose auspices three industrial schools are conducted for the benefit of poor and middle class women, one at Parel, one at Girgaon and one at Ville-Parle. The League has three Standing Libraries, one at Parel, one at Madanpura and one special library of books on social and labour problems at the Head Office. It also maintains three reading rooms. It conducts free travelling libraries which have in all 1,550 books. For the last 22 years it has been conducting the *Social Service Quarterly* for promoting serious thought on and concentrated study of social problems. The League occasionally publishes pamphlets and leaflets on various useful subjects. The League has been maintaining a charitable dispensary for women and children. Thousands of persons take advantage of this dispensary. The League arranges sanitation rounds and also fresh air excursions. It has its own gymnasium and a Lathi Club at Parel. Under its auspices a co-operative body called the Sahakari Manoranjan Mandal gives amateur dramatic performances for the working class people at cheap rates. The League has its Boy Scout Troop and Girl Guides. The League has two co-operative credit societies for its members.

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The League's buildings are allowed to be utilized for various welfare objects. Outside Bombay the League has been conducting a Criminal Tribes Settlement at Belgaum. The League lends part-time or full-time services of its trained workers to different useful institutions. The Leage administers the Florence Nightingale Village Sanitation Fund. For its whole-time workers the League has started a Provident Fund. The League's annual income is about Rs. 55,000 and the whole amount is spent on different activities.

The authorities of the Social Service League are very anxious that in future, each and every city in India should have a separate Social Service League of its own. The League wishes to start such in the Bombay presidency and to have them affiliated to itself. It further wishes that the main body in each Presidency should hold biennially a Presidency Social Service Conference and every five years, all the Presidency Leagues should combine in holding an All-India Social Workers' Conference in different presidencies by turn. The League in Bombay, to cope with its multifarious duties, ke tensely to start a Standing Militia of Service and to celebrate its Silver Jubi having two permanent Jubilee memorial ings, one a two-storied structure for the Industrial School for women of all comm conducted by the Mahila Seva Mandal the auspices of the League and anoth Gymnasium in the vast compound of its premises at a cost of Rs. 10,000.

The League has all along been rec financial help both from the Bombay Go ment and the Bombay Municipality. D these twenty-five years, the League rec the total amount of general donations am ing to Rs. 1,19,890-1-0 and ear-marked d tions for its particular activities to the ex of Rs. 6,30,165. The League's total rec in these twenty-five years came Rs. 19,57,061-6-9 and its expenditure ca Rs. 19,21,804-5-8. The League is in greatly indebted to many firms and gentle for giving liberal donations.

BENGAL'S CASE FOR A FINANCIAL RE-ADJUSTMENT

By Dr. P. N. BANERJEA, M.A., D.Sc., M.L.A.

The question of a financial re-adjustment between the centre and the provinces has been pressed for consideration for several years past. But in view of the impending constitutional changes such a re-adjustment has now become imperative.

Since the commencement of British Rule in India Bengal has been unfairly treated in respect of her financial resources. All the Company's wars, defensive as well as offensive, were financed out of the revenues of Bengal, because the administration of this province was responsible for carrying out the military policy of the Company in India. Moreover, Bengal had to meet year after year the deficits of the other provinces. This state of things continued till the termination of the Company's Rule. Even after the assumption of the administration of India directly by the Crown, the financial injustice to Bengal continued. In 1862, Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Peter Grant, then Lieutenant-Governor of the province, observed that it was "a practice handed down from the beginning of the British Empire in India to make Bengal pay more than its share of the Imperial reve and to give it back in return not a quarter its share of the Imperial funds granted such objects as military protection, pol roads, and other public works." He s "this inevitable practice still in operation," took the opportunity to attract notice "systematic inequalities so injurious to provinces with which he was connected."*

The financial injury done to Bengal not remedied under the Provincial Settlem made by Lord Mayo in 1870-71. Sir Geo Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor of Beng observed shortly after the enforcement of settlement that the assignments prior to Lo Mayo's measure had been made with mo regard to the pertinacity and the boldness the Provincial Governments than to th relative population and territory and had co sequently been unequal. As the assignments

* Letter from Government of Bengal, dated 4th May, 1862.

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1870 had been based on the previous assignments *less* a considerable sum, Bengal was placed in a position of great financial difficulty. As a matter of fact, Lord Mayo's settlements with the provinces were not based on any definite principle. It was rightly observed by Lord Napier of Merchistoun, then Governor of Madras, that any distribution of resources which was made without reference to the revenues or the population of the provinces concerned was bound to involve injustice.†

In the subsequent settlements between the Central and Provincial Governments, Lord Mayo's policy was developed, but the allotments were made without any reference to either of the two principles enunciated by Lord Napier. During the next fifty years, therefore, the financial position of Bengal, instead of improving, became gradually worse. Expenditure was severely cut down in Bengal during the European War of 1914-18 with the object of enabling the Government of India to render effective help to the British Government. As the financial adjustments with the provinces under the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms were based on the actual expenditures of the provinces in the closing year of the War, this action proved disastrous to Bengal.

The Government of Bengal in a representation to the Meston Committee observed that the financial arrangements proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report were extremely unfair to Bengal and urged that more adequate resources should be placed at the disposal of the province. Later, criticising the Meston Committee's proposals, the Government of Bengal pointed out that the increased spending power expected to accrue to the province from the Committee's recommendations was likely to amount to very little, as all special grants from imperial to provincial revenues would cease. It emphasised the disproportionately small extent of the anticipated surplus in Bengal in comparison with those of the provinces of Madras (Rs. 2.28 crores), the United Provinces (Rs. 1.57 crores), and the Punjab (Rs. 1.14 crores), and it refused to accept the view that the requirements of Bengal were, in any sense, less than those of the other provinces. The Government of Bengal said further that the obligation of leaving each province with a reasonable working surplus, which had been recognised by the Meston Committee, was likely to be fulfilled in the case of Bengal "only ostensibly." Observing that the possibilities of growth in the province would be reduced to a far narrower sphere than was calculated by the Meston Committee, the Government of Bengal noted that even the Meston Committee had conceded that in Bengal the revenue was "inelastic."

Mr. (later Sir) Surendranath Banerjea, who shortly afterwards became a Minister in the Government of Bengal, pointed out on this occasion that the indirect contribution of Bengal to the Central Exchequer was the largest of any of the provinces, and that the inevitable adoption of the Meston Settlement would be the initiation of fresh taxation. He, therefore, urged that the export duty on jute be made over to Bengal and that the ordinary income-tax be provincialised,—a view supported by all the public bodies in the province. The Bengal Legislative Council adopted a number of Resolutions condemning the financial arrangements recommended by the Meston Committee on the ground that they were inequitable to Bengal, having been based on "an exaggerated and indefinite idea about the further taxable capacity of Bengal, and being likely to jeopardise the successful working of the Reforms in the province."‡

Bengal's claim for financial justice, however, remained unheeded. Beginning with the first Reform Budget of 1921-22, which estimated a deficit of Rs. 2.08 crores, she has never been able during the last 15 years to free herself from the crippling legacy of the Meston Settlement. On the one hand, the Government has been compelled to provide for the most drastic retrenchment, specially in the field of nation-building services, and on the other, new taxation of a large amount has had to be levied. Three Taxation Bills were passed in 1922, two of them for amending the Stamp and Court-Fees Acts and the third for imposing a tax on amusements. Some time later, the registration fees were enhanced.

These measures gave the province only a respite for a short period. The financial situation in Bengal again became very acute in 1931, and since then large deficits have accrued year after year. Deficits in the course of the last three years piled up to more than 5½ crores. In spite of the grant of one-half of the proceeds of the Jute Export Duty on jute grown within her boundaries and a drastic retrenchment to the extent of half a crore of rupees, mostly in the nation-building departments, the Government of Bengal was faced last year

† Minute dated 3rd May, 1872.

‡ Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council, dated the 1st July, 1920.

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with a deficit of 50 lakhs of rupees. Five taxation measures were passed which have yielded a revenue of Rs. 28 lakhs only,—a position which illustrates the fact that the burden of taxation has reached its furthest limit. In spite of this retrenchment and additional taxation the budget for 1936-37 discloses a deficit of 51¾ lakhs of rupees.

In the Report on Indian Finance by Mr. (now Sir) Walter Layton included in the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Volume II, pointed reference was made to the low revenue level of Bengal in proportion to her enormous population. The Layton Report pointed out, on the basis of the figures for the year 1928-29, that out of the total revenues of 37¾ crores collected in Bengal, only 10 crores remained in Bengal. Central Revenues collected in some of the other provinces amounted to the following figures : Bombay, 24½ crores; Madras, 7½ crores; the Punjab, 1 crore. Thus while Bengal's contribution was not only the highest but disproportionately large in comparison with the other provinces, her own financial position was reduced to one of insolvency.

The Layton Report noted, further, that the disparity between the total expenditures per head in the various provinces, *e.g.*, 2.5 rupees per head in Bengal compared to 8.6 rupees in Burma, 8.3 rupees in Bombay, 5.5 rupees in the Punjab, and 4 rupees in Madras, was so great that it was "impossible to believe." As a matter of fact, Bengal came eighth in the list. Sir Walter Layton observed that the disparities were so great, whatever might be the cause, that "their existence cannot be left out of account in considering a new financial settlement." He further pointed out that increases in the nation-building services, such as Education, Medical Relief and Public Health, between 1922-23 and 1929-30 had been the least in Bengal as compared to the other major provinces.

It is interesting to consider the more recent position of Bengal in this connection. It will be found that the expenditure on education in Bengal has practically come down to the 1922-23 level, being 1,23,16,000 rupees for 1922-23 and 1,27,67,000 rupees in 1933-34.* The expenditure on primary education in 1933-34 was actually below the figure of 1922-23, being Rs. 30,11,000 in that year as against Rs. 30,28,000 in 1922-23. Apart from education, public health and medical relief, the improvement in communications and the tion of the problem of the "dead and rivers" of Bengal call for urgent attenti 1932-33, the Reserved and Transferred D ments received, respectively 1,060 lakh 6,40 lakhs in Madras; 8,15 and 5,21 lakh Punjab; and 7,72 and 3,38 lakhs of rup Bengal.

The Meston Settlement has rendered i sible, by the persistent financial difficul the last 15 years, any expansion in the con tive services. The Budget Estimates 1934-35 provided for the deficit on Re Account of about 2¼ crores, an amount equal to the total Budget provision lakhs) for the departments of Educ Medical Relief, Public Health, Agricultur Industries. The situation was largely re by the grant of half the proceeds of the Export Duty on Jute grown in Bengal, step the Central Government was constr to take because of the desperate fin situation of the province.

Bengal has the largest population the provinces of India, but she is a bad fi the order of allocation of revenues. The fo ing figures will make the position clear:

Provinces	Total net Reve (1934-35) in R
Madras	15,62,63,9
Bombay	14,28,86,1
United Provinces ..	11,30,10,6
Punjab	10,66,57,6
Bengal	9,43,03,2

This is a state of things which should be allowed to continue any longer. Of total revenue collected from taxes on incom the various provinces in 1934-35, amounti 17.58 crores, 4.33 crores were derived Bengal, as against 4.25 crores derived Bombay, 1.64 crores from Madras, 1.33 cr from the United Provinces and .91 crore the Punjab. The amount of taxes on in collected from Bengal during the period 192 to 1935-36 was about 65 crores. The bul this sum (amounting roughly to about 90 cent) can justly be claimed as the contri tion of Bengal to the Central Exchequer. quite natural, therefore, that Bengal sho claim immediately a substantial portion the proceeds of the income-tax derived the province. The statement in the Select Committee's Report that "for some to come the Centre is unlikely to be able to more than find the funds necessary for deficit provinces and that any early distr

* Resolution No. 2517, Education; *Calcutta Gazette*, August 1, 1935.

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on of any substantial part of the taxes on come is improbable" has not relieved ngal's anxiety. The need of the province is gent, and I would strongly urge the adoption the plan evolved at the Second Session of Round Table Conference. The Peel Com-ttee very justly recommended that taxes on come should be transferred to the provinces th the exception of the Corporation Tax which, was suggested, might, in certain circum-ances, be retained by the Federal Government. also recommended that the whole of the taxes income to be transferred to the porvinces ould be transferred at the outset of the deration, and that any resultant federal ficit should be met from provincial contri-tions. The Peel Committee wanted the nstitution to specifically provide for the tinction of provincial contributions by annual ages over a definite period, such as 10 or 15 rs.

As regards the Jute Export Duty, it was e unanimous opinion of the delegates from Bengal to the Round Table Conference that Bengal had a legitimate claim to the whole of e proceeds of this duty.* Since 1916, Bengal as contributed by means of this export duty early 70 crores to the Central Exchequer, hile the Government of Bengal has not been ble to derive any benefit from this monopoly oduct of the province. The export duty on Bengal jute which is one of the most localised dustries of the world, should, as being a tax n the produce of the land, be made a provin-ial source of revenue. The allocation of the port duty on jute as a federal source of venue would be a form of discriminatory xation. The fact is also worthy of considera-on that the processes involved in the cultiva-on of jute adversely affects the sanitation of e province. The grant of the entire proceeds the duty alone may make it possible to ckle, on a wide scale, the problem of public alth. Moreover, it may be pointed out that no Federation do export duties form part federal resources. In the case of jute, it is not difficult to trace the origin or the incidence. Even if it be argued that the burden of the duty falls on the foreign purchaser, the claim of the province to a piece of good fortune which has fallen to its lot cannot be brushed aside. It should also be borne in mind that jute, both as an agricultural product and as a manufactured article, is a provincial subject and the provincial Government will have to find money for any development needed in jute cultivation and manufacture.

In the allocation of resources as between the provinces two just and feasible principles may be adopted, namely, (*a*) population, and (*b*) the origin of revenues. The population test will, of course, be welcome to Bengal. But if it be found impracticable to adopt this principle in its entirety, it may be linked with the principle of origin, which will serve as a fairly equitable criterion. If the population test be adopted, Bengal's share of revenues will be the largest. The acceptance of the test of origin will also provide Bengal with a substantial revenue.

In conculsion, it is necessary to point out that, on the ground of equity and fairness, the least that can be urged on behalf of Bengal is that the bulk of the income-tax proceeds and the whole of the jute export duty derived from the province be made over to Bengal. It may be argued that provincial needs must wait till requiremnts of Federation are fully satisfied. This would be a very dangerous doctrine to lay down and its acceptance would certainly lead to a most unsatisfactory situation. From the very commencement of British rule in India a proper balance has been lacking in the financial system of the country. While large sums of money have been spent annually on the Army and the Police, niggardly treatment has always been meted out to the nation-building services. As additional taxation is inconceivable at the present moment, the funds needed for developing these services will have to be obtained by retrenchment in the Central Budget. If the new constitution is to get any chance of success the fundamental principle of financial re-allocation must be the provision of adequate revenues for the provinces.

* Appendix IX, Volume II, Proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee and Minorities Committee.

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ON RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

In France Tagore is hardly known except as possessing the grave visage of the poet-prophet —that imposing figure, wrapped in mystery, whose gentle speech, graceful movement, and whose beaming brown eyes under the shadow of fine eye-lashes radiate serene majesty. Meeting him at first, one involuntarily feels as though one were at church and talks in a hushed voice. Then if you are permitted to watch more closely the fine and proud profile, you will observe beneath the placid symphony of the lines the dominant sadness, the gaze without illusion, the virile intellect which resolutely faces the battle of life and does not let the spirit be ruffled by it. And you will remember in his ethereal poems woven of light and shade the mystic voyager, the soul eternal, in its journey from world to world in quest of the Divine Lover, reflecting in its garb the light of the Vedas. And also the solemn prophecy addressed to the nations of the earth, pointing to the curse of Siva hanging over civilizations triumphant but crumbling.

That voice of the Brahmin, as of his great ancestors, seems always fashioned for chanting sacrificial hymns on the summits one never imagines that it may also serve for homely talk. When Europe thinks of the great geniuses of India, she thinks only of their seriousness, she forgets the smile that plays on the lips of the Buddha, the mocking good humour which one meets again in the beautiful dialogues in the *Majjhimanikayo*. The sages and gods of Asia—leaving aside the terrifying prophets of the Old Testament, who, I believe, never laughed—all know irony. Irony lurks behind even the oldest of the sacred books. Only we stupid Europeans reduce their features to the uniformity of solemn seriousness. The saints of their legends do laugh.

The tale runs—Tagore himself tells it—that one day the kid came weeping to Brahma and said to him: "Lord, why is it that I serve as food for all creatures?" "Well, my child," answered Brahma, "I wish I could help you there! When I look at you, even I feel tempted to crunch you."

If Brahma himself can jest with his creatures, it is only natural that the minor gods and sages cannot be sparing in the matter. The religious festivals of India often verge on quite Italian. One needs to read *A Pa India*, the brilliant novel of E. M. Fo which there occurs a description of the tion of Krishna's birth with songs, dan children's sports. For the amusement infant-god in the cradle, high functionari grave professors abandon themselves revel, naked of foot, begarlanded and cr beating, even as the disciples of the Sw *Chaturanga*, the novel of Tagore. The g the Himalayas like their cousins of Greece Olympian laughter. And the sages of never dupes of *Maya*, enjoy their games better. Sometimes they abash their sincere admirers.

My friend, C. F. Andrews, who for t years has made India his second home one of the closest of Tagore's friends, h me that the first day he met him he th himself obliged not to depart from the and formal manner and talk of the M But before the day was out, the Guru played a joke on him, at which Andrew laughs to-day.

Humour has never been absent in thinkers and poets of India. It is the n counter-poise to meditation. And the mind Tagore owes to it in part its equilibrium. visionary, whom you imagine to be plung contemplation, smilingly watches the comedy of the world (like that other visi the most powerful epic poet of our Europe Spitteler). And both of them miss nothi the play with its hundred different acts.

Tagore is born in a tragic epoch in the destiny of mankind, and particularly own numerous people, is on trial. Upon rests the mission of enlightening and g the men of his time who seek to cross swollen stream. Hence it is that the ta poetic and prophetic illumination occupi place of honour in his creative work; the of observation comes second. Europe has less notice of the latter, because while his p and essays have a universal character, th of observation of the novels and stori naturally Indian. Precisely on this s his works should attract the attention of who, already fascinated by the blinding

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which is visible on the horizon—the light of the Indian Sun,—seek to know the people out of whom have arisen the living geniuses: Tagore, Aurobindo Ghose, Jagadish Bose,—and that saint, the Mahatma.

Of all the novels of Tagore, the only one translated into French: *The Home and the World*, although very beautiful, is perhaps the least characteristic of his works of observation, for it is of all the most lyrical, the most introspective and the most akin to the poems.

But it is in a number of stories and social novels that Tagore has undertaken the task of painting Indian society; and he has done this with a fearlessness of spirit which attacks without bitterness but at the same time without extenuation the prejudices of the time and depicts with mischievous good humour the types of the higher and middle bourgeoisie of Bengal.

The feminine question occupies him in more than one work; especially the position of the widow, so wretched in India, where she cannot remarry, where she has no home, and nothing to call her own, not even herself. This is a secondary motive in *Chaturanga*. It is the principal theme of the story—*Friends*.

The principal work, *Gora*, the longest novel of Tagore, portrays the two parts into which Hindu society is divided: the conservative Hindus, hundred per cent nationalist, archaic, fanatical; and the free-thinkers of the Brahmo-Samaj who no less intolerant—the *Homais* and *Bournisiens* of India. This conjures up a very rich and exceedingly daring picture which has made for the author enemies in both camps. His gentle puckish irony finds pleasure in finally discovering its hero in the leader of political, religious and extreme nationalism, a foundling of Irish blood, received out of charity into the bosom of a family of gallant Hindus, unprejudiced at heart.

This is one of the most living pictures of India if not of today—of ten or fifteen years ago (change is so prodigiously rapid and our friend W. W. Pearson, who had left India in 1916, hardly recognised it in 1919). Until it appears in French, we offer to the public of France that delightful novel, whose Bengali title is *Chaturanga* (Quatuor—literally with four parts). I do not think it will be found too foreign. If the Swami who dances—the master of emotion, and Satish, who follows every path in the search of God and at last turns his back on them all in order the better to meet Him—these two products of Hinduism—are not to be met by our European wayside, we recognise Jagmohan as our own, the saintly atheist, the Hindu free-thinker, and Srivilas, the story-teller, the upright man, who is always a trifle overlooked for reasons of sentiment. The charming Damini, on the other hand, belongs to every country. Tagore excels in the portrayal of the feminine character; in that little masterpiece—*Friends*, it is drawn with passionate delicacy. The women in his works appear to us as always more alive and truer than the men, perhaps because they are closer to universal nature, less deformed by the social prejudices of the country and age.

The whole atmosphere of this little work sometimes reminds one of a Victorian novel—of an aristocratic Dickens, or, in its best pages, of the Thackeray of Henry Esmond, on account of its good nature, lingering smile, mixture of tenderness and irony—melancholy at heart. But what belongs alone to the poet of the *Cygne* (Bengali: *Balaka*) is nature's vibrant passion in which the story is steeped. And beneath the flow of words of the story-teller, the wordless song of the soul throbbing behind the veil—the music of silence.

November, 1924.

[The above essay of M. Romain Rolland originally appeared as Preface to Mlle. Rolland's translation into French of Tagore's novel *Chaturanga* (Broken Ties, Macmillan, 1925) published in 1924. The Translator takes this opportunity of expressing his deep gratitude to M. Rolland for authorising him to publish this translation.]

Translated from the French by Sasadhar Sinha, Ph.D. (London).

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A FOLK-EPIC OF BENGAL

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

[At some period or other of the history of the world serpent worship has prevailed in all continents—perhaps in all countries. We find clear proofs, or at least traces, of its existence in some age or other among Australians, Polynesians, Melanesians, North American Indians, Mexicans, Central Americans, South American Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Cretans, Egyptians, Babylonians, Canaanites, Hebrews, Phoenicians, Arabs, Greeks, Romans, some Celtic peoples, the Hindus and the aborigines of India, the Teutonic and Balto-Slavic peoples, the Lettish, Lithuanians and Old Prussians, and the Slavs. Serpent worship takes many f[illegible] worship of a single serpent or of a spe[illegible] serpent, of a serpent as represented in an [illegible] of a serpent associated with a deity (a pr[illegible] god or one of many gods) or of a purely my[illegible] serpent.

The cactus plant named "Manasa," sacred to the goddess Manasa; with altar, and thatched temple to the left

Clay Image of the goddess Manasa

A distinction has to be drawn betwee[illegible] worship of the snake itself and its worsh[illegible] the embodiment of a god or a spirit. S[illegible] times a god is believed to show himself [illegible] serpent, or the reptile is taken to be the sy[illegible] or attendant of a divinity and is frequently [illegible] garded as the guardian of a shrine or a temp[illegible]

While, as stated above, serpent worsh[illegible]

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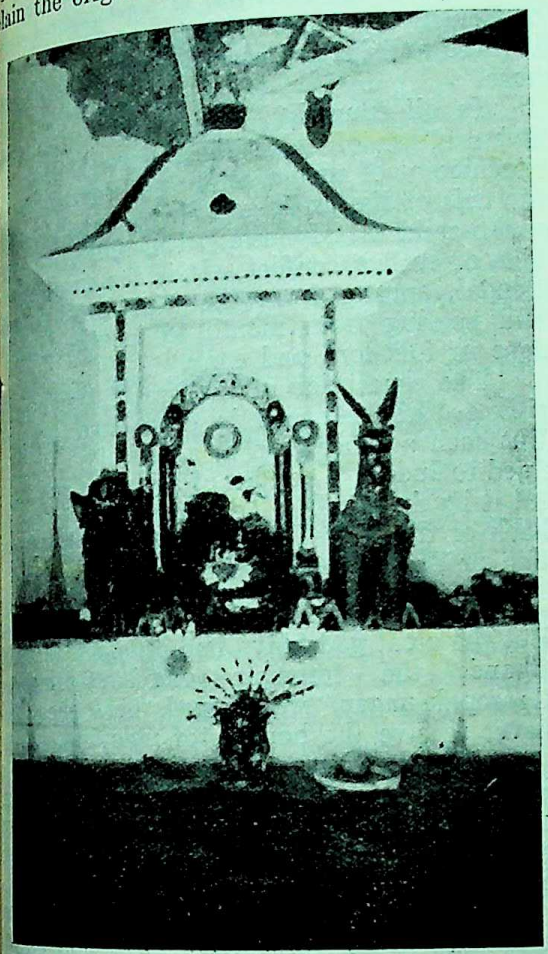
to be found in some age or other in all parts of the world, it is of special anthropological interest in India. It is very widely distributed in various forms in this country, where alone all the known living species of snakes exist. Their wide distribution and abundance and the serious loss of life caused by them every year perhaps explain the origin and continuance of the cult.



A Manasa Temple, with her horse and elephant of burnt clay; with the sacred water-vessel in front, decked with flowers

The worship of the snake-goddess Manasa or Visha-hari ("remover of venom") is particularly prevalent among the lower classes in Bengal. They believe that, if it is neglected by any family, some member of it is sure to fall a victim to snake-bite. While the goddess may be worshipped any and every day, the particular day reserved in this Province for her worship is the last of the Hindu month of *Sraban*. Ordinarily she is worshipped by placing an earthen pot marked with vermilion under a tree, with clay images of horses, elephants or snakes arranged round it and a *tri-sula* (or trident) driven into the ground. Often a kind of cactus, named Manasa after

Two expert snake-charmers with cobra and other venomous snakes, chanting hymns to Manasa and playing with the serpents

Another Idol of Manasa (with horse & elephant): offerings in the foreground

her, is held to be her emblem. Sometimes she is believed to dwell in a *pipal* tree. In places

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infested with snakes a special shrine or a separate room is dedicated to her. On the day set apart for her worship her image of clay is adored—principally by the Bagdis, Bauris and Mals of Central and Western Bengal.

Some snake-charmers playing with serpents and singing songs before a small crowd of boys and young men

Manasa is the favourite deity of the Bagdis. Her image is made with two or four arms, with a cobra in each hand, and crowned by a tiara of snakes. When the worship is over, her image is taken in procession to a river or a tank and consigned to its waters. In my native town Bankura, Western Bengal, during my boyhood my playmates and I greatly enjoyed the songs about the snake-goddess sung by her worshippers. The occasion used to be and still is enlivened by *tableaux vivant* or by clay figures either caricaturing or seriously representing recent events and persons connected with them, carried in procession on the shoulders of men or on bullock carts through the streets. In East Bengal and in other parts of Bengal where rivers abound there are boat races dur festival.

In this province the principal myth snake-goddess centres round Behula, its There are many long poems telling her More than three dozen have been bro light by the researches of scholars.

The popularity of the story measured by the fact that at least eight of of Bengal are proud of being the region its hero and heroine were thought to have born.

In all countries, there have been riv and conflicts of cults. The story of Beh reminiscent of such a conflict in Bengal be the cult of the great god Shiva and that snake-goddess Manasa. The following tells of such a conflict. It is the rural Bengal, sprung from the heart of its and passing from mouth to mouth dow ages in folk-lore and song.

The conception of the wrathful and vi tive goddess Manasa is crude and prim But such a conception of a divinity is not fined to India. The idea of a jealous and ful deity in the Old Testament and in the book of the New Testament, called the Re tion or Apocalypse, is similar.]

Manasa longed to be worshipped by But the great god Shiva had ordained that Chand, the foremost merchant-prince Champak-nagar, worshipped her, she never receive the homage of mankind.

But Chand was an earnest worshipper Shiva and had no inclination to worship other deity. He was prosperous and powe and was blessed with a devoted wife, Sanaka, and a large family.

Hearing that some of her neighbours attained great prosperity by worship Manasa, she made preparations for a s worship of the goddess, but was afraid of her husband into her confidence. C somehow to hear of it, however, Chand angry and showered blows on the image goddess with his stout cudgel of *hintal*, s it to pieces and scattered the offerings before it. The cries of Sanaka filled the but Chand paid no heed to them.

The wrath of the goddess knew no b She determined to avenge the insult a break the pride of the insolent merchant.

She called to her presence her evil mes gers, the venomous snakes, and sent the kill the sons of Chand. But Chand them again and again. He and his friend

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great physician Dhanvantari, knew a charm for bringing the dead back to life. So, no sooner did his six sons die of snake-bite than they were revived.

By a clever ruse Manasa took away Chand's power of reviving the dead, and then killed Dhanvantari. Chand now felt helpless. One by one his six sons were killed. Their bereaved and disconsolate mother and their young widows implored the merchant to acknowledge the power of the irate goddess and make peace with her by worshipping her. But Chand only struck the earth vigorously with his stout *hintal* cudgel and vowed that he would never offer worship to the one-eyed woman (Manasa had only one eye, the other being blind). He performed the worship of Shiva on a magnificent scale to show his contempt for Manasa and her vengeful persecutions.

But the wild lamentations of his wife and his widowed daughter-in-law became too much for him to bear. So he planned a voyage with his merchant vessels to distant shores. He filled thirteen of them with rich merchandise and set sail for distant countries. He sailed many rivers and seas, touching at many ports, and went as far as Ceylon. Amassing a large fortune, he set sail for Bengal. During the return voyage the machinations of Manasa raised a furious storm and the thirteen vessels went down with all their crew and cargo. Only Chand was left alive floating and drifting on a raging sea. Finding him in such an extremity, the vengeful goddess made a large flowering lotus plant, which was sacred to her, float on the sea before his eyes. A drowning man catches at a straw. Chand was tempted to clutch at the lotus, but remembering all of a sudden that it was sacred to her, shrank back in abhorrence. This enraged Manasa, but still she would not leave him to die. For, if he died before worshipping her, she would not be recognized by men as a goddess, as ordained by Shiva. He reached shore after a desperate struggle in an entirely destitute condition. He wandered on foot, tattered and dishevelled, and reached home at long last.

Another son had been born to him in the meantime, a very beautiful boy, Lakhindar by name. As he grew older, his bright face was no little solace to Sanaka's ravaged heart which still palpitated with fear. Chand had not made peace with the angry goddess and her ire might be directed against this boy, the sole stay of her declining years. She implored her husband to propitiate the goddess, but only to be sternly rebuffed.

Lakhindar was not only handsome but his deportment charmed all who met him. The time came when Sanaka desired a beautiful daughter-in-law. But Chand was afraid. Might not the nuptial festivities rouse the vengeance of the goddess again?

Unable indefinitely to bear the importunity of his wife, Chand consulted an astrologer. His heart turned cold at what he was told: Lakhindar was destined to die of snake-bite on the wedding night.

Chand kept the dread secret to himself. He had not the heart to shatter poor Sanaka's dreams of happiness. But he had his plans ready to frustrate the vengeful ire of Manasa. Fate was mighty; but there was also human forethought and prowess, and sometimes they proved stronger. He would so arrange that the wicked agents of Manasa would be unable to work her fell design. Thus determined, he sent his family priest Janardan to look for a bride.

Janardan saw many girls, and finally chose Behula, the daughter of Saha, a rich merchant of Nichhani-nagar. Behula was a damsel of exquisite beauty and womanly purity, strength and loveliness of spirit. People took her for a celestial nymph. She was highly accomplished, too. Especially famous was she as a dancer.

On hearing from Janardan, Chand started for Nichhani-nagar, carrying rich presents for the future bride.

He was cordially received by Saha. He saw Behula and was amazed at her beauty. He tested her and found her to be a girl far above the ordinary run of maidans. The match was settled, the wedding day fixed, and Chand returned to Champak-nagar.

Sanaka's joy knew no bounds. She began her preparations. Chand had his own also to make. He ordered a house of iron to be built on the top of a hill, with not a single hole in its walls. Chand intended it for the newly-married pair on the wedding night. Thus would he baffle Manasa.

The goddess began to feel anxious. It would never do to be foiled by the proud and insolent merchant. Unless Chand was brought to his knees, Manasa would never be revered as a goddess by mankind. So, through alternate threats and promises of favour, she persuaded the builder to leave a very small hole in a wall, filled with charcoal dust. The man had at first refused, but eventually yielded through fear.

The marriage of Lakhindar and Behula

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was solemnised with great pomp. They loved each other from the first, and their love was deep and deathless.

After the ceremony, Chand told Behula's father of the terrible secret. With tears in their eyes and a great fear in their hearts, the parents of Behula bade her farewell as she started for her husband's home.

The pair were led into the iron house. All doors and windows were closed. It was guarded by armed sentinels. Peacocks and mongooses were let loose on all sides for killing snakes, should they come there; all around were strewn medicinal herbs which were known as antidotes to snake-poison and which could drive away snakes by their strong smell; and snake-charmers and exorcists were present in large numbers, to keep watch against the approach of snakes. Chand himself kept guard with his staff of *hintal*.

Manasa held a council of war in her celestial abode. She ordered the snakes to kill Lakhindar, but they were all afraid to face the dangers that lay on the way to the iron house. At last Banka Raj, a venomous snake, agreed to do her bidding.

Behula was keeping watch by the side of her sleeping husband. She knew that fate had ordained widowhood for her on this very night. But she was determined to fight fate with all the powers of her soul.

The hours passed. Suddenly Behula started. A sense of impending calamity came upon her. She looked around. A snake entered the room. She was terror-stricken but not unnerved. With a pair of gold pincers, she made Banka Raj her captive.

Thrice did Manasa send her messengers of death to be thrice foiled by the watchful bride. Dawn was fast approaching. The bridegroom must be killed before sunrise. So Manasa worked a spell on poor Behula and she was overpowered by sleep. Then Koli, the deadly asp, entered the bridal chamber and stung Lakhindar on his little toe.

He cried out: "I am stung, I am stung. Rise Behula, and see. I am dying."

Behula rose to find fate's decree fulfilled. Her husband was dying. His body was blue with the deadly venom. She clasped him in her arms and called him, again and yet again. After a few minutes he expired. Behula wept and moaned, but no sound could penetrate through the iron walls of the chamber. She remained alone with her beloved, a widow on her wedding night.

Chand rushed up to the chamber with the first streak of dawn. A sound of [illegible] pierced his ears. He entered with tr[illegible] heart to find his son dead on his marria[illegible]

Chand disappeared. No one knew [illegible]

In the case of a person who died of [illegible] bite the custom was not to cremate his [illegible] but to place it on a raft made of plantain [illegible] and leave it on the river, that perchance [illegible] floated down the stream a physician or a [illegible] charmer might bring it back to life. [illegible] relatives of Chand were making prepar[illegible] to take the body to the riverside, [illegible] requested them to build a raft and pla[illegible] body on it, dressed in its wedding robes. [illegible] complied with her request.

As they lowered the raft to the [illegible] Behula calmly mounted it, sitting wi[illegible] dead husband's head on her lap. Nobody [illegible] ever seen the like before. Nobody [illegible] ever heard of the living accompa[illegible] the dead on the great journey. Eve[illegible] implored her to desist. Death was univ[illegible] Human beings had to submit to the [illegible] decree. What use fighting against fate? [illegible] Sanaka came to the water's edge and im[illegible] Behula to return. But the young wife [illegible] adamant. She and Lakhindar had becom[illegible] in life, and one in death too they would re[illegible] —she must follow him. If the merciful [illegible] granted her the life of her husband, the[illegible] then only would she come back to the socie[illegible] men.

The raft floated slowly downst[illegible] People crowded both banks to see a living [illegible] following her dead husband. The raft re[illegible] Nichhani-nagar, her father's home. Her [illegible] parents ran weeping to see her and to dis[illegible] her from this mad venture. All in vain. [illegible] was resolute. She could not bear the ide[illegible] living in the world without her husband. [illegible] and Lakhindar must remain together in [illegible] or in life.

The raft left all familiar places and tr[illegible] led to unknown shores. Many dangers b[illegible] many temptations assailed her, but her co[illegible] and faith remained unshaken. Some hea[illegible] ruffians, fascinated by her beauty, wanted [illegible] carry her off. But when they came near [illegible] they were awestruck by the majesty of her [illegible] soul shining serene through her face and [illegible] not touch her person. The body began [illegible] decompose, and became swollen and evil-s[illegible] ing. It was infested with maggots and [illegible] She washed and cleaned it, and sat by its [illegible] day and night alone and fasting. In the [illegible] ness of night storms raged and croc[illegible] gathered round her raft eager to devour [illegible]

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corpse. Jackals approached to carry it off when the raft neared the bank. But merciful Providence preserved her from their attacks. Sometimes she would see the evil spirits of the air assume horrid shapes and frighten her to make her give up her extraordinary quest; at others alluring shapes tried to tempt her to a life of ease and luxury. But, pale and emaciated, she sat on the raft like a statue, unmoved alike by fear or temptation. At length only the bones of the body of her beloved were left; but to her it was the same as when it was beautiful and instinct with life. Wherever she saw shrines of Manasa, she prayed for her dead husband's life. The gods rendered her help. Even Manasa began to relent.

The river broadened. The raft reached the ocean. At last it touched a strange shore. Behula had passed earth's boundary and come to the land of the gods. Here she saw a woman washing clothes. This was Neta, the washerwoman of the gods. She had a little child with her, who gave her much trouble. She put the child to death in the presence of the horrified Behula and went on calmly with her work. In the evening, she sprinkled water over the child's body and it came to life again.

Seeing this, Behula knew her quest was at an end. For, she had found one who could bring the dead to life again. She watched and waited for Neta the next day and fell at her feet. She implored her with tears in her eyes to restore her husband to life.

Neta was a friend of Manasa. She knew Behula's story. She took pity on the poor girl, and led her to the court of Indra, the king of the gods.

Behula stood before the assembled gods and told her sad tale. The gods listened to her story. But mysterious are the workings of their minds! Instead of answering her prayers, they requested her to dance before them. What a strange request to make of a sorrow-stricken widow who had greatly dared to bring her beloved back to life! But what else could she do but carry out their behest? So Behula danced. It was wonderful to behold. Even the gods had never witnessed anything purer or more enthralling. They were moved to tears. They asked Manasa to give back to Lakhindar his life.

Manasa in her turn told her tale and named her terms. If Chand agreed to worship her, she was ready to give back everything.

Behula promised that she would plead with her father-in-law. Not only Lakhindar but all his brothers also came to life again. They returned to Champak-nagar full of hope.

Chand was finally persuaded to worship Manasa, partly by the importunities of his wife, sons and daughter-in-law and partly through the behest of Shiva, who ordered him to cast off his pride and submit to the will of the gods.

Thus the unequal contest came to an end and peace was made between the mortal and divine combatants. Behula's name rang through the country as the chastest, most loving, most heroic, most devoted and most self-sacrificing wife among women.

[This article has appeared without illustrations in *The Aryan Path* in a somewhat different and briefer form. It is printed above after some revision and amplification with a few pictures added].

OMENS

By the late Rao Bahadur Pandit
K. VEERESALINGAM PANTULU,
Rajahmundry

Enter—Papayya Pantulu garu[1] and Kamayya Sastri garu.

Kama. Papayya Pantulu garu, a great misfortune has befallen you. That *Dorai*[2] is an out-and-out savage. A hundred-rupee job has been lost for nothing! Knowing, sir, as you do the nature of the alien fellow, couldn't you start just a couple of days beforehand?

Papa. Good sir, how was I to set out on a long journey with the womenfolk without taking any note of good and bad days? I thought of starting before new-moon day. But then, the elders said it wasn't good that new-moon day should dawn while on the way.

Kama. Even if you had started on *vidiya*[3] after the new-moon, you would have arrived two days ahead.

1. An honorific in Telugu.
2. European officer.
3. Second day in the fortnight.

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PAPA. *Padyami*[4] close on new-moon is altogether inauspicious for a journey. We proposed to leave on *vidiya;* but it turned out to be a Friday. All the same, while we were thinking of starting off in a spirit of foolhardiness, somebody inside just sneezed abruptly. After an evil omen like that, I stayed away with the idea that for that day the journey was out of the question at all costs.

KAMA. Leave that alone; couldn't you start by daybreak on *thadiya.*[5]

PAPA. You know everything, sir. And yet, why do *you* also deign to speak like that? How *could* I start with children just before *durmuhoortham*[6] on Saturday morning? That afternoon, there came up *varjyam.*[7] After the *varjyam* was over, I was going to send for a cart for the night journey; when an owl set up screeching. So I postponed the journey. You know, of course, the next day, as being *chavithi,*[8] is not good for journeying.

KAMA. You probably left on the morning of *panchami.*[9] Even at that rate, you should have got down here three days back.

PAPA. I didn't start that day either. That morning, the star proved to be anything but good. Besides, *varjyam* also was there. As I was thinking of starting in the afternoon, a black lizard fell on me while I was strolling about. Then I sent for the astrologer, took my bath, kindled a fire and went through the rites of *santi*[10] and all that. By the time all this was over, it came to be nightfall. Everybody then said it was wrong to set out right against the course of Venus by night.

KAMA. Seeing that the following day was *shashti*[11], you didn't start that day too, I suppose.

PAPA. If it had been only the objection of its being *shashti,* I would have started somehow. But, like a bolt from the blue, that day fell on a Tuesday to boot. To add to these two things, the day's star was an utterly malignant one.

KAMA. So you started on *sapthami?*[12] Even at that rate, the cart did make good headway! You reached this in time for dinner yesterday.

PAPA. *Sapthami*—and that, a Wednesday —*was* quite a favourable day for jo[illegible] Still, it wasn't practicable to start that [illegible] We, then, just deposited a *mirgamanam*[13] [illegible] was my little boy's birth-day; and the [illegible] insisted that it wouldn't do to start [illegible] the festivities were over and the meals [illegible] If we had started just that morning, we [illegible] have got along past the 'Waylayers' B[illegible] tree' by the afternoon only. Soon after [illegible] we wanted to start and got the carts [illegible] But just when on the point of stepping [illegible] wretched widow came along right oppos[illegible] we went in again and waited for a hal[illegible] Had we started even then, we would h[illegible] gressed beyond the 'Wayfarers' Banya[illegible] before night. By the time we came ou[illegible] to the outer threshold, a lonely Brahmin [illegible] up opposite; and hence, we went in onc[illegible] and halted for a while. Considering [illegible] was no good going on doing like this, w[illegible] care to see that nobody moved about [illegible] street; and we arranged for a wife f[illegible] neighbouring house to come up in the o[illegible] direction and started off straightway [illegible] matter how auspicious soever the good [illegible] we made sure of while starting, we [illegible] reaped the bitter fruit of experience that b[illegible] our due—thanks to the viciousness, pass[illegible] comprehension, of the moment when [illegible] wretched widow had come up opposite [illegible] By ten o'clock in the night, we got [illegible] 'Waylayers' Banyan-tree' with fear [illegible] trembling only. And quite in keeping wi[illegible] trepidation, the robbers sprang forward a[illegible] nick of time and stole away all the valu[illegible] By reason, however, of our having s[illegible] agreeably to a good omen, we just effected [illegible] escape without danger to life and limb.

KAMA. Pelf?—oh, the curse of widow[illegible] be on it! You have no need to feel sorr[illegible] the sake of money. If only life is spared, [illegible] may be amassed by some later time. I [illegible] grieve overmuch that a livelihood calculat[illegible] last for evermore should have been ruin[illegible] that widow's son of a *Dorai* having un[illegible] taken it away on the ground of overstay[illegible] is ill luck for us beneficieries of all this. [illegible] for yourself, sir, why, you are a supreme [illegible] of course. You will maintain yourself [illegible] your former savings alone.

PAPA. Astrologers have kept saying [illegible] Saturn's ill influence is in store for me fo[illegible] seven years. And this is the fruition o[illegible]

4. First day in the fortnight.
5. Third day in the fortnight.
6. Inauspicious time.
7. Period of prohibition for inauspiciousness.
8. Fourth day in the fortnight.
9. Fifth day in the fortnight.
10. Propitiation to ward off disaster.
11. Sixth day in the fortnight.
12. Seventh day in the fortnight.
13. A make-shift procedure of lodging at an [illegible] cious moment in a neighbour's quarters on the way [illegible] of the things intended for a journey and picking th[illegible] later when starting.

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he other day, I showed my horoscope to an strologer in my village; and he foretold that was to incur loss of riches within a year's me. All that is coming to pass in effect. We ve got to think over what to do next. There's y boy come from school. He pleaded hard ith me that I should start off without mind- the omens, portents and all the rest of it.

Enter SUBBA RAO

KAMA. A green youth—what does he ow, sir? To add to that, school-going ones n't care at all for considerations of deity and mon, auspicious day and inauspicious time, anything of the kind. Should time ripen them and they, too, come to shoulder the rdens of *samsara** then, they will know erything.

SUBBA. Never mind how many *samsaras* ll heavy upon us yet, we shan't know more out this affair than we do at present.

PAPA. Stripling that he is, why care for m? Do ponder seriously, sir, what remains do next and enlighten me, please.

KAMA. What's there to do? Since Saturn s against you, you will have *navagrahajapam*[14] erformed and get the Brahmins to ensure the ropitiation of the stars. For that purpose, it equires to make ten kinds of offerings and blations. Thereafter, you may feast some hree or four hundred Brahmins according to our resources and give them presents of money t your pleasure.

SUBBA. My honoured father, don't you ake any vain expenditure like this henceforth. he Brahmins seek somehow to enrich them- elves by inducing you to spend some ten coins, easting away in all sumptuousness and knock- g off *dakshinas*.[15] Do, please, hearken to my word, give up all *japams*[16] and *tapams*[17] and strive to obtain the *Dorai's* goodwill. He has come to know of your taking bribes and giving entertainments and gratifications to Brahmindom and so has dealt with you in this manner only out of displeasure. Else, he wouldn't have acted like this. In case the local *Dorai's* favour fails to be secured, then, if you just proceed to Madras and file an appeal with the help of the money you mean to throw away upon these Brahmins, the result will prove positively beneficial. Had you started on *vidiya* only, as suggested by me, setting aside all superstition about auspicious days and prohibited timings, all these complications would have been saved and you would have been installed in your own appointment like a prince.

PAPA. Don't know; it's no good repining over the past. We have got to look to the future. We ought not to brush away astrology altogether. Even supposing we prefer an appeal, it will be of no avail unless some of our money goes to 'the inner man' in Brahmindom. *Navagrahajapams* are of efficacy not on this account alone but in ever so many ways. From today onwards, we'll first get *suryanamaskarams*† performed.

KAMA. Papayya Pantulu guru is absolutely the beau-ideal of Brahminhood. There's nothing outside his knowledge. By how much the Brahmins are given presents, by so far will God feel gratified; and if God be gratified, success *will* attend all affairs. Dear lad, you don't know good from bad; be quiet.

SUBBA. *You* know everything! The good fruit of having hitherto pampered the Brahmins has shown itself like this by now. Of course, I shall not be listened to. You may do as you please. (*Exit*).

[Translated by Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D.]

* The world.
14. Chanting of *mantras* to propitiate the nine planets.
15. Money presents to priests at religious rites.
16. Chanting of sacred *mantras* and names.
17. Austerities.
† Salutations to the Sun.

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THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

How It Forfeited Bureaucratic Patronage

By BHUPENDRA LAL DUTT

THE Indian National Congress met in Bombay during Christmas week, 1885, in an atmosphere of 'safety first'. It was at first notified that the Conference of the Indian National Union, as the name originally was, would be held in Poona, but the venue had to be changed at the eleventh hour, for in that city 'only a few days before the Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred possibly presaging an outbreak'. The wise principle of avoiding risk and of voyage under safe sail guided every action of its discreet sponsors. In a dependency the sword of wrath of the alien rulers hangs over the head of the person who may raise his voice of protest against any action by the former or may utter a national demand. But here the case was entirely different; there was absolutely no cause of any apprehension of incurring any displeasure of the British bureaucrats in India. The gentleman who took the utmost trouble to bring the Indian leaders of the different provinces together on this platform was himself a Briton,—it was in itself a guarantee,—was a member of the Indian Civil Service, a member of the Viceroy's Cabinet, just retired. Further, everyone knew that the hand was the hand of Isau but the voice was the voice of Jacob. Though 'Lord Dufferin had made it a condition with Mr. Hume that his name in this connection should not be divulged so long he remained in this country',—and we have a solemn declaration by a President of the Congress that this 'condition was faithfully maintained', we have reasons to believe that the Viceroy's name was freely utilized; for, the venerable gentleman says in the same breath that 'none but the men consulted know anything about the matter'. This statement, if it means anything, means that sufficient care was taken that his Lordship's name was not disclosed from the Congress platform, but in round table consultations no secret was made of it. We have a clear statement by the same gentleman :

"Mr. Hume was convinced by Lord Dufferin's arguments and when he placed the two schemes, his own and Lord Dufferin's, before leading politicians in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of the country, the latter unanimously accepted Lord Dufferin's scheme a[illegible] ceeded to give effect to it."[1]

But this was not enough safety[illegible] were the British Cabinet, the Parliam[illegible] electors,—a frown from any means mu[illegible] make sure that there was no misco[illegible] amongst the English people about the [illegible] of the Congress', we learn from a mo[illegible] published under the authority of a pe[illegible] Reception Committee several years a[illegible] founders of the Congress sent Mr. H[illegible] England to explain his, or Lord Duffe[illegible] be accurate, plan to eminent persons the[illegible]

Thus 'safety first' was fully assure[illegible] this was added a stimulating dose of sa[illegible] Empire. It was believed in some quarte[illegible] these ill-starred measures of re-action[2] combi[illegible] Russian methods of police repression brought In[illegible] Lord Lytton within a measurable distance of a [illegible] tionary outbreak and it was only in time that M[illegible] was inspired to intervene.[3]

The accredited chronicler of the Co[illegible] adds :

Mr. Hume had unimpeachable evidence th[illegible] political discontent was going underground. He [illegible] into possession of seven volumes containing report[illegible] seething revolt incubating in various districts [illegible] upon the communications of the disciples of [illegible] *gurus* to their religious heads. This was towa[illegible] end of Lord Lytton's rule, the seventies of th[illegible] century. The reports were arranged accordi[illegible] districts, sub-districts, sub-divisions and the [illegible] towns and villages included in these. Not that an [illegible] ised mutiny was ahead, but the people, pervaded [illegible] sense of hopelessness, wanted to do something, by [illegible] was merely meant, "a sudden violent outbreak of [illegible] crime, murders of obnoxious persons, robbery of [illegible] and looting of bazaars, acts really of lawlessness [illegible] by a due coalescence of forces might any day [illegible] into a National Revolt.". Hume thereupon resol[illegible] open a safety valve for this unrest and the Congr[illegible] such an outlet.[4]

Thus, fully convinced of their s[illegible] physical and political, and unsuspe[illegible] believing that they were missioned to s[illegible]

1. W. C. Bonnerjee—Introduction to Mr. N[illegible] *Indian Politics.*
2. Removal of certain privileges, *e.g.*, the [illegible] of the Vernacular Press Act and the Indian Arms [illegible]
3. Sir William Wedderburn.
4. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya—*The History* [illegible] *Indian National Congress (1885-1935)* 1935.

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Empire, some of the 'picked men, the most highly educated of the nation', assembled in the cool breeze of the western seas. Not a single one is credited with raising the question of the necessity of a second organization when there was the Indian National Conference in Calcutta, or everyone of them was pleased to keep himself at a safe distance from an organization which was sponsored by a young man upon whose mind 'the writings of Mazzini created a profound impression', who presented before the country 'the purity of his patriotism, the loftiness of his ideals, and his all-embracing love for humanity, expressed with the true eloquence of heart', and, further, who wanted the young men of India 'to realize their potentialities, and to qualify themselves to work for the salvation of their country'.

The gathering was not large. The *Khas* British possessions in India proper in 1885 were nearly (we say nearly, for on the 28th of December, 1885, Upper Burma was not formally annexed) as big as they are today, but, in spite of the best efforts of the sponsors the number did not much exceed one hundred. Records Mrs. Annie Besant:

> ....seventy-two actually recorded their names as Representatives, while another thirty attended as Friends, being, as Government servants, precluded from acting as Representatives in a political gathering.[5]

Representatives indeed! But who elected them, pray? In good humour the official chronicler calls them Volunteers. Again the voice of Jacob was heard, for, we are informed:

> As far as the first Congress went, things proceeded much as his Lordship had desired. In fact, the delegates were eager to display their loyalty by electing the Governor of Bombay as their President. The Viceroy expressed his unwillingness.....[6]

Perhaps his Lordship did not like such an open association. Messrs. Hume and friends had no other alternative but to put one of them in the chair to run the show. Apart from the statement quoted above we have no other information and we cannot say if his name was suggested from any outside quarters but we find Mr. Hume proposing Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee to the Chair. Calcutta was, we remember, the capital of India and Mr. Bonnerjee was the doyen of the English Bar here, the most anglicized of the Representatives and their friends assembled, nay, of the whole educated community, and his political ideas were unequivocally pronounced, they thought; for he, Mr. Bonnerjee, undertook to defend Surendra Nath Banerjea in the Contempt of Court case against him 'on the distinct understanding' that Surendra Nath should apologise.

Mr. Bonnerjee was ready to accept British rule in India as a Divine Dispensation, but believed, and wanted the Britishers to believe, that such a dispensation would lose its divine character if it were utilized for the material benefit of Britain alone. He declared from his seat:

> All that they desired was, that the basis of the Government should be widened and the people should have their proper share in it.[7]

A circular letter was issued in the previous March which said:

> The Conference will be composed of Delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies. The direct objects of the Conference will be:
>
> (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other;
>
> (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.
>
> Indirectly this Conference will form the germ of a Native Parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions.

Mr. Bonnerjee expanded the ideas a little and laid before the house the following as objects of the Conference:

> (1) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in various parts of the Empire.
>
> (2) The eradication by direct friendly personal intercourse of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in their beloved Lord Ripon's ever-memorable reign.
>
> (3) The authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day.
>
> (4) The determination of the lines upon and methods by which during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests.

Apparently, the Bengal representative was eager to go further than Lord Dufferin desired and his protege contemplated. His Lordship suggested that such an annual conference was likely to be more useful if it discussed the administration and gave an expression to the grievances of the people with regard to it. But the patriot in Mr. Bonnerjee could not be

5. Annie Besant: *How India Wrought For Freedom*, 1915.

6. *The Congress and The National Movement.* Written under the direction of Reception Committee of the 43rd Session of the Indian National Congress, 1928.

7. G. A. Natesan & Co.: *Congress Presidential Addresses.*

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satisfied with giving mere honest 'expression to grievances'. He wanted a remedy and, as a means, was eager to secure the goodwill and co-operation of the British electors. This explains his item No. 1. While item No. 2 of the circular urges the workers to be only personally known to each other to work for 'national progress', the neo-Indian in Mr. Bonnerjee could not accept that as an end; he was willing to utilize that personal contact as a means to eradicate all prejudices for the higher and loftier object of developing and consolidating 'National Unity'. Mr. Bonnerjee's third item was a veiled challenge to His Lordship, for had not the noble Lord 'expressed the opinion that there was no likelihood of unanimity on social subjects amongst the diverse communities of India'? Again, while Lord Dufferin and Mr. Hume desired a mere 'annual conference', Mr. Bonnerjee longed 'to labour in the public interests' 'during the next twelve months' upon the lines and by the methods determined in the annual conference. This was not merely criticizing the administration and giving expression to the grievances of the people. Unfortunately the Congress neglected for many years the sound lead from its first President and as a result, political work in India, in the words of another President thirty long years later, Mrs. Annie Besant, 'lacked point and vigour', was 'spasmodic and sporadic, and therefore largely ineffective'.

The space at our disposal does not permit us to deal with in detail everyone of the nine resolutions considered and passed in this session. We shall refer only to some of them in brief and to the gentlemen who took part in the discussions.

We have not been able to secure full reports of the speeches delivered in course of the discussions, but in the meagre and stray reports we find passages which could not have been pleasing to bureaucratic ears. In moving the very first resolution on "the proposed enquiry into the working of Indian administration" Mr. G. Subramania Iyer of Madras is reported to have pointed out that

> in the days of the East India Company, the renewal of its Charter at twenty years' intervals brought about a most valuable enquiry into the condition of the country, but since the Crown had taken it over in 1858, these had ceased, and the distressing deterioration of the country goes unnoticed. Parliament took control in theory, but abandoned it in fact except where English party-interests were concerned—and the India Council took up the place of the defunct Company but ruled without enquiry.

Mr. Chiplonkar of Poona moving the abolition of this Council pointed out that

> India was not governed by the Crown, but by the Anglo-Indian officials, looked on doubtfully by Beaconsfield in 1858.

Mr. P. Ananda Charlu of Madras seconding Mr. Chiplonkar,

> commented on the oddity of the "oligarchy of fossilised Indian administrators", who were "supported for service in India", being competent to deal with increased complexity of problems in England, where improved climate could only diminish rate of decay.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, speaking in connection with the third resolution urging reform and expansion of Legislative Councils,

> cogently said that they had learned from the English people how necessary representation is for Government", withoht it "what good is it to India under the British sway? It will be simply an Asiatic despotism. . . We are only British slaves or slaves",

Mr. D. S. White of Madras supporting resolution on simultaneous examination for the I.C.S.,

> wished to stop the importation of boys from England at great expense, and to abolish the Civil Service, and ing, both from England and India, men of experience reputation.

Now when under Mac-Sam (Mock-Sham) Reforms Burma is going to be separated from the Indian Empire, it is interesting to note that the Congress recorded its protest against her inclusion in the Indian Empire, at its first sitting. The resolution runs:

> That this Congress deprecates the annexation of Upper Burma and considers that if the Government fortunately decide on annexation, the entire country of Burma should be separated from the Indian Viceroyalty and constituted a Crown Colony, as distinct in all matters from the Government of this country as is Ceylon.

Deciding to meet for its second session in Calcutta, the Indian National Congress concluded its session of inauguration, 'leaving a happy and inspiring memory of fine work done and unity demontrated'. Mrs. Annie Besant closes her description of the first session with words that reveal her confidence in the future of India:

> India had found her voice. India was realising herself as a Nation. Strange and menacing was the portent in the eyes of some. Splendid and full of hope in the eyes of others. The rosy fingers of the Dawn-Maiden had touched the Indian skies. When would her Sun of Freedom rise to irradiate the Motherland?

Was Lord Dufferin satisfied?

A few months after the first session of the Congress was over a circular letter was issued over the signature of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan at Aligarh, on the 24th April, 1886. It runs as follows:

> It will be admitted on all hands that the condition of our nation and particularly that of its educated

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deserves much attention and consideration. At present, everywhere something or other is being done for doing good to the nation, but the inhabitants of one province or city are very little acquainted with the modes of thoughts, intentions and works of those of other places. People in one district likewise know little about the state of education of Mohomedans in other districts . . . . . Therefore, it appears to be highly desirable that there should be held an annual meeting of the people from different districts who wish for the improvement of their nation, and are desirous that their co-religionists should be educated and prosper.[8]

Laudable ideas indeed! But unfortunately, the 'nation' of the Aligarh Knight was not the 'nation' of the Congress. Further, while the Congress invites representatives from all the three presidencies of Bombay, Bengal and Madras, Sir Syed Ahmad limits the area:

People from the North-western Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab, and also people from Bihar whose language, manners and customs are much akin to those of these provinces and Oudh should be admitted as members of the Congress. Mahomedans from the Central Provinces should also be welcome if they liked the scheme, and are willing to join.

We mention the starting of this association with a narrower field of work for, we fear, this was the first attempt at the separatist movement on communal basis. We know that the Central Muhammadan Association of Calcutta, under the wise leadership of Syed Ameer Ali, joined hands with the British Indian and the Indian Associations in convening the second session of the National Conference, 1885, in Calcutta.

Bengal rose to the task of organizing the second session of the Congress. Here political consciousness was fairly developed and several associations were already in existence to guard different interests and run political agitations on different methods from different angles of vision. But all the politically-minded people rose to a man, for, were they not working for their Motherland and was not Bengal the host to receive the sons of her sister provinces? There was no room for any petty party feelings now. Only three persons of what is known as the middle class attended the first Congress, from Bengal—Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. Narendra Nath Sen, and Mr. Girija Bhushan Mukerjea,—but the Reception Committee that was formed was not dominated by the middle class. The British Indian Association, the organization of the landholders or zamindars, was the oldest political association, and rightly was the honour of the chairmanship conferred upon Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, the brain of that body. Surendra Nath narrates in his auto-biography:

All parties combined to welcome the delegates from other provinces who came from different parts of India. We of the Indian Association are all Congress men; but what was remarkable, was that the British Indian Association, representing the landed interest, and what I may call the conservative conscience of the community, threw themselves heart and soul into the matter. Such enthusiasm this venerable body has never before and have never since, displayed for the Congress cause.[9]

If the Reception Committee was truly representative of the different political interests of Bengal, the Congress itself was no less representative. Thus narrates Mrs. Annie Besant:

The Congress had captured the heart as well as the brain of India. It is interesting to turn over the pages containing extracts of papers published in all parts of India, and to glance at the reports of meetings held for the election of delegates; in those early days any association of any kind, or any public meeting, might elect . . . . .[10]

The attendance was fairly big; of the five hundred delegates elected no fewer than 434 attended, *viz.*, Bengal 230, N.-W. P. and Oudh 74, Bombay and Madras each 47, Punjab 17, C. P. and Assam each 8.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra was more a man of letters than a politician. While welcoming the delegates he said:

We live, not under our National Government, but under a foreign bureaucracy; our foreign rulers are foreigners by birth, religion, language, habits, by every thing that divides humanity into sections. They cannot possibly dive into our hearts; they cannot ascertain our wants, our feelings, our aspirations.

Plain words these but how true, how strong! They were uttered praying for a few seats in councils to be allowed to the people's elected representatives, but can other words, more logical, more forceful, more convincing be thought out to make a National demand for Self-government, Home Rule or *Swaraj*?

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji of Bombay was elected President and he said:

"All the benefits we have derived from British rule, all the noble projects of our British rulers, will go for nothing if after all the country is to continue sinking deeper and deeper into the abyss of destitution. At one time I was denounced as a pessimist; but now that we have it on the authority of our rulers themselves that we are *very* poor, it has become the right as well as the duty of this Congress to set forth its convictions both as to this widespread destitution and the primary steps needful for its alleviation."

Fifteen resolutions were passed in this session, the first offering congratulations to the

8. From *The Modern Review*, February, 1907.

9. Surendra Nath Banerjea: *A Nation in Making.*
10. Annie Besant: *How India Wrought For Freedom.*

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Queen-Empress on her Golden Jubilee, Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, whose death in February last removed the last link with the first session, moved a resolution which rans :

This Congress regards with deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India, and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desire to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.

Wacha is reported to have pointed out

that the condition of the ryots had steadily deteriorated since 1848, and that forty millions of people had only one meal a day, and not always that . . . . The foreign agency must be minimized, otherwise poverty could not be relieved.

Can any one venture to say that the Congress diagnosis was wrong and the Congress remedy ill-advised?

An impression was allowed to gain ground throughout the length and breadth of the country,—and we do not know whom we are to convey our thanks to for it,—that it was the 'Bengalee Babu' who wanted the reforms in the system of administration. Malik Bhagavan Das of Dehra Ismail Khan who, to use his own language, 'came from a land where men handle the sword more readily than the pen', was of opinion 'that all the more intelligent men wanted them' and asked the house :

There is not a district, not a town, that does not contain many such or better men; and do you suppose that any of them are greatly pleased with a form of administration which denies, to ninety-nine out of every hundred of them, any career? or that any of them fail to see that representative institutions, and a much larger employment of Indians in the higher offices of State would be important steps towards the opening they want ?

Unequivocal was the voice of the 'Bengalee Babu'. In moving a resolution Surendra Nath Banerjea said :

Self-Government is the ordering of Nature, the will of Divine Providence. Every nation must be the arbiter of its own destinies such is the omnipotent fiat inscribed by nature with her own hands and in her eternal book. But do we govern ourselves ? The answer is no. Are we then living in an unnatural state ? Yes, in the same state in which the patient lives under the ministrations of the physicians.

These words were uttered in 1886, long before Woodrow Wilson enunciated his doctrine of Self-determination. Unfortunate Surendra Nath. He is accused of 'his usual exuberance of language' in 1935 by the Working Committee of the Congress.11 Does that august body seriously think that these lines betray an offence?

While Madan Mohan Malaviya, in his maiden speech in this session declared that he had found her voice in the Congress, The Times of London stigmatized that body as 'an affair of discontended place-seekers—of straw, with little or no stake in the country.

But what did Lord Dufferin think when report of the proceedings of this session was placed before him? Well might he have pondered if it were Mr. Hume's Conference, National Union or Surendra Nath's Indian National Conference. He received some of the delegates, no, not as delegates but distinguished visitors to the capital. He was pleased to invite them to a garden party, but such care was taken to make them understand that they were asked not as representatives.

The second session of the Congress

brought out in striking relief the great fact young and old, the middle class as well as the aristocracy, indeed all sections of the Indian were united on the Congress platform.

But till then the common people, the were outside the Congress, and it was the session in Madras, 1887, that showed that were not lagging behind. The Reception Committee was formed early in May, 1887, Sir T. Madhava Rao as Chairman and thoroughly representative body, and support it received from the poorer section not insignificant. Mrs. Annie Besant reports

Rs. 5,500 were contributed by 8,000 subscribers varying from anna one to Rs. 1-8, and another Rs. varying from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 30 . . . . . It is pleasing to see the names of the Ruling Princes of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, and Their Highness the Maharajas of Vizianagram and the Raja of Venkatagiri at one of subscribers, with one-anna coolie at the other,—a National work.

The number of Muhammadans joining the Congress was very small, but it was progressing. It was 1 in 72 at the first session but it rose to 33 at the second. Attempts were being made to misrepresent the Congress as a Hindu organization with a few Parsi friends in the fold. The Muhammadans were opposed advised to boycott such an organization. Sir Ahmad Khan, the founder of the Muhammadan Educational Conference, made, or rather was persuaded to make, a vigorous attempt to dissuade his co-religionists from joining the Congress. The Congress replied by electing Mr. Badruddin Tyabji of Bombay to the chair of the President. Six hundred and

11. *The History of the Indian National Congress* (1885-1935) by B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Published by the Working Committee of the Congress on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary.

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delegates attended, including eighty-one Muhammadans, the shares of each province being Madras 362, Bombay and Sind 99, Bengal, Orissa and Assam 79, N. W. P. and Oudh 45, Central Provinces 13, Panjab 9.

Mr. Tyabji in his speech placed the following pertinent words before his co-religionists :

"Gentlemen, it is undoubtedly true that each one of our great Indian communities has its own peculiar social, moral, educational, and even political difficulties to surmount—but so far as general political questions affecting the whole of India—such as those which alone are discussed by this Congress—are concerned, I, for one, am utterly at a loss to understand why Mussalmans should not work shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-countrymen, of other races and creeds, for the common benefit of all."

Eleven resolutions were passed. In course of a discussion on a resolution moved by Surendra Nath Banerjea on the 'necessity for the expansion and reform of the Councils', Mr. Eardley Norton said :

I was told yesterday by one, for whose character and educated qualities I cherish a great esteem, that in joining myself with the labourers in this Congress, I have earned for myself the new title of 'a veiled seditionist'.If it be sedition, gentlemen, to rebel against all wrong; if it be sedition to insist that the people should have a fair share in the administration of their own country and affairs; if it be sedition to resist tyranny, to raise my voice against oppression, to mutiny against injustice, to insist upon a hearing before sentence, to uphold the liberties of the individual, to vindicate our common right to gradual but even advancing reform—if this be sedition I am right glad to be called a 'seditionist', and doubly, aye,trebly glad, when I look around me today, to know and feel I am ranked as one among such a magnificent array of seditionist'.

But Mr. Eardley Norton was not an Indian; he was a member of the ruling race.

Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

Gentlemen, the whole of Europe, with the exception of Russia, has declared that the most efficient and best form of government for any country, which has made any advance in civilization, is a governmtnt, conducted not solely by few for the many, but to a greater or less extent by many for themselves—a government, in fact, in which the representatives of the people have potential share—and if this be expedient for European countries, where the rulers and the ruled are of the same nationality, and where they are of the same religion, I think it must be conceded that it is even more essential for India, which is inhabited by people whose habits, manners, customs, languages, race and creed differ from those of their rulers.

But the most eloquent was a scrap of paper ; Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt of Barisal, Bengal, was not a demagogue and the whole house was taken by surprise when he calmly and solemnly presented a petition signed by 45,000 persons,—they were not Hindus or Caste Hindus alone,—praying for reforms.

Surely, this was going too far, this was simply 'playing with fire', Mr. Hume never apprehended such a mass propaganda, Lord Dufferin never thought such awakening desirable and possible.

On the resolution to repeal the Arms Act there was 'an animated, almost fiery, discussion which lasted some hours', when Bipin Chandra Pal, a 'Bengalee Babu' who wanted no weapon himself 'but his steel pen and sharp tongue', stigmatized the act as 'wrong in principle, injurious in effect'.

Lord Connemara, Governor of Madras, entertained the members; but before another sitting could be held the Viceroy wrote to the Secretary of State for India:

. . . . . I am convinced that we should be falling into a great error if, miscaculating the force and value of the Congress movement and influence of its supporters and advocates, whether in the Press or elsewhere, we are to relax in the slightest degree our grasp of the supreme administration of the country.[12]

The breach was now complete. How Congress survived the onslaught even at the infant stage is another story.

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12. Minute accompanying the Despatch of November, 1888. Quoted in *India Under the British Crown* By Major B. D. Basu.

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A MASTERPIECE OF SACRED ARCHITECTURE

By St. NIHAL SINGH

Illustrated with photographs by the Author

[The Government of Mysore is pursuing an enlightened policy in initiating a comprehensive programme, estimated to cost Rs. 39,000, to arrest the decay of one of the choicest examples of sacred architecture in India. The Chenna Keshava temple at Belur, in the Hassan District of that State, dates from the 12th century and, as Mr. St. Nihal Singh relates in this article, is noble in proportions and lavishly decorated with statues and statuettes of exquisite workmanship].

I

Towards the eastern edge of Malnad—the hilly country—of Mysore there is a small village, Angadi by name. On one side of it stretches the plateau, its uplifted level surface scored, in many places, by monsoon torrents and seamed, in others, with ridges, few of them of any considerable height. On the other side, the countryside rises higher and higher until the formidable parapet of the Western Ghats, perennially clothed with luxuriant verdure, is reached.

The village sits lightly upon an eminence gadged in the middle, as if some Titan with a prodigious appetite had swallowed a huge chunk of it and almost cleft it in twain. Greenery screens it so completely that the sight of the two hillocks rising backwards bursts upon the visitor almost as abruptly as if the drop scene had been hauled up above the proscenium of a theatre and disclosed a wooded mountain region.

The path trodden by countless pairs of human (and other animal) feet on the left ridge leads to a little plateau made (or at least improved) by man. Here occurred early in the eleventh century of the Christian era an incident that elevated a family of no great importance into the position of primacy in that region—a family that took pride in enriching the territory with priceless examples of sacred architecture and decoration.

II

About nine hundred years ago a devotee—Sala by name—was engaged in worshipping Vasantika-devi—the guardian deity of his household. Suddenly the snarl of a tiger made him aware that peril threatened him. The beast had made its way so quietly from its lair in the dense jungle spreading in front of the that he was oblivious of its presence was ready to spring upon him.

A saint (*yati*) who happened to be saw it at the same moment. Snatching standing near him, he thrust it into worshipper's hand and cried out, in the then in use in that part of India,—now as classical Kannada (*Anglice* Kan "Poy, Sala! (Strike, Sala!)"

The devotee did as he was bidden. A ing to the legend popular among the J the State, the tiger took fright and rushed into the forest from which he had issued never dared to return to molest human According to the variant related by who have not inherited quite so deep a for life, the weapon (not a rod) struck beast and sent him sprawling into the Yama. They, however, hasten to add th animal was a man-eater and had wrought havoc in the neighbourhood that, for years festival had been held.

III

The peasants living in the vicinity of temple felt so grateful to Sala for freeing from such a nightmare that they, of their accord, began to pay him tribute. It was as indeed were their resources, each giving no more than a fanam (say four and eight pies) a year.

Too pious to accept this reward for him he placed it at the feet of the *yati*, who, believed, had miraculously transferred has to the rod which drove away (or killed tiger. Pleased with this attitude, the saint him to use the money paid by the villagers gather round him a band of warriors.

Those peasants must have been made uncommon clay. Feeling that the tribute had volunteered to pay was inadequate express their gratitude, they doubled the the second, trebled it the third, quadrupled the fourth and quintupled it the fifth year.

Happy indeed is the chief whose thus add to their burden of taxation then, it must not be forgotten that the

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and was tugging at their heartstrings without their realizing it.

As Sala's resources increased, he was able to augment his forces. With their aid he subdued a small tract of land that proved to be the nucleus of a great kingdom. Administrative exigencies led him to shift his residence to Dwara-samudra, identified as Halebid, a few miles north-east of his original village.

IV

Before following the fortunes of the dynasty thus founded, leave must be taken of Angadi, which at that time was known as Saskapura. The worship of the goddess goes on there in the twentieth century as in the middle ages. But she is known as Vasantamma—an appellation of Sarada (or Sarasvati) of the Hindu pantheon—instead of Vasantika-devi of the Jaina faith.

This transmutation resulted, no doubt, from the Hinduization of a population that was Jaina—a revolution inaugurated by the Acharya Ramanuja (of whom more a little later). A pandit born in this locality and learned in iconographical lore, Mutta Bhatta by name, tells me, however, that in the crown of the deity he has detected an ornament which he has never seen in any image of Sarasvati or any other Hindu goddess. The priest who ministers at the Angadi temple, a *smarta* Brahman from Mangalore, disputed this statement.

The image is certainly old. A beautiful halo surrounds the head. The lower right hand is broken so as to make it impossible to identify the object it held. A discus reposes in the upper right hand. The two hands on the left are intact. The upper one clasps a conch and the lower one a water-pot. The feet rest on a figure, probably meant to represent a wicked Titan.

There are temples at the other side of the hill, mostly ruined but some of them containing images of considerable merit. They have, however, no direct concern with this chronicle and therefore reference to them has perforce to be omitted.

V

Sala, the devotee favoured by this goddess in her Jaina incarnation, adopted a crest depicting the incident that formed the foundation of his good fortune. As carved on the balustrade of steps leading to the temple to be described here, it displays a lion (rather than a tiger), in a crouching attitude and a man thrusting a sword into it.

Another sculptor, working at the Virabhadra temple at Halebid, has varied the tradition still further to suit the exigencies of his art. Sala is depicted by him kneeling on the ground. He is dressed in the regalia of a warrior of his day. His curly hair is brushed back and twisted into an immense knot at the back. His person is much be-jewelled. The sword gripped in his right hand is driven into the lion's neck almost to the hilt. The animal's mouth is wide open, displaying tongue and teeth and agony is written upon its face. The left forepaw, the handle of the weapon and Sala's hand are interlocked and vigorously convey a sense of fierce struggle. The beast's weight rests upon the hind legs.

VI

The composers of inscriptions etched on slabs in various places in the vicinity have similarly twisted the legend as their fancy dictated. One of them, for instance, wrote :

> "On his (Sala's) prostrating himself to a certain holy *yogindra*, who was sinless, versed in the knowledge of incantations and without fear,—he, looking on the king Sala, and thinking with affection 'I will give him empire' was performing suitable worship to bring the goddess Vasantika of Saskapura into subjection,—when, in order by any means to break (the spell), she sprang forth in the form of a tiger; on which the yogi exclaiming 'You hit it, Sala' (nim poy Sala), that brave warrior unshaken smote it with his cane;—whence the name Poysala was acquired by the Yadu kings, together with a boon from the goddess, and the tiger and cane as their crest. The tiger crest and the cane being their proper emblems, in the Yadu-vamsa arose many of great fame, by their courage putting down a host of hostile kings." *

Sala and his successors are known to posterity, as indeed they must have been to their contemporaries, as the Hoysalas. The phrase "*poy Sala*" believed to have been uttered by the *yati* or *yogindra* has been slightly altered in conformity with the general practice prevailing in this part of the country by which "p" becomes transformed into "h."

VII

The Hoysalas were great builders as well as mighty warriors and wise statesmen. So were some of their war-lords. Between them they have left behind structures which are remarkable for their harmony of line and beauty of decoration.

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* Inscription on a stone west of the *basti* (Jain temples) at Arsikere, dated 1173 A. D. *Epigraphica Karnatika*, Vol. V., Part I, pp. 317-321 and pp. 138-139. The Hoysalas claim descent from Krishna and Sala is said to have named his original capital Dwara-Samudra after the city of Dwarka founded by that great ancestor in Kathiawar of our day, on the edge of the *Samudra* (Arabian Sea).

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It was characteristic of them that money and skill were lavished, not upon rearing palaces and mansions for their personal comfort and sensuous enjoyment, but upon erecting sacred edifices in which the Raja and his *raiyat* (subject) could find solace for the soul. In so doing they lived up to the noblest traditions shared by Jains and Hindus.

Hardly a square inch of the walls and ceilings of these temples has been left unadorned. Stone hewn from the hillsides in the vicinity has been converted into the semblance of vines and blossoms, animals—tame and wild—human figures and figurines and beings of the *Devaloka*, with such skill as to extort admiration from artists, whatever their race.

VIII

The sacred edifice selected for treatment here constitutes a fine example of Hoysala architecture and decoration. Though not conceived on so large a plan as the Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid (with which I shall deal in another article): it is, if anything, more lavishly and exquisitely ornamented. The impulse to erect it came, moreover, from a religious revolution that, in itself, forms an interesting chapter in our cultural development.

This revolution followed the arrival of the Acharya Ramanuja in the Hoysala kingdom. Born at Sri Permatur, not far from Madras, he received his education at Kanchi (Conjeevarum), famed as the Dakshina Varanasi (Benares of the south). Thence he had made his way to Sriranga-patanam (usually shortened into Srirangam), a long, narrow strip of land between the two arms of the Cauvery, the sacred river of the south. In complete isolation from the world, he pondered life and its problems and evolved the system of philosophy since associated with his name.

When that task was completed, he travelled far and wide in the Deccan, preaching these doctrines, erecting images to the glory of Vishnu (the Preserver of the Hindu Triad), restoring numerous Saiva temples to the worship of this god and establishing *mathas*. When he finally returned from this triumphant tour to the sacred island, he found himself suddenly confronted by the king of the country—Karikal of the powerful Choda (Chola) dynasty. That worshipper of the lord over the forces of dissolution ordered the apostle to subscribe to the Saiva formula in common with the rest of his subjects. Rather than abjure the doctrines he held dearer than life, Ramanuja fled to the neighbouring kingdom.

The Acharya found there much more sanctuary. In time he met the king of the day—Bitti Deva Hoysala—who listened to his message, renounced the (Jaina) religion in which he had been born and brought up and was initiated a Vaishnava.

IX

This conversion came about, the Jains claim, through the machinations of one of the Ranis—Lakshmi Devi by name, the only Hindu in the royal household. To disgust her with the expounders of the cult she is said to have hated, she told him, it is related, that he would not take food touched by him, great as though he was. He resolved to put the priests to the test, which served to confirm the conversion.

In one of his campaigns the ruler had lost a finger. Some say that he had been born with six fingers and had had the last one amputated so as to make him appear to be normal in respect. The Jaina tenets forbade priests to accept a gift of any description from the hand of a person who was mutilated in any way. This explanation added insult to injury and Bitti Deva renounced Jainism in a fit of rage.

Another story relating to the conversion of this king has it that a daughter of his was possessed of a demon. The Jainas were asked to cast out the devil that was tormenting her, but they were unable to do so. Ramanuja, however, succeeded in getting rid of the evil spirit. The king thereupon accepted the Acharya as his Guru and became a Vaishnavite.

Following this event, Ramanuja carried on a debate with the Jain priests for eighteen days and is said to have refuted all their arguments. They were thereupon regarded as convicted of heresy. All those who refused to become Hindus were condemned to be ground into oil in oil mills and 720 *bastis* (Jain shrines) were destroyed and the stones used to face the temples (of which more later). So runs the Jain account.

In token of the change in his religion, his Majesty renounced the name he had borne until then and thereafter was styled Vishnu-vardhana (spreader of Vishnu's doctrine). Lithic records inscribed subsequent to that date speak of him as *Mukunda-Padaravinda-vandana-vinodana* (worshipper at Vishnu's feet).

X

This change of faith took place almost simultaneously with a great victory in the field

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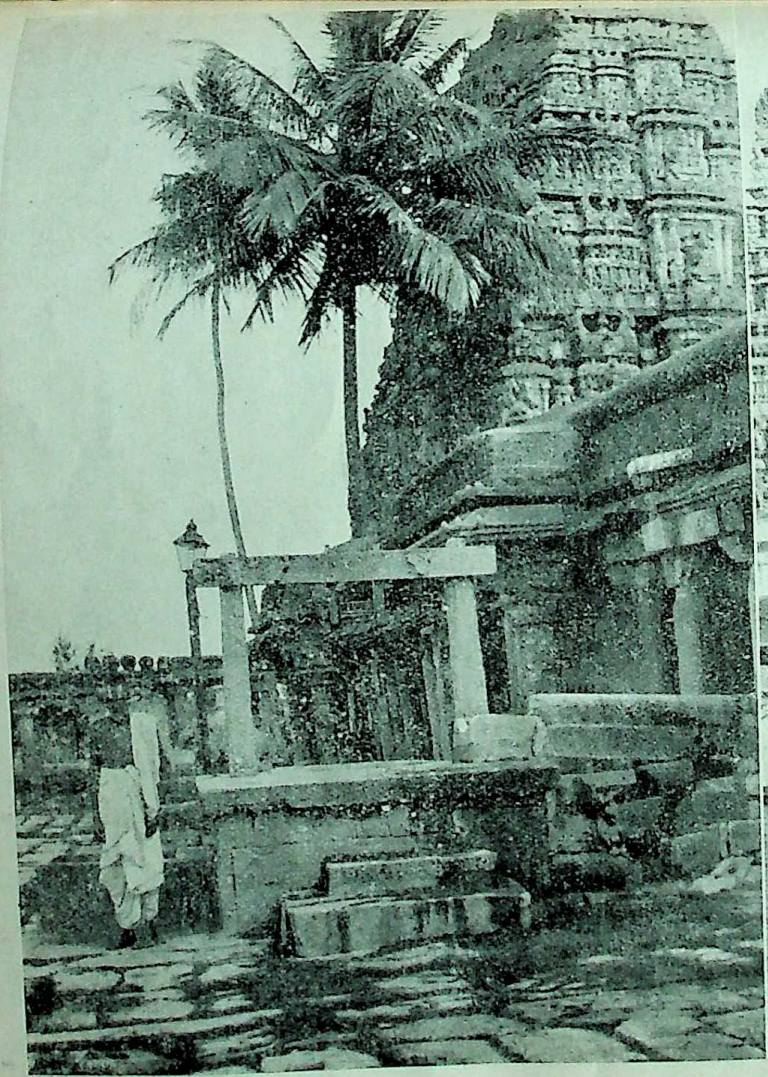

The well in front of the temple

A *gopuram* decorated with figures

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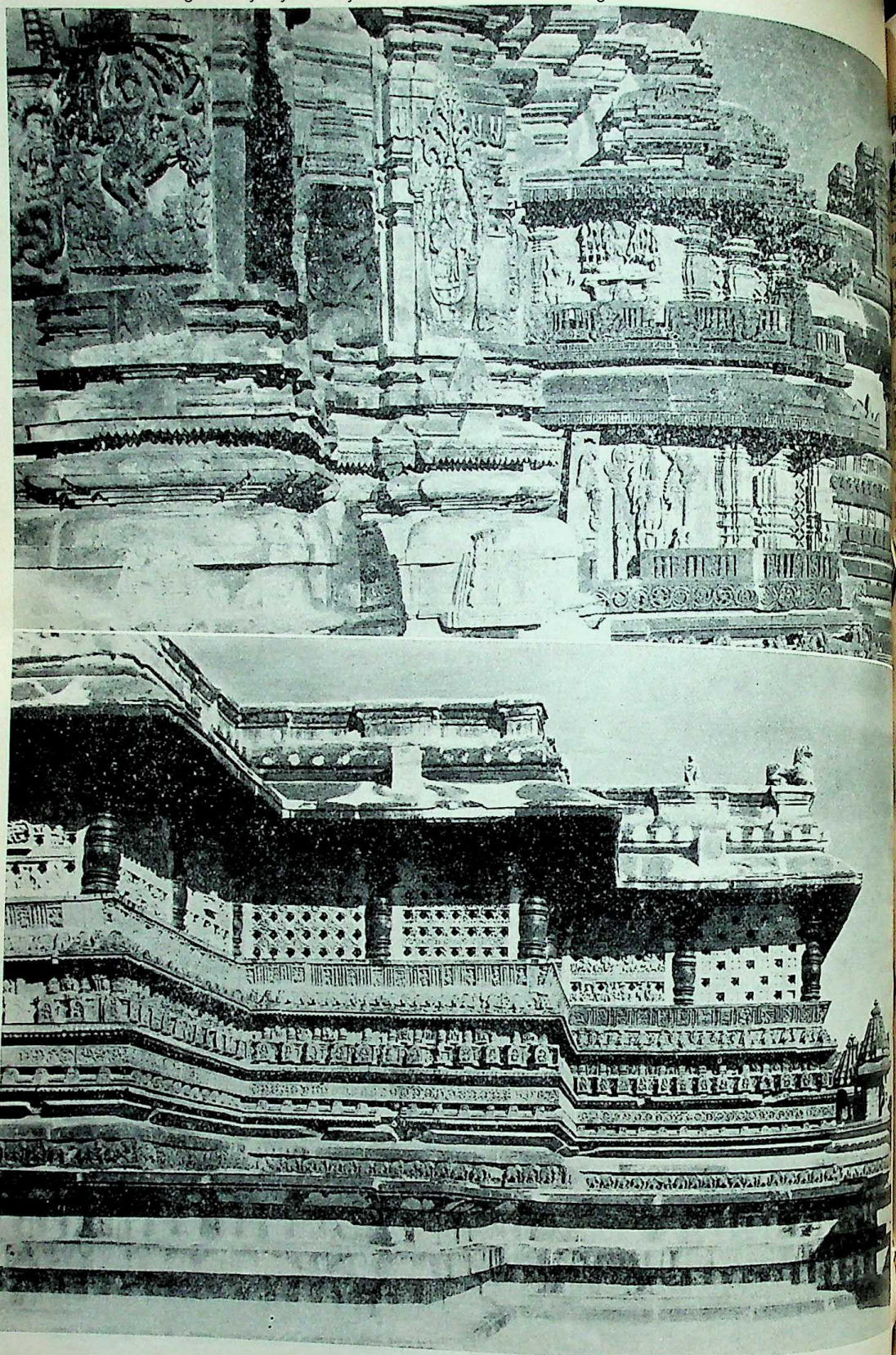

Walls showing the decorations of the temple at Belur

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Bitti Deva, as he then was known, made war upon Adiyaman, stationed at Talakad (now in the Mysore *taluk*) by the very Chola king whose Saivite zeal had led to Ramanuja's flight from Sri Ranga. A mighty warrior, he subdued districts southwards, westwards, eastwards and northwards, until his sway extended over territory that included the whole of Mysore State of today as also Salem, Coimbatore, Bellary and Dharwar.

The king celebrated the two events by erecting a fane at Beluhur or Velapura (now known as Belur), about ten miles west of Dwara-Samudra or Halebid, which constituted his capital as had been the case during the reign of his elder brother and predecessor Ballala I (1100-1106 A.D.) * Flushed with victory as he was, he hailed the image installed in the temple, built at his bidding, as Vijaya-Narayana (an appellation of Vishnu). Since then, however, the name has been changed to Kesava or Chenna-Keshava (the beautiful Keshava)—a composite deity, formed of Brahma (the creative element of the Triad) and Vishnu.

XI

Tradition insists that the image is of divine origin and not of human manufacture. Vishnu's solicitude for humanity led him, it is believed, to descend in this form from Vaikuntha, his heavenly abode, to the earth. Brahma, the creator, gave the image to King Indradyumna, who for ages kept it in a car in the Chandrudrona (now better known as the Baba Budan) hills.

One night while the Hoysala was asleep, he dreamt that the god appeared before him and bade him instal this manifestation of him in a temple specially built for the purpose. So impressed was he with the Lord's injunction that he sped, on the morrow, towards Malkote, where the Acharya then lived. Instead of being surprised, the teacher told his royal disciple that he had had a vision in all respects identical with his.

This talk settled the matter. The ruler, accompanied by his nephew, Waserakri Siddalizandan, went to Chandrudrona hills. There they met the sage Akhanda Gadivara. With his help they brought the image to Narayanapura, some four miles from Belur, where they left it until a temple could be built worthy of the image.

XII

A matter-of-fact person would feel that a site for the shrine was selected at Belahur because the town was the builder's capital. An explanation based merely upon political associations does not, however, satisfy the popular fancy.

A tradition has it that the god himself selected his future abode. He visited the king while he was locked in the arms of slumber and showed him the spot on which the image must be installed. This spot was selected because it was sacred, and not because it was near the royal residence.

The city was built alongside the Badari or Yagache river, which sprang into existence from a recess in the Chandrudrona hills, where the waters collected by Rishya Sringa of Ramayanic fame from all the holy rivers and ponds in the country had spilled from the *Kamandalu* (vessel) in which he had brought it there. It, moreover, formed a tributary of another sacred stream—the Hemavati or "golden" or "resplendent" river, famed in the legendary lore of this part of the country.

This riverine form, it is believed, was assumed by Siva's spouse, who, unable to bear the insult offered by her father, Daksha, one of the original lords of creation—to her husband, had immolated herself. She emerged golden-hued from the flames. Born again as the daughter of Himavat, lord among the world's mountains, she longed to wed Siva second time. But the great god awoke in her the desire to sacrifice herself—this time for the good of the world and not of her husband. The golden-hued river that she became drains a wide belt of land and brings prosperity to all who dwell there.

Then, too, near the bank of the Badari river, some distance above the point where she loses her entity in the Hemavati, there is a spot where a drop of Amrita Kalasa fell as Garuda flew with it to convey it to his mother. The Hoysala was bidden to build a tank there, in the knowledge vouchsafed him through the spirit world that in it *shankha* (conch) and pearl would take their birth in fulfilment of a promise extracted by Parasurama from Varuna—the ocean-god.

Around it Vishnuvardhana built a town and named it Velapuri (the boundary of the earth and the sea). With the passage of time, the name has been corrupted into Belur.

* According to tradition, temples were also built by this king at Talakad, Melkote, Tonnur and Gundlupet (Gadag). The author has visited most of them and found them to be of considerable interest, particularly the one at Melkote where the Acharya Ramanuja established a *matha* which has continued to function to our times.

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XIII

So that a temple worthy of so sacred a place and also of the god to be installed there could be erected, Visvakarma—the architect of the devas—appeared before the Hoysala and offered to assume the responsibility. So graceful in form and so chaste in ornament is the structure that any one who has had the good fortune of seeing it cannot wonder that it is ascribed to a supernatural agency.

The information placed together from inscriptions by scholars in the service of the Mysore State leaves no doubt as to the origin of the image for which the edifice was built. A verse in the form of *anushtubh* incised on its pedestal makes it clear that King Vishnu (vardhana) caused it to be made.

Another inscription (Belur 58) gives the information that Vishnuvardhana, "with great devotion", set up the god Vijaya-Narayana "in a fine lofty temple, which was characterized by all the marks of auspiciousness and adorned with female stone figures, rows of lions and elephants, towers and banners" and so on. He [illegible] time of consecrating it was "in company [illegible] the senior queen Santala Devi." She is [illegible] of as "a moon in increasing the volume [illegible] ocean of affection in the heart of Vishn[illegible] dhana"; also as "proficient in all arts,... a crest jewel in dancing,.....a Sarasva[illegible] singing."

In the course of one of my numerous [illegible] to the temple I was shown a sculpture m[illegible] stone of poor quality and, in consequence, [illegible] much worn by time, which is believed to [illegible] present the king and his queen. Carved [illegible] the middle panel of the screen to the right [illegible] the east doorway of the temple are suppose[illegible] be the figures of this royal couple. Both [illegible] large ear-lobes with ornaments. The [illegible] seated in the centre, has a sword in the [illegible] and a flower in the left hand. Behind his [illegible] consort, to his left, stands a woman attend[illegible] Among the many figures carved on the [illegible] is a holy man with his hand in the teach[illegible] attitude, probably meant for the Acha[illegible] Ramanuja.

(To be concluded.)

COMMENT & CRITICISM

"Adventures of Indian Philosophy in America"

[Mr. C. R. Wright, an American tourist from California, writes as follows in relation to Dr. B. K. Bagchi's article in our last issue on "Adventures of Indian Philosophy in America."]

I am an inhabitant of Los Angeles, California, where reside many Swamis who have created some of the largest Hindu temples and have been inspiring thousands of Americans with their uplifting message. As everything is expensive in my country—lecture halls have to be paid for, secretaries and advance agents and temple taxes have to be paid, voluntary workers have to be maintained, all the Swamis charge membership fees or philosophy class fees. All these are strictly used for propagating the Hindu cause in America. Our colleges and universities and almost all religious institutions have different ways of obtaining money to maintain their work. There is no sin in it.

Then why is it Dr. Bagchi makes a wholesale attack on Swamis and Yogis who charge fees for their philosophical classes? Dr. Bagchi himself, who tries to stand at an intellectual height and mutilate the self-sacrificing Swamis, is no other than the ex-Swami Dhirananda who was long-haired. I knew from personal knowledge that he as a Swami charged $25 for his magnetic cultural classess....This ex-Swami Dhirananda was connected with a big Hindu temple at Los Angeles and had to cease to be there. Later he started a religious organization of his own wherein he collected large sums from women....

This taking money from women, about which Dr. Bagchi is an expert and yet has expressed such holy indignation, is the money which lifted him to the vaunted position of a self-styled critic and first adventurer against philosophies in an Indian journal.

All the Swamis I know of,—I do not, of course, refer to the ex-Swami Dhirananda—use all their temple membership fees for holy work, which has brought great credit to the people of India.

In this article Dr. Bagchi is criticizing all Swa[illegible] only criticizing some less and others more severely, the[illegible] hoping to divide the Swamis and create disaffection a[illegible] them; also hoping that the favoured, flattered ones w[illegible] take sides with him. The famous Dr. Bagchi wants [illegible] general public of India to believe his opinion a[illegible] Swamis and reject the opinion of thousands of t[illegible] American disciples who are famous or otherwise ord[illegible] Dr. Bagchi has thrown a vicious slur against our renow[illegible] men and prima donnas who have, after due consid[illegible] tion of the benefit received, given testimonials to the w[illegible] of famous Swamis. Our distinguished men and wo[illegible] are very practical and it is very hard to get their te[illegible] monials, and specially money, unless they receive [illegible] mind and soul upliftment from the work of Swa[illegible] Dr. Bagchi surely is envious of the Swamis who h[illegible] classes numbering up to 1500 and who receive $25 p[illegible] class member. He is misleading the public in dow[illegible] such Swamis whom thousands follow. I happened [illegible] see their income tax reports and I know they spend ev[illegible] thing for uplifting the intelligentsia of America.

* * * * *

It is not true that Swami Vivekananda alone d[illegible] good work and none else since his advent. In fact th[illegible] is a Swami I know who has been received by the Presi[illegible] of the United States, presidents and professors of un[illegible] sities and saints, thousands count themselves fortu[illegible] to be his disciples, and he has established a million dol[illegible] Hindu temple in Los Angeles, and has educated m[illegible] Hindu boys in America.

Besides Dr. Bagchi by praising some intellectuals [illegible] trying to set them against all religious Swamis who a[illegible] doing great good for India in their own way in Ameri[illegible]

Dr. Bagchi himself was a long-haired Swami, w[illegible] he has cropped short, in preparation of his intellec[illegible] aerial journey and marriage. Even if he left the Swa[illegible] order, why is it that the Doctor's high intellectual atta[illegible] ments dictate him to villify others? Mention of lo[illegible] haired Swamis in his article is a joke on the ex-Swa[illegible] Dhirananda who had long hair.

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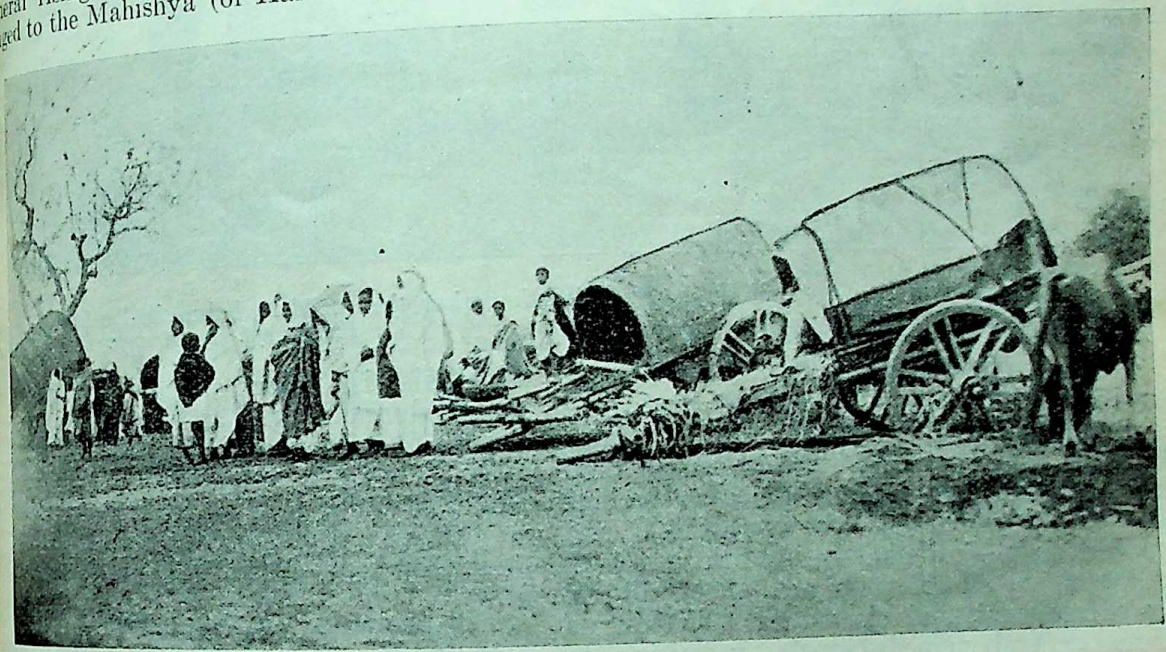
TWO ELECTED KINGS OF BENGAL

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., D. LITT.

[Since last year the people of North Bengal (ancient Sanskrit name *Varendri*) have been celebrating the accession to the throne of that land of the founder of a new dynasty, which is believed to have taken place on the full moon day of Phalgun (Holi) about the year 760 A.D. The most interesting facts about this event are that the king was freely elected by the people after the overthrow of a tyrant by means of a general rising and that the new dynasty belonged to the Mahishya (or Kaivarta) caste and produced some heroic generals and able, devoted and honest rulers. Their history has been recovered from the commentary of the Sanskrit poem *Ramacharitam* of Sandhyakar Nandi, the sole MS. of which was discovered in Nepal by M. M. Hara Prasad Shastri and printed in 1904 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

This year the celebrations were held at Siddhapur on the bank of the *Bhima-sagar*, a large tank named after Bhima (the last king of this dynasty) in the Naogaon sub-division in the extreme north of the Rajshahi district and not far from the Bagura border. A raised military path (*jangal*) starts from this place and its remnants are traceable for a long distance. Temples of *Chamunda* (or Shakti, the tutelary goddess of this line of kings) are found at Siddhapur and several other places and their foundation by this dynasty is proved by the fact that their servitors are the class of Brahmans who minister to Mahishyas.

The whole story will be found in the address of the President, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, printed below. B. N. B.]



Arrival of ladies to attend the celebrations
Photograph by Ananda Bazar Patrika

The two heroes whose memory is being celebrated here today were the glory of all Bengal and of the entire Bengali race, though they lived and worked in Varendra (North Bengal). It is the fashion to sneer at the Bengalis as weak and cowardly, as "hereditary bondsmen." The best answer to this libel is the true life story of Divya and Bhimaraj.

And yet their history has been discovered only during the last thirty years. Even now there are millions of Bengalis who do not know this account, hundreds of thousands who have not heard the very names of Divya and Bhimaraj.

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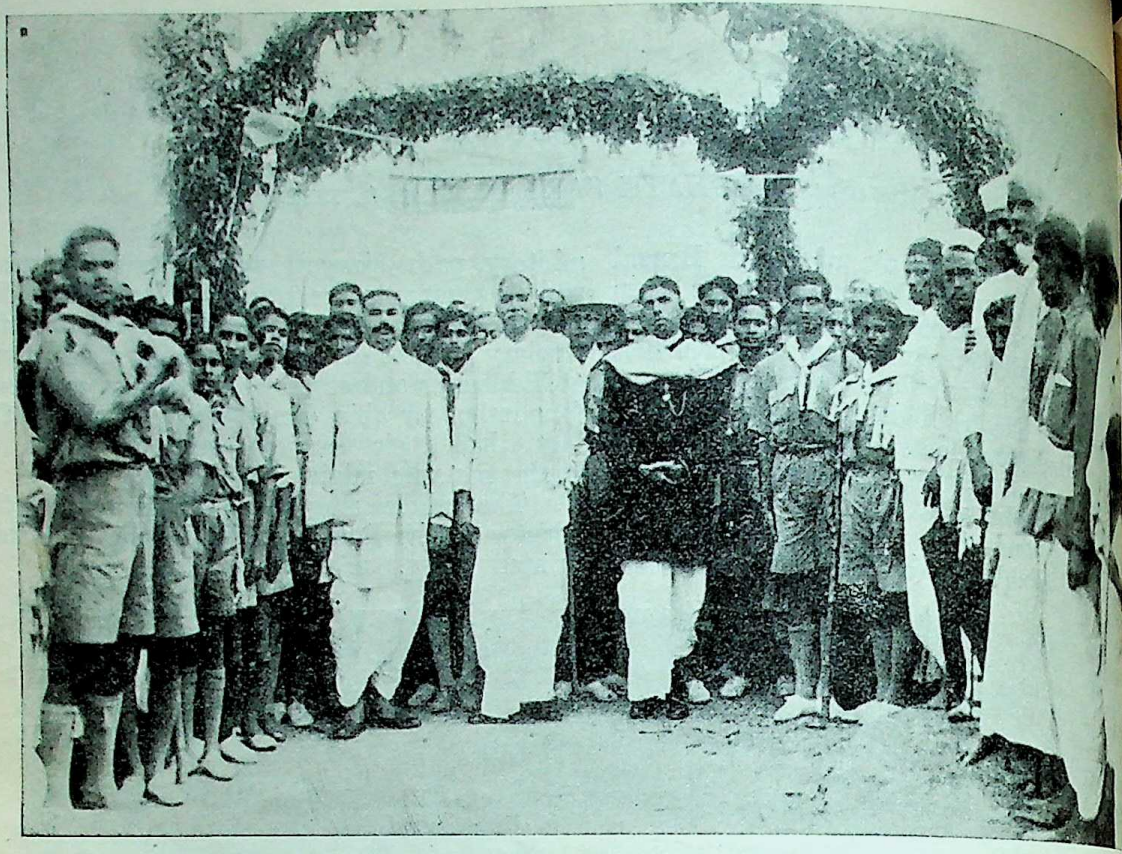

Celebrations in honour of Divya—Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the President, before the Pandel
Photograph by Ananda Bazar Patrika

Nearly twelve centuries ago, about 760 A.D. Bengal was in a miserable political condition: there was no common sovereign over the land, only petty zamindars and captains raising their heads in a hundred different places, attacking each other, plundering the peasantry and usurping lands,—just like the big fish in a tank swallowing up all the minnows. Then all the people combined, and elected as their king a famous general named Gopala, promising to obey him if he kept peace and order.

This Gopala founded the famous Pala dynasty which continued for over three centuries. The Pala kings occupied the whole of Bengal and carried their victorious arms into Bihar, Assam and Orissa. Their rule brought peace and happiness, security of life and property, growth of wealth and culture to the country. Many temples, monasteries and colleges were built; numberless fine images of stone, bronze and copper were made; beautiful manuscripts were written and illuminated with pictures; the fame of Bengal spread far and wide, and many foreign scholars visited the land.

Two hundred and seventy years passed in this way. But with the accession of Mahipala II began a sudden decline. T king's character was as bad as his brain weak. Capricious and obstinate, he would listen to any one, and acted just contrary to advice of the honest old ministers of his fa A good king ought to treat his subjects like own offspring,—as our poet Kalidasa has it.

The young king Mahipala despised well-wishers of his house. Selfish re gathered round him and instigated him imprison his younger brother, the univers popular Ramapala, on the false suspicion planning to clear his way to the throne assassinating Mahipala. That young Pr was chained with iron fetters to his Another brother, Surapala, shared his captiv Attempts were even made to poison Ramap but he saved himself by his watchfulness.

Then, freed from all fear, Mahipala gr rein to his vice and tyranny. No subje honour or womenfolk was safe under him. kind of misdeed was left unattempted by h Maddened by his oppression, the people solved to depose him or perish in the atte All the vassal princes, chieftains, sardars, rich men assembled their retainers, elepha

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horse, foot, and war chariots, forming an ocean of combatants the end of which the eye could not see (*ananta-samanta-chakra*). Mahipala, blinded by arrogance, advanced against the rebels. But his forces were small in number and heartless in their cause. The veteran ministers advised the king not to hazard a conflict immediately, but to halt at a safe distance and by intrigue for increasing his own numbers and fomenting desertion from the enemy's ranks. The rash king blindly rushed into battle and was defeated and slain. The glorious Pala empire fell to pieces. The two captive younger princes escaped from the State prison and wandered here and there as fugitives.

After this victory, the leaders of the rebel confederacy decided to elect Divya as their king, because no realm can exist without a sovereign. Who was this Divya? His name and deeds have become fully known to us from an old Sanskrit manuscript discovered in Nepal by one generation ago. He was the commander-in-chief of Mahipala's father, and had won great fame by leading expeditions on behalf of his master to many provinces. His bravery was regarded as the standard of perfection which it was humanly impossible to surpass.

He was as noble-minded and righteous as he was brave. His position in the State was just below the sovereign's, as the Commander-in-Chief of British India has his seat next to the Viceroy's. And yet he was so righteous that in spite of the slights and oppression heaped upon him by his worthless young master, he did not rebel out of a spirit of revenge or desire for the throne. When Mahipala's rule became unbearable to the people and Divya saw that he alone could rescue his fellow countrymen from misery and ruin, then and then only did he join in the rebellion and deliver his fatherland from tyrannic misrule. His Sanskrit history, written by his enemy's courtier, admits that his rebellion was an unavoidable duty (*avashyakartabya*).

Divya was now an old man, he had no craving for pomp or pleasure; but knowing that society would be ruined if anarchy prevailed, he shouldered the heavy burden of kingship for the sake of keeping the peace and suppressing the wicked. He never begged to be excused. This is the character of the true patriot,—who labours for his country and community to the end of his days, regardless of his own repose or happiness, like the ideal king eulogised in Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*.

After his election to the throne of North Bengal, Divya did not live long. The revolt had turned the country upside down. It took time to organize and establish the new dynasty's administration. Surapala proclaimed himself king in some other part of Bengal, and at many places the agents of the two dynasties fought each other. But after Divya's death, Bhima (the son of his brother Rudak) succeeded him and completed his uncle's work. The new sovereign was equally brave, intelligent and hard-working.

For many years Bhima protected the Varendra country, suppressing his enemies by attacking them when at a disadvantage or off their guard. History bears witness to Bhima's power and his large force of elephants, troops and war-boats. His rival, Ramapala of the supplanted dynasty, took many years and had to build up a huge confederacy of allies at an immense cost before he could defeat Bhima.

Ramapala either visited in person the chieftains of the country north, east and west of Varendra, or sent his agents there and enlisted the rulers and captains of all these places on his side, and then ventured to cross the Ganges and invade Bhima's country. An earlier invasion, led into west Varendra by Ramapala's cousin Shivaraja of Bihar, after doing some damage and raid at first, was easily defeated when Bhima's troops arrived on the scene.

At last the immense host of Ramapala—with his countless allies—invaded Varendra. Bhima fought him, but was defeated and captured. His general Hari Nayak rallied the broken troops and faced the invaders again, but his handful of men were swept away by the overwhelming odds. He and his captive master were put to death, and the independent provincial dynasty of North Bengal ended.

Bhima's capital, named Damar, is described by the poet as *upa-pura, i.e.*, a suburb; it was evidently a new city founded by him outside the old and decayed capital, like the New Delhi of our own days. Large tanks, raised paths, palaces and temples, connected by tradition with Bhima, still exist in North Bengal, some in ruin, others buried under the ground and lost to popular knowledge. The village-folk have preserved his memory in a dim and garbled form.

We have to recover the monuments of this dynasty by removing the jungle debris and dust of nine centuries. This is the duty of North Bengal zamindars and ryots, young scholars and old historians. The sons of Varendri must

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save the special contribution of Varendri to Bengal's history and culture. Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy (of Dighapatiya) and Akshaya Kumar Maitra began this work with their own hands. Shall their example end with them? No Sanskrit poet has recorded the achievements of Divya and Bhima. Rustic bards sang of them in that far off age, but their ballads have passed into oblivion in the course of nine centuries. Therefore, the archæologist's spade is our only resource now; we must dig for records graven in stone.

Divya and Bhima belonged to the *Mahishya* caste (in some places called *Kaivartas*). In the *Bhagabat-Gita* the Creator declares that he formed men into four castes on the basis of their characteristics (*guna*) and functions (*karma*). If we believe in the *Gita*, we are bound to class these Mahishyas as Kshatriyas. Kalidasa has declared that the whole world derives the word "Kshatriya" from a root meaning "he who saves people from harm." This is the true criterion of Kshatriya-hood. Divya and Bhima devoted their lives to suppressing the oppressors of their Fatherland, expelling foreign invaders and saving the life and honour of lakhs and lakhs of men and women. Surely they were Kshatriyas by character and life's work, no matter to what caste they may have been born. The renowned scholar and ideal orthodox Brahman, the saintly Bhudev Mukhopadhyay, C.I.E., used to say, "My ancestors were Brahmans no doubt, but in the modern age whosoever has acquired the highest learning and teaches pupils, is truly a Brahman, because he is discharging the function of a Brahman."

It will thus be seen that the division of the Hindu population into four water-tight castes (*varna*) labelled Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras—like the jealous[illegible] ferentiated four classes of railway [illegible] each with its distinctive colour (*varna*) based neither on eternal verity nor on hi[illegible] fact. I shall give you some examples in [illegible] of this. The Rajputs are unrivalled [illegible] Indian races for their bravery, and ev[illegible] other lands few can equal them. They [illegible] of being true Kshatriyas and look down [illegible] all other castes. In Upper India, Ba[illegible] trader is a general term of contempt [illegible] cowardly mean fellow. And yet we find [illegible] instances in history of the troops of R[illegible] Rajahs being led in battle by B[illegible] Maharana Raj Singh's diwan Dayal Sah[illegible] Sahukar or tradesman) led his proud S[illegible] troops and convulsed the army of the Em[illegible] Aurangzib (1679). The Kachhwah [illegible] Shekhawat retainers of Ishwari Singh of J[illegible] gained the battle of Rajmahal (1747) [illegible] the command of his minister Harag[illegible] Natani, a Bania. Another Rajput R[illegible] Bania officer gave up his life at the head [illegible] Rajput clansmen. Before the battle the [illegible] proud Rajput captains scornfully told [illegible] "Shahuji ! this is not a day for selling [illegible] He replied, "Friends, you will see me [illegible] weighing out flour with a pair of scales in [illegible] of my hands." Saying this, he threw awa[illegible] shield, seized the bridle between his teeth, [illegible] taking a sword in each hand, spurred his [illegible] before all others into the enemy's ranks [illegible] fell down covered with a hundred wounds.

All these are historical facts, recorded [illegible] contemporary documents. They are not [illegible] traditions, nor hypothetical cases put forwa[illegible] buttress up an argument. What caste-p[illegible] Kshatriya,—Sisodia, Rathor or Kachh[illegible] ever surpassed such heroism as this?

[Translated from the original Bengali by Braj[illegible] Nath Banerji.]

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BOOK REVIEWS

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ENGLISH

AHSANU'T-TAWARIKH, A CHRONICLE OF THE EARLY SAFAVIS: *By Hasan-i-Rumlu, translated into English by C. N. Seddon, M.A., I.C.S. (Retd.); Gaekwad's Oriential Series, Vol. LXIX. Pp. 206.*

Ahsanu't-Tawarikh is a contemporary court-history of the first three famous Safavi rulers of Persia, written by Hasan-i-Rumlu, who wrote this volume in the name of Prince Ismail Mirza. Hasan-i-Rumlu follows the chronological plan of treating history grouping events under Hijrah years from A. H. 900 down to 985. The learned translator has in an Introduction of 15 pages given us a summary of essential points of interest in this history, as well as a luminous political back-ground to it to enable the average reader to follow the narrative intelligently. The translator's careful study in and around the subject shows itself in his *notes—historical and general covering 85 pages of the book.*

We sincerely admire Mr. Seddon's mastery of languages, Persian and English, as well as his earnest endeavour to make his work useful and faultless from every point of view. The only complaint one may have is the absence of an index, which is undoubtedly a difficult task as it appears from the contents of the book.

We should, however, like to point out that the learned translator in his *Introduction* has rather underestimated the importance of the *Ahsanu't-Tawarikh* in one point. He remarks, "There is no value in Hasan-i-Rumlu's Indian history," (p. X). This, of course, holds partly true so far as Hasan's incursions into political history is concerned. A student of the art of warfare in Mughal India will find the *Ahsan* extremely valuable in studying the evolution of the military tactics of Babur which revolutionized the art of warfare in India in the sixteenth century. The Safavis learnt the Rumi fashion of fighting from the Osmanli Turks in their western frontier, particularly in the field of Chaldiran in 920 A. H., which demonstrated the risk and futility of charges of heavy cavalry against a combination of artillery, infantry and cavalry fighting on the defensive. The *Ahsan* thus describes the Rumi tactics, "And the way of the Turkish Sultans is this, that at the time of battle they strengthen their army with guns and chains, making thus a strong fortress to protect themselves. And within it the gunmen fire guns and cannon and muskets, and over the cannon in the form of a dragon they place big and small mortars. And they have such skill and power in firing their guns that they can hit the indivisible atom a mile away" (p. 68).

The *Ahsan* ought to find a place on the shelf of Indo-Muslim history as a contemporary source throwing side-lights on the relations of Babur and Humayun with their Safavi contemporaries of Persia.

K. R. QANUNGO

THE SPIRIT OF MAN IN ASIAN ART: *By Lawrence Binyon. Harvard University Press. 1935. Pp. 217 with 70 illustrations. Price $4.*

The University of Harvard is remembered with gratitude by Indologists on account of its sumptuous "Oriental Series." Now in the year of its tercentenary we have the pleasure of handling the volume under review which grew out of a series of lectures delivered in 1933-34, by the renowned poet, essayist and critic, Lawrence Binyon, as the Charles Eliot Norton Professor. He endeared himself to all lovers of Oriental Art by his famous book, *Painting in the Far East*, published nearly a quarter of a century ago. In *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art*, the author gives us a brilliant exposition and appraisement of the art treasures, chiefly pictorial of the four major families of Asiatic Art: Indian, Iranian, Chinese and Japanese. As the late keeper of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum for years, Mr. Binyon, has handled rare orginals and what is more, has interrogated them with the sympathy and understanding of a true poet that he is. Hence, we find in his treatment an extraordinary power of authentic documentation combined with the capacity innate in a creative artist of infusing a new life and meaning into art criticism. The late Mr. E. B. Havell also was a passionate protagonist of oriental art; but preoccupied as he was in fighting the pretentious contempt of Western critics for Eastern art, he lacked repose and finish in form. This is just what Binyon brings in his learned yet inspiring essays which, we are

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sure, will be welcomed by all art lovers and the book with its representative gallery of pictures in excellent reproduction, will find place in libraries, public and private. Classical styles apart, he has very laudably drawn our attention to the so-called popular Art which in India gave us the grand Rajput paintings and to Japan the *Ukiyo-ye* sketches of immortal transiency. On the eve of a veritable renaissance of arts and crafts in the entire Orient, the study of Mr. Binyon will serve as a beacon-light for art-critics and artists. What Okakura, Havell and Fenollosa did in the past and what Coomaraswamy and others are doing at present, have been gloriously vindicated by this poet-critic of rare taste and unfaltering judgment. The Western conviction of superiority and obstinate determination to impose external standards, prevented any serious approach to Eastern till late in the 19th "century,"—says author with ruthless precision. He points to the other path—that of creative criticism, by quoting Wordsworth :

> And you must love him ere to you
> He will seem worthy of your love.

May this prophecy be fulfilled and may we get more and more of critics like Mr. Binyon who significantly quotes William Blake at the end, saying that Art is "a means of conversing with Paradise."

KALIDAS NAG

AJANTA AND THE UNITY OF ART : *By W. E. Gladstone Solomon. A paper read at the opening of the Exhibition of Ajanta and Ellora Paintings and Drawings at the Bombay University organized by the Universal Arts Circle. Four Illustrations, Pp. 22 Price Annas Four. "Drashti" Office, Hornby Road, Bombay.*

This is a tiny little brochure which gives a fragment of author's impressions of his stay at Ajanta last year with a party of Indian art students from Bombay. Captain Solomon deprecates the fashion of some art critics who resort to "mystification" in their attempt to present art of India to Europe. The beauty and the spontaneous richness of the "most purely decorative mural paintings still visible to the world" is obvious to the practising artist and to those who have the eyes to see them with a direct vision without the interesting smoke screens of 'Nationality' or 'Mysticism.' As the author pertinently points out "the fundamental impulses of art are of course neither Eastern nor Western, but universal." "The truth is that the family resemblances between the Ajanta caves, early Italian paintings, the Etruscan vases, or the Aegean frescoes are much more striking than the differences of style between them." The second point that is made in this short essay is that the artist who painted some of these frescoes blazing with the teeming forms of plant and animal life, "was a lover of life, not one who spent his days and nights in meditation, content to abjure the study of Nature in favour of the abstruse mysteries of Yoga." But the most solid part of this little essay is a careful analysis of the great masterpiece of the Simhala Jataka in Cave 17, as a typical example of the subtle methods of pictorial or decorative figure composition practised by the monk-Masters of Ajanta. For the lucid combinations of its decorative and dramatic values, for the exquisite perfection of its execution—and the intensity of its romance, the author courageously claims, that this piece of wall painting is "certainly not excelled anywhere in the whole domain of ancient painting." Captain Solomon very happily disposes of the charge of Mr. Binyon that the frescoes display 'diffusion' and are lacking in coherence in composition and formula of calculated surface arrangement. In the very interesting essay written with the charm and enthusiasm of the author and should be in the hands of all our students in the Schools and Colleges.

KAUNDINYA

LIFE OF DR. MAHENDRA LAL SIRCAR, D.L., C.I.E.: *By Sarat Chandra Ghose, M.D. (London). Published by Prafulla Chandra Ghose, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta...Second Edition. Pp. +412. Price not mentioned.*

The nineteenth centurty India can be divided into two periods : (1) ending with the of Raja Rammohan Roy and (2) up till the ment of the Indian National Congress. The national aspirations sown in the earlier period into various movements in the latter. Such case in every department of life. In science, ture, politics and other cultural activities the period marked a distinct sign of progress. So the growth of scientific consciousness among the in this period was concerned, Dr. Mahendra Lal contribution can be said to be foremost. his *Calcutta Medical Journal* (August, 1869), broached the idea of establishing, and later lish, a scientific association for the regular of science in its various aspects. If he did else, only from this respect his name would have immortalized in the cultural history of the nin century India.

Dr. Sarat Chandra Ghose has done a service to his countrymen by bringing forth the edition of his *Life of Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar*, being published so long ago as 1909. Dr. Ma Lal Sircar was an eminent physician of his time commenced practising Allopathy near about 18 within a few years became a convert to Homœ and till the end of his life practised it. It is but meet that the author would devote a consid portion of the book to Homœopathy and Dr. S contribution to it. The author, while drawing the history of Homœopathic practice in India, his zeal included even the list of Homœopathic able dispensaries, their medical officers, etc., so established as September, 1928, in Bengal (Pp. 10 It is, therefore, no wonder that half the book less than 200 pages) has been taken up by this s Other important sections, such as the 'Associati the Cultivation of Science,' have not been done justice to. The narration of Dr. Sircar's acquai and discourse with Paramahamsa Ramkrishna, noted Hindu saint of the time, the small anec of his life, his utter simplicity, sincerity of p his services in councils and commissions will pro teresting as well as elevating.

The author has done well to incorporate the famous letters which Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar addressed to the Calcutta University when the m of the Faculty of Medicine objected to work with as a colleague, for his profession and practice of H pathy. These at once show his depth in the and Foreign systems of medicine as well as his love for Homœopathy. Here again there is a crepancy in the book (p. 208). Dr. Sircar did "in utter disgust" tender "his resignation as a of the Faculty of Medicine." When the members the faculty obstinately refused to work with him actually tendered their resignation, in a body, Syndicate found no other alternative but to

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Dr. Sircar to the Faculty of Engineering. Let me quote the actual wording of the resolution of the Syndicate. "55. Read a Letter from Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, dated the 7th of September, 1878.

"Resolved:

That Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar's name be transferred from the Faculty of Medicine to that of Engineering."

(*University of Calcutta. Minutes for the year 1878-79. P. 50.*)

Inspite of these blemishes, the book will be of immense benefit to the reader. The printing and getup of the book are good.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

SANSKRIT

SRIMAD BHAGAVAT GITA (*Text of Sudha Dharma Mandalam edition*) *with the commentary of Sri Hamsa Yogi, Chapter I, published by Mr. T. M. Sundaram from Mylapore, Madras, South India.*

This is a new edition of the Gita, containing 745 Slokas comprised in 26 Chapters, instead of 700 Slokas contained in 18 Chapters, which we ordinarily find. The text is based on certain Slokas in Chapter 43 of Bhisma Parva of the Mahabharata, in respect of which Nilantha, the celebrated commentator of the Mahabharata, says that the verses in which the statement is made that the Gita contains 745 Slokas, do not exist in the Gauda or Bengal recension and the late learned scholar Kasinath Trumbak Telang in his introduction to the Bhagavada Gita says that those Slokas are doubtless not genuine. We refrain from further criticism, as the remaining 25 Chapters have not yet been received.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

CHATURVIMSATIPRABANDHAH. *Edited by Prof. Hiralal Rasikdas Kapadia, M.A. To be had of Messrs. N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay. Rs. 2-8.*

This work in Sanskrit, written by Sri Rajasekhara Suri the Jaina savant (in the tenth century, according to Keith but probably much later, as one story at least in the collection refers to a chief who lived in the twelfth century, but in any way the time has not been satisfactorily settled), had been published and reviewed in journals like the *Nagri Pracharini Patrika*. It is now presented to the public by the well-known Association, the Forbes Gujarati Sabha of Bombay. Prof. Kapadia bases his edition on three manuscripts and a printed copy, and has contributed an introduction in Sanskrit which has at least the gift of brevity, and indexes and appendices as many as ten in number. He has spared no pains to make the book attractive and useful and we have to say, as we did in reviewing the Prabandhachintamani, that its inclusion in the Sabha Publication is quite suitable. Its other name is Prabandhakosha, and the interspersed verses in Sanskrit and Prakrit mostly contain example of *bon-mot*, while the many anecdotes read well, and selection from them are recommended for use in textbooks both for their matter and style;—they will supply variety to the monotonous fare of the Hitopadesha and the Panchatantra which are generally served before young boys and girls going in for a study of Sanskrit.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

BENGALI

DESIYA SAMAYIK PATRER ITIHAS (*History of the Vernacular Periodical Papers*). *By Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyay. Part I, 1818-1839. Sahitya Parishat Granthabali 86. Pp. 124. Published by the Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2, Mohan Bagan Row, Calcutta, 1937. Price Rs. 2/.*

To readers who are interested in the cultural history of Bengal in the 19th century it is hardly necessary to introduce Mr. Bandyopadhyay, who has already published a valuable selection, in three volumes, of interesting materials gleaned from some of the periodicals of the first half of the century, as well as a documented and systematic history of the Bengali Stage from its commencement to the establishment of the National Theatre. In the course of these investigations he had to devote years of patient toil to the earthing and examining of materials which lay buried in the obscure or forgotten files of rare old periodicals. The present work owes its origin to this effort of the indefatigable author; and it is needless to inform those who are already familiar with his writings that it maintains the same high standard of skilful and accurate workmanship.

The history of Bengali periodical literature begins from 1818. In this first part of his projected work a reliable account of the history is given up to 1839, and made as full as the present state of our knowledge permits. To his previous training as an historical student, the author has added his unbounded enthusiasm and capacity for persistent endeavour; and this happy combination of qualities has made him eminently fit for the exacting and laborious task, which he has now so successfully accomplished. His work is not only a marvel of methodical application but its value increased by the fact that it is based upon original, but not easily accessible, materials which have been collected, examined and systematized with great patience, accuracy and attention to details. He has rejected the broad and easy path of those writers who desire to attain quick results by an undoubtedly brilliant, but ultimately worthless, compilation of secondhand and cheap materials; he has chosen the narrow and difficult path of laborious scholarship, which would in no case admit any material without a rigorous examination. He had, therefore, to go back to the original sources at every step; and there is hardly a single fact or conclusion in his book which is not supported or established by the necessary proofs and controls. As a result, he has been able to check the errors of his hasty, uncritical or insufficiently equipped predecessors and supplement their omissions and imperfections. It is probable that there still exist unexamined in various parts of the country many unknown files of old periodicals; future research will probably discover these and fill up the unavoidable gaps and inadequacies of the present attempt. But our author appears to have spared no pains to make his account as complete and accurate as possible; and even if his attempt, as he himself admits, is not perfect, it would be no exaggeration to say that he has laid the foundations of the first trustworthy history of the vernacular periodical literature of the last century.

Although the work is chiefly concerned with the history of periodical literature printed in Bengali, the author has included brief references to early Urdu, Persian and Hindi newspapers. It is well worth noting in this connexion that the first newspapers in each of these languages appeared from Calcutta between

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March 1822 and May 1826. Of the Bengali periodicals dealt with in this volume, the *Digdarsan, Samachar-darpan, Sambad-kaumudi, Samachar-chandrika, Bangadut, Sambad-prabhakar, Jnananvesan, Sambad-bhaskar, Sambad-rasaraj,* among, others, exercised a considerable influence on the literary, social and religious ideas of the age. It is interesting to note that the first two Bengali newspapers originated almost simultaneously, even before Lord Hastings had lifted the censorship of the Press. The first of these, the *Samachar-darpan,* published at Serampore (May 23, 1818) owes its inception to foreign effort, but it was carried on mainly by Indian assistance; while the second, the *Bengal Gazette,* published probably within a fortnight at Calcutta, was entirely an Indian enterprise. A Persian edition of the *Samachar-darpan* was published on May 6, 1826. Contrary to current erroneous views, the present reviewer pointed out, many years ago, that the *Samachar-darpan* was never, as the *Gospel Magazine* (December 1819) was, a totally missionary paper; and he is glad to find that his opinion has received confirmation in the present work. Although started by the Baptist missionaries, the editorial work of the *Samachar-darpan* was conducted chiefly by Indian Pandits like Jaygopal Tarkalankar and Tarinicharan Siromani; and even if it occasionally admitted correspondence on religious topics, it never encouraged acrimonious religious controversy, as did its rival, the *Samachar-chandrika* which was obviously the organ of the orthodox Hindu group. It is unfortunate that the data are insufficient for tracing a complete history of the *Sambad-kaumudi* (December 4, 1821), behind which stood the personality of Ram Mohun Roy, or of the aggressively orthodox paper of the opposite camp, the *Sambad-timir-nasak* (October 1823), which circulated for nearly seven years. The first Bengali-Persian newspaper conducted by a Muhammadan was the *Samachar-sabha-rajendra* published by Shaikh Alimullah (March 7, 1831), to whose pro-Hindu views even the *Chandrika* was constrained to pay a compliment. Of the monthly periodicals of an educational character, the first exemplar was the monthly *Digdarsan* (April 1818) conducted by the Serampore Missionaries till 1821; but its tradition, for a time broken, appears ultimately to have been carried on by such monthly journals as the *Jnanodaya* (1831) and *Bijnana-sebadhi* (April 1832).

The periodical is an important and necessary expression of modern civilization. Even if its ephemeral vision is not always unclouded, it reflects at the same time the peculiar temper and character of a specified age and place; and, properly examined, it furnishes a valuable aid to the historian as a contemporary, and by no means, negligible record. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that it is necessary to reconstruct a sober and systematic history of the periodical literature of the nineteenth century Bengal, out of which the Bengal of the present century has evolved. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat deserves the gratitude of the Bengali-reading public by entrusting the work to Mr. Bandyopadhyay, than whom there is none at the present day possessing a more intimate and detailed knowledge of the subject.

S. K. De

MARATHI

DHARMA-SHASTRA VICHAR: *By P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M. Published by P. V. Bhagvat, Manj Printing Bureau, Khatan Buildings, Girgaon, Bombay: Pp. 310, Rs. 2-8.*

Mr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., is well known in Western India as a close student of Hindu Dharma Shastra, and as a Sanskritist of eminence. He has written a big treatise in English on that subject for the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute of Poona. His research, accurate scholarship, precision of statement and a modern outlook have been the characteristics of all his contributions to the elucidation of the subject. The book before us is an exposition of the subject in popular form for Marathi readers. There are many questions of social and religious reform that are agitating Hindu society today. And many are curious to know what the ancient Shastras have to say on the subject. Although these questions are not decided satisfactorily by an appeal to put old wine in new bottles, still it is not altogether useless to know what the history of the past has to tell us on the burning controversies of the day. If the past is a burden, the knowledge of the past is liberation. Mr. P. V. Kane has endeavoured successfully, to make the point clear to all who can grasp it, that the Shastars are not so reactionary as obscurantist as many a sanatanist would make them out to be. In a book of 300 pages the author has the subject of reform in religious and social life from various points of view, ranging over a wide ground, and indicating the sources of his statements and conclusions in a manner that makes it possessing, if at least for guiding the lay reader such documented evidence, as the author so skilfully brings under one cover and for making it available Marathi readers, who, on the average, know but about it and yet swear vehemently by the authority of the Shastras for everything that they regard as sacrosanct and inviolable. Considering the labour volved, the price of the book is very cheap. Modern is today, being enriched, we are glad to note, by that take religion and social reform seriously, and the matter of progress in it as vital to the changes of the nation. Mr. Kane's book may be considered as making a land-mark in this connection.

V. N. Nai

GUJARATI

SHAKUNTALA RASADARSHAN: *By Bhai L. Umarvadia, B.A., LL.B. printed at the Jain Printing Press, Surat, Paper Cover. Pp. Price Re. 1-0-0 on the cover, 0-12-0 printed (1935).*

This is a play in three acts and modernizes incidents connected with Shakuntala's life, as given the Mahabharat and in Kalidas' immortal Human nature and emotions, however, remain same for all time, and it is the author's claim maidens with Shakuntala's sentiments and feelings be found even today in Indian society. He had accordingly set about to accomplish that object by adapting the conditions of modern life to those depicted Kalidas. He has analysed the two Shakuntalas, one described in the Mahabharat and the other Kalidas and has come to the conclusion that Mahabharat maiden was more self-respecting independent in nature than the limp and cadaverous one depicted by Kalidas. Besides this he has translated some of the verses of Kalidas in the original way, and the meaning he reads in them indeed significant: *e.g.,* the *anaghratam* sloka is very well translated and explained. Altogether it is a work which provokes thought and coming as does after a long interval from the author's pen, it deserves a sincere welcome.

K. M.

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MR. EDEN'S SECRET DIPLOMACY

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

Mr. Eden raised a tremendous cry against Sir Samuel Hoare, because he made an agreement with M. Laval to betray the League of Nations and Ethiopia. After becoming the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eden has started a new type of secret diplomacy to maintain British supremacy in the Mediterranean. Mr. Paul Mallon, a well-informed correspondent of the *Evening Star* (Washington) gives on the 11th of February, the following interesting news regarding Mr. Eden's secret diplomacy and reason of Washington Government's coolness towards the League's and Great Britain's international policies :

The upper-starta of diplomacy here has picked up some surprising information lately about secret European agreements. Most of it cannot be confirmed, of course. When nations get together in secret military alliances to divide the spoils of expected war, they do not call witnesses.

For instance, Britain is supposed to have succeeded in getting an agreement from the Mediterranean powers to support the British fleet in event Italy attacks British men of war.

Turkey's secret price for placing its port and fleet at British disposal is said to have been the return to Turkey of the six fortified Dodecanese islands which Italy took in the war of 1912. Greece is supposed to have been promised some of the other Dodecanese. What Jugoslavia's share was to be has not yet been made clear. But at the existing values of Mediterranean support, you may be sure it was not trivial.

These reports betray the probable existence of a secret spoils diplomacy exactly like that upon which Italy is now basing her Ethiopian campaign. She wants the dark meat in the Ethiopian Turkey which she claims was promised by the British and French for coming into the World War on the side of the Allies.

Whether the reports are entirely accurate is not as important now as the fact that such reports are filling the rarified air of diplomacy and are accepted as probably being true by persons of great responsibility.

It explains the determined United States isolation policy, and why it is likely to continue.

The above news explains many of the recent happenings in the field of World Politics. Turkey did not have any special love for Great Britain, which engineered the partition of the Ottoman Empire before, during and after the World War. The present ruler of Turkey, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, had to fight Greece, which was supported by Great Britain. Signor Mussolini was one of the first European statesmen who extended moral support to Kemal Pasha and concluded the so-called Non-aggression Pact. Yet nationalist Turkey has suddenly changed sides and has agreed to support Britain against Italy for certain price, Mr. Eden has promised to pay. Greece's new King is related to the British royal family and he was supported by the British statesmen in his efforts to regain the throne. It is natural that this pro-British Greek king would make a secret agreement with the British Foreign Office to ally with Britain against her enemies. An Anglo-Greek offensive and defensive alliance may be of great value to Great Britain in case she be engaged in a conflict with any Power in the Mediterranean. It is conceivable that the Government of the kingdom of Yugo-Slavia would ally with Britain against Italy, with the hope of regaining at least of the territories which are now under Italian domination.

We have noticed that Signor Mussolini has protested against the understandings arrived at by Mr. Eden on behalf of Great Britain and other Powers—France, Turkey, Greece and Yugo-Slavia—on the ground that the League of Nations did not authorise the British Government to make any such understanding, presumably against Italy. Mr. Eden and British statesmen are having a great laugh at Signor Mussolini and at those who believe that the British are anxious to uphold the authority of the League of Nations for the promotion of World Peace. British statesmen, especially Mr. Eden, regard the League of Nations as an instrument for the promotion of British imperial interests. They are working for the preservation of British supremacy at any cost and various understandings with nations to further their policies are inevitable results. Sir Samuel Hoare tried to make an Anglo-French-Italian Pact to get a part of Ethiopia for Britain and to secure Franco-Italian support in the Mediterranean, Mr. Eden has made understandings with France, Turkey, Greece and Yugo-Slavia to further British interests inspite of Italian hostility. However, it may be said that if Mr. Eden can make a deal with Signor Mussolini on various issues involving British naval supremacy in the Mediterranean then there will be some form of secret understanding between Italy and Britain. In that case Mr. Eden will follow this policy for the good of the world, for

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the furtherance of the cause of peace and to defend the League of Nations, and at the same time to promote British interests.

To prove that Mr. Eden was for the League of Nations, Mr. Eden has declared that Britain is for "oil sanction" but at the same time "oil sanction" has been put off for a few days, while the French statesmen with perfect understanding with those of Britain have a definite stand against "oil sanction" peaceful solution of the problem of Italo-E pian War, by inducing Signor Mussolini new programme of partition of Ethiopia.

Washington, D. C.
4th March, 1936.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN LEGISLATURE

By SATYENDRA CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE question of the freedom of speech in the Indian Legislative Assembly recently took a serious turn when a Hindi newspaper of Allahabad was asked to deposit security by the U. P. Government under section (3) of Section 7 of the Press Emergency Powers Act, Act XXIII of 1931, for printing a Hindi translation of the full text of the speech of Pandit K. K. Malaviya made in the Assembly on the 6th September, 1935, in Simla during the discussion on the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill.

The same question was once before raised four years ago on the 10th February, 1932, when Sardar Sant Singh put a question as follows:

(*a*) Will Government be pleased to state if under any Ordinance or Rules made or Orders issued by any executive authority, newspapers could be penalized for publishing reports of the proceedings of this House.

(*b*) If the reply to part (*a*) be in the affirmative will Government kindly state reasons for issuing such Rules or Orders?

(*c*) Are Government aware that such penalizing of newspapers is regarded as a serious encroachment on the privileges of this House?

Sir James Crerar, the then Home Member, in reply said:

"The right of free speech secured to Honourable Members of the House by Sec. 67(7) of the Government of India Act is not affected by any Ordinance. I would, however, point out that the provisions of the section do not apply to the publication of reports by newspapers of which the liability is determined by other provisions of Law including the Indian Press Act of 1931, and by the provisions of the Ordinances, in particular by Sec. 63 of the Ordinance No. 2 of 1932."

In reply to a request from Mr. Lal Chand Navalrai to enlighten the House if that was the case in England and whether the Press there had been penalized for publishing speeches of Members of Parliament, Sir James Crerar said: "Yes; that is certainly the case, and I would refer the Honourable Member to the relevant passages in Sir Erskine May's 'Parliamentary Practice'".

On this answer on the 12th of Febr 1932, Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer gave notice of adjournment of the House because of the satisfactory reply of the Home Member. in course of a reply to a question put by President he referred to May's "Parliamen Practice," page 109, where it says:

"The privilege which protects debates extends to reports and other proceedings in Parliament. In case of Rex. *vs.* Wright, Mr. Horne Tooke applied a criminal information against a bookseller for pu ing the copy of a report made by a Commons Com which appeared to imply a charge of high treason ag Mr. Tooke, after he had been tried for that crime acquitted. The Rule however was discharged by the C partly because the Court would not record the proc ings of either House of Parliament as a libel."

Mr. Arthur Moore, the present Editor *The Statesman,* then a Member of the Ho on that issue had to admit that "The H Member was incorrect" and said that

"my Honourable friend Mr. Ranga Iyer's statement more correct as regards the Procedure in Engl

and further on he stated that

"it is not reasonable that this House should be allo to publish its debates and can give them to the pu without let or hindrance, whereas if a newspaper d the same thing it would be liable."

Sir Abdur Rahim, then a member of Legislative Assembly, in that connection sa

"If there is any speech, which is irregular seditious made in this House, you can stop it and House has got the power to stop the publication of proceedings if it thinks that it is advisable to do so the public interest. If the debates are not allowed be published . . . . . this House will be turned a mere school debating society. . . . . We are not only to speak to the Government Benches opp but to speak to a wider audience, the public. This our privilege, this is our right, and this is our duty."

But this question was given a quietus when the then Law Member Sir Brojendra L Mitter wrote to the President giving his opinion that

"the Ordinances have made no change in the Ordi

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of the land in the matter of publication in the Public ss or otherwise of the proceedings of the Legislature."

President Sir Ibrahim Rahimatullah said :

"The whole object of the adjournment motion is met nothing further need be said. I trust the opinion be considered satisfactory that no change has been in the publication of the proceedings of the Assembly the Public Press by the promulgation of the inances."

Meet praise must be given to Sir B. L. tter, the previous Law Member, for this r and courageous interpretation of the state the Law in this matter. To this interpreta- Sir Ibrahim Rahimatullah, the eminent sident of the Assembly, than whom perhaps e had a wider experience to preside over Assembly, gave his seal of approval.

On the present occasion, however, the Law mber, Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, who pens also to be the Leader of the House, us to have clouded the issue by raising all s of technical objections in such a vital tter relating to the fundamental rights of presentative institutions.

Sir Nripendra Nath seems to argue that the embers of the British Parliament did not ssess the privilege of freedom of speech with corollary of publication of the speeches in press of the day, before it was conceded by gislative enactments. But he appears to ve misled the House by referring to the two cases, one of 1795 (Rex vs. Abington) ere Lord Kenyon made it clear that a Member of Parliament had certainly a right publish his speech but that speech should be made a vehicle of slander against any dividual," and another case of 1813 (Rex vs. reevey) and argued on the strength of these o cases that "there is no privilege for a re- blished speech." I cannot persuade myself believe that Sir N. N. Sircar did not care- lly go through a more recent case of Watson Walter (1868 L. R. 4. Q. B. 73) in which e great Chief Justice of England, Cockburn, a famous judgment dealt at length with all e previous cases on the subject. His Lord- ip said :

"Our judgment will in no way interfere with the decision at the publication of a single speech *for the purpose of with the effect of injuring* an individual will be unlaw- as was held in the cases of Rex. *vs.* Abington and Rex. *vs.* Creevey. At the same time it may be as well observe that we are disposed to agree with what was id in Davison *vs.* Duncan, as to such a speech being privileged if *bona fide* published by a member for the formation of his constituents . . . . . practically such publication is sanctioned by the Parliament. It is essential the working of our parliamentary system and the wel- are of the nation. We must treat such publication as in every respect lawful, and hold that while honestly and faithfully carried on those who publish them will be free from legal responsibility."

In another passage the Chief Justice differentiated between the principles laid down in the two older cases by saying that

"there is obviously a very material difference between the publication of a speech made in Parliament for the express purpose of attacking the conduct or character of a person and afterwards published with a like purpose or effect, and the faithful publication of parliamentary debates in their entirety with a view to afford information to the public and with a total absence of hostile intentions or malicious motive toward anyone."

In the course of their judgment in Watson vs. Waller their lordships also held that

"the publication of parliamentary proceedings is of paramount national importance, since it promotes public confidence in the legislature and institutions of the country, facilitates the working of the representative system and safeguards the right of the subject. It is undesirable to withhold from publication even those proceedings in which the character of an individual is impugned. Publishers would be placed in a very difficult position if every debate had had to be scanned to see whether it contained defamatory matters. Above all, the nation has a right to be informed of all that relates to the conduct of public servants."

Again, in Davison vs. Duncan (1857) Wightman, J. seems disposed to treat the reports of the proceedings in Parliament as entitled to the same privilege as reports of proceedings in courts of justice.

From all these cases it is clear that the privilege is well-established in England not only from the statute of 1850 but is a common law right that existed as an ancient right. The very fact that Watson vs. Walter was decided in 1868 much later than the Parliamentary Act of 1850 shows that the privilege was not claimed as a statutary protection as adumbrated by the Law Member of the Government of India. Sir Nripen Sircar's main argument is this : ours is a subordinate legislature and members have certain rights only under statutes and so the protection or right must be based on statute alone. We join issue with him on this point. It is not correct to say that we cannot stray a hair's breadth outside the statutes. Arguing this point in connection with the famous Public Safety Bill, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru said that

"the one principle which underlies all the Rules and Standing Orders is that, in every case, where the right is not specifically taken away by the rules themselves, that right cannot be defeated circuitously."

The House and its President are certainly the custodian of all the residuary rights which a legislature inherently possesses and which has not been specifically taken away by any statute.

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It has been repeatedly held that the Indian Legislature does possess inherent right to maintain the dignity of the House and the privileges of the members and its President can certainly interfere where the rights and liberties of the members *qua* members are at stake. When this right was denied, President Patel distinctly held that, apart from the statutes,

"the Chair has the inherent power to rule out a motion on the ground that it involves an abuse of the forms and procedure of the house."

Refuting the contention of the then Law Member the President ruled,

"Indeed the Law Member goes further and says that the Assembly and its President are the creatures of the statute, the convention and the precedents of the House of Commons have no application and that such power cannot be deduced by implication from the provisions of Rules and Standing Orders. Such a power must according to him be expressly given. But it is a matter of common knowledge that conventions and precedents of the House of Commons are being quoted repeatedly in the Legislative Bodies in India and acted upon. It was only last year that the Chair expressed its inherent power to disallow the introduction of a very important Bill . . . . If the contention of the Hon'ble Law Member is upheld and the Chair restricted to the powers expressly conferred on it by the rules and standing orders of this House, the business of this house would be impossible."

Arguing the same point Mr. Srinivas Ayengar said :

"*The power (inherent) does undoubtedly exist. I say the Chair has got the power.* It is not as if the rules of business of this house form an exhaustive code. You know that the rules of business are not exhaustive. Supposing there were no rules of business enacted, does it mean that the President cannot lay down the procedure? Therefore the President has got all the rights of the President unless the rights are taken away by express words."

Mr. Jinnah, speaking in the Assembly on Feb. 10 last, similarly argues that Sec. 67(7) *

"is not exhaustive. This merely gives direction of all kinds, etc. but that does not exhaust the whole thing.... If you give me the freedom of speech, I have the freedom to publish it, otherwise the privilege is useless."

Sir Abdur Rahim seems to consider himself bound merely to interpret the statutes, the rules and the standing orders and as such considers that the publication of the members' speeches in the public press, not coming within the purview of the Statutes and Orders, etc., is not specially immune, though it may be a *bona fide* and *verbatim* report of what appeared in the official publication. With due respect to Sir Abdur Rahim it must be said that he has grievously erred. Strictly speaking, he was called upon nor had he competent jurisdiction to decide about the rights of the Press to publish the speeches of Members. His jurisdiction is certainly limited to matters concerning the rights of Members within the walls of the House and it may extend to the question of right of members to publish their speeches. But certainly it does not extend to the rights of the outside press to publish such speeches. He is not, on the other hand, a slave of statutes as he considers himself to be. Speaking of the right of the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir John Marriot, the well-known writer on Constitutional Law and himself a member of Parliament with a long parliamentary experience, said :

From the 17th Century the Speaker has been once the Servant and Master of the House of Commons.

Considering the precedents and analogy of other Legislative bodies, it can now be safely said that the President has inherent jurisdiction to decide about vital matters concerning the Assembly unless he is definitely barred from doing so by express Rules or Standing Orders.

From the various opinions and facts stated above certain clear conclusions would seem to emerge. In the first place it is admitted on all hands that members of the Legislature are immune from legal action in courts for their speeches in the House and also the reports of such speeches in official publications; secondly, the question whether this necessarily implies that the re-publication of those speeches in newspapers, if done *bona fide* without any intent or design to harm anybody, is also immune, likewise, appears to be a question which the President has the inherent jurisdiction to decide. But here we are faced with certain larger and more fundamental questions : granted that the President has the jurisdiction to decide such a question, why should he at all uphold such a right of publication by members, why should members of the Legislature enjoy a discrimination and be given greater rights than ordinary citizens as regards publication of their views. On this point an opinion given by C. J. Cockburn regarding publication of reports of cases in law-courts would appear to be pertinent. He says :

"In case of reports of proceedings of Courts of Justice though individuals may occasionally suffer from them yet, as they are published without any reference to the individuals concerned, but solely to afford information to the public and for the benefit of Society, the presumption of malice is rebutted and such publications are privileged.....The advantage to the community from publicity being given to the proceedings of Courts

* Subject to the rules and standing orders affecting the Chamber there shall be freedom of speech in both Chambers of the Indian Legislature. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any Court by reason of his speech or vote in either Chamber, or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of either Chamber.

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stice is so great that the occasional inconvenience to ividuals arising from it must yield to the general od".

It has been sought to be made out that e proceedings of the Courts of Justice are en to the public and were thus dissimilar to e proceedings of the Legislature, but as a tter of fact the Legislature also provides for ess Gallery and Visitors' Gallery and the esident has been known to seriously take to k press representatives on occasions when e Press reports were found to be misleading.

If, again, any fear is entertained that such munity would encourage irresponsible eches, the fear is unreal. For it is not a t that the Members of the Legislature are e to make any kind of speech that they like. eir speeches are rigorously controlled, if they ntravene any of the provisions of the Stand- Order 29, which runs as follows :

(1) The matter of every speech shall be strictly vant to the matter before the Assembly.

(2) A member while speaking shall not:

(i) Refer to any matter of fact in which a Judicial decision is pending.

(ii) Make a personal charge against a member

(iii) Make use of offensive expressions regarding the conduct of the Indian or any local Legislature.

(iv) Reflect upon the conduct of His Majesty the King or Governor-General or any Governor or any Court of Law in the exercise of its judicial function.

(v) *Utter treasonable, seditious or defamatory words*; or

(vi) Use his right of speech for the purpose of wilfully and persistently obstructing the business of the Assembly.

It will thus be evident that if a speech is easonable, seditious or defamatory it will at nce be interrupted. The custodians of the aw and Order of the Government of India, the ome Member and the Law Member, are ever gilant and are present in the Assembly and if ey think it unnecessary to object to a speech, may be taken for granted to be a harmless eech. The House, moreover, has the unoubted right to expunge any part of the proedings, if it so desires; and there have been everal occasions when this has been done. The ouse is presided over by experienced men who re always anxious to keep members within the recincts of the Rules and Standing Orders. So here is no reasonable apprehension of seditious r defamatory speeches being made in the ouse.

There are still other larger considerations hy the President should uphold the right of ublication. Representative institutions would uffer in esteem and would fail to arouse ufficient public interest, if the constituents all over the country are deprived of proper opportunity of being acquainted with the record and activity of their representatives in the legislature. Moreover, it has also to be remembered that speeches in the House are not always, nor solely, made with the object of winning over the other side : there are other objects which such speeches serve. It is, for one thing, necessary to keep the public informed about the views of each party : whatever may be the position of a party, good, bad or indifferent, in the present legislature, the electors may judge the party differently in the next election if the records of its views, actions and opinions are throughout available to them. For the proper judgment of a party, therefore, in the future such publication is essential.

The reason given for making a distinction in this respect between official publications and publications in the public press would seem to be very absurd. If official reports of speeches are immune, it would be most illogical to withhold such immunity in the case of similar reports by outside publishers. It is not a fact that every other publication has got greater circulation than the official reports and in the eye of the Law a wrong cannot cease to be so, merely because it is official or has not the widest circulation.

If there is the privilege of freedom of speech in the Assembly and right of its publication in official report, as a corollary it necessarily implies that there is the right of re-publication also in the Press.

Sir Abdur Rahim has expressed the view that if it was desired to include publication in press also as privileged, this could be done by a change in the Rules or the enactment of a statute. But how could he forget that the Rule-making power exists in the hands of the Government of India with the consent of the Secretary of State and as regards any enactment the Council of State will have to be pursuaded as well as the Governor-General? The constitution of the present Council of State is well known and any legislation that the Government is not anxious to expedite may be quietly buried in that House. The Law Member made it clear on the 20th of March last that they were not in a hurry to amend the Rules or the Standing Order. In reply to Sardar Sant Singh's enquiry

"may I know if the Hon'ble Member contemplates taking action in the matter of amending the Law about the extension of right of the Press by the House for publishing their speeches in the press of the country?"

Sir N. N. Sircar said : "Certainly not"—"in my opinion it ought not to be done".

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This shows the attitude of the Government and Sir Abdur Rahim will feel what injustice he has done to the people of his country in not exercising his inherent right in a liberal way. He has displayed a narrow lawyer's mentality, where a broad, statesmanlike view was called for. On the Watson vs. Walter case C. J. Cockburn said :

"Whatever disadvantages attach to a system of unwritten Law, and of these we are fully sensible, it has at least this advantage, that its elasticity enables those who administer it to adapt it to the varying conditions of society and to the requirements and habits of the age in which we live, so as to avoid inconsistencies and injustice."

In this case it was expected that Sir Abdur Rahim would interpret Sec. 67(7) of the Government of India Act liberally with necessary and reasonable implications would not hesitate to make a legitimate of his inherent right in order to strengthen the system of representative Government in India as well as to strengthen the tion of members.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimatullah had stood right of the members and the privilege prestige of the House on a similar Mr. Patel had all along zealously guarded privilege and dignity of the House, but Abdur Rahim unfortunately has failed to pret the constitution in its true spirit by a too technical view of the matter.

BACKWARD TRACTS OR EXCLUDED AREAS

By J. M. DATTA

The provision in section 52A of the Government of India Act 1915-19 empowering the Governor-General in Council to declare any area to be a backward track dates from the Montagu Reforms. It originated in the recommendation made in the Montagu-Chelmsford Joint Report (para 199) that the typically backward tracts, where the people are primitive and there is no material on which to found political institutions should be excluded from the jurisdiction of the reformed Provincial Governments.

"Much care and consideration were spent both in the selection of areas declared backward tracts, and in the arrangements made for their administration."

says the Government of India in their Despatch on Proposals for Constitutional Reforms No. 1 of 1930, p. 46.

Broadly speaking, the result was the creation of two classes of Backward Tracts, *viz.*, those which are wholly and those which are partially excluded from the jurisdiction of the reformed Governments. In the latter class there were considerable variations in the degree of their exclusion in the different areas.

"The backward tracts of British India cover an area of 207,900 square miles, and contain a population of about 13 millions"

says the Simon Commission. Certain areas were considered so backward that they have been wholly excluded from the Reforms. These are the following :—

In Madras—The Laccadive Islands and Minicoy.
In Bengal—The Chittagong Hill Tracts.
In the Punjab—Spiti.
In Burma—All the backward tracts of the province.
In Bihar and Orissa—Angul.

In other areas varying degrees of exclusion were applied. The partially areas are :—

In Madras—The Agency Tracts.
In Bengal—Darjeeling.
In the Punjab—Lahaul.
In Bihar and Orissa—Chota Nagpur, the Santganas and Sambalpur.
In Assam—All the backward tracts of the province.

The different tracts falling within latter category are not, however, all treated quite the same way.

"Darjeeling and Lahaul are totally excluded in sense, except that the legislatures may frame laws which may be applied by executive order. The tracts are areas over which the legislatures have powers. They vote the necessary expenditure questions may be asked about them: and subjects to them may be discussed. In the Assam tracts, Nagpur, the Santal Parganas and Sambalpur, exercise authority over transferred subjects." Commission, Vol. I, p. 160].

The first suggestion of the Commission was to reduce the number extent of backward tracts.

"It may be found that in one or two cases now notified as a backward tract is so advanced special treatment of the area need not be [Simon Report, Vol. II, p. 108].

None of the various Local Governments their views on the Recommendations Simon Commission suggested an *extension* the Backward areas. On the other hand Punjab Government dealing with Spiti Lahaul wrote :

"We see no reason *now* (italics ours) to treat tracts differently from the rest of the Punjab" p. 237 of the Views of the Local Governments

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The B. & O. Government wrote :

"The Local Government are of opinion that parts of the Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Singhbhum and perhaps Sambulpur and Angul districts need not be retained in a special position." [See p. 347, *Ibid.*]

The Government of Bengal were then investigating whether Darjeeling should continue excluded or not; and later on they reported Darjeeling to come within the ambit of Reforms.

The Government of India in their views on the Simon Commission proposals accepted "the principal of *reducing the number* and area of the backward tracts wherever possible." [See p. 46 of the Despatch, &c.]

Neither the Government of India subsequently nor His Majesty's Government in their White Paper proposals recommended any increase in the number and area of backward tracts, now called excluded areas. The Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform in their Report did not recommend any *extension* of excluded areas. The Government of India Bill, Sixth Schedule, as introduced in the British Parliament did not include more excluded areas than formerly rather excluded Spiti and Lahaul in the Punjab. The Sixth Schedule contained 4 items of (wholly) Excluded areas and 11 items of Partially Excluded areas.

When the Government of India Bill was being discussed in the British Parliament, Mr. Cadogan moved an amendment on the 10th May, 1935, for the inclusion of certain other areas as excluded and partially excluded areas. The Sixth Schedule of the Bill was omitted; and under section 91 of the new Act certain areas are to be excluded or partially excluded by Orders in Council, after the same has been laid before the Parliament. The India Office wrote to the Government of India on the 7th June, 1935, that "a doubt [has been] expressed by members of all parties whether the areas enumerated in the Schedule, and particularly those to be treated as partially excluded, would be sufficiently comprehensive to include all the aboriginal and other backward tribes which ought not to be subject to the normal consequences of popular Government" and asked it to initiate an enquiry without delay and submit "a full statement of the grounds not only for proposals for including specified areas within the category of excluded or partially excluded, as the case may be, but also for proposals *for not so including any area the population* of which consists to an *appreciable extent* of aborigines or very backward people." (italics ours)

The hint was taken by the Government of India. In their letter to the Marquess of Zetland on the 24th December, 1935, they say :

"We read the instructions communicated to us in your letter as indicating your wish that, so far as local circumstances may permit, the selection of excluded and partially excluded areas throughout British India should now be subjected to a general uniformity of treatment with the possible consequence of a *considerable increase* in specially protected areas. Where we have differed from local Governments we have endeavoured to bring our own recommendations strictly into line with your instructions." (italics ours).

The Government of India recommended 8 areas to be wholly excluded and 26 areas to be partially excluded. They included all Mr. Cadogan's suggestions, and improved upon him by including *three* other areas. How they have differed from the suggestions of the Local Provincial Governments will be clear from the inclusion of the Sherpur and Susang Parganas of the Mymensingh District. The Government of Bengal in their letter dated the 11th Dec., 1930, stated that they "after full consideration adhere to the view expressed * * * that it is no longer necessary to treat the district [*i.e.*, Darjeeling] as a backward tract." All the same Darjeeling was included in the draft Sixth Schedule. And this time the Local Government considered themselves as precluded from examining the question of Darjeeling. They did not recommend the inclusion of Sherpur and Susang; the District officer of Mymensingh did not say anything; but all the same the India Government has included these areas, as Mr. Cadogan wanted to have them partially excluded. This Mr. Cadogan was one of the Simon Seven and he then recommended the reduction of excluded and partially excluded areas; now he wants their expansion. The Government of India reported in 1930 that the 'Backward' tracts or Excluded areas have been selected with care; they remained silent on the matter till the receipt of the instructions of the Secretary of State; and now suddenly they have became the *ma bap* (parents) and zealous upholders of the special rights of backward areas and want to exclude many more areas from the operations of the new Reforms. One significant fact strikes us as rather strange; the Government of India's letter dated the 24th December, 1935, recommending the exclusion of various areas as excluded and partially excluded was not signed by the Viceroy, and Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar and Sir G. S. Bajpai. Was there any difference of opinion? Will some M. L. A. interpellate the Government on the point?

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SOME OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF INDIAN SELF-RULE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

"He who ruleth high and wise,
Nor falters in his plan,
Will take the stars out of the skies
Ere Freedom out of Man."

—Emerson.

When and how India will be free exercises the minds of all politically-minded patriotic Indians.

Many Indians hope that India will be free. Many have even the firm faith that she will be free. But perhaps no one can say when and how she will win freedom. On the other hand, there are those who doubt if India will ever be free. There may be some who think that she will never be self-ruling. And, lastly, there are the people who are too backward, too ignorant, too indifferent to politics, or too non-politically-minded to think of the country's dependence or freedom. It is not possible to estimate the numerical strength of these different sections of the population. But there is no doubt that political consciousness has been growing very fast even among the illiterate masses, who form at least 90 per cent. of the people of India.

Though it is impossible to say definitely when and how India will be free, it is not difficult to discover the obstacles standing in the way of her freedom. When these are removed or weakened, India may win self-rule.

Whatever stands in the way of Indian unity is an obstacle to India's freedom.

There are among Indians many divisions and sub-divisions of many kinds. Had not these existed and been exploited by the opponents of Indian self-rule, the winning of freedom by Indians would have been somewhat less difficult than it is. But none of them are insuperable obstacles to freedom and self-rule. Let me mention some of them.

That there are many races, sects, castes and languages in India has been thought to disqualify her for self-rule. But the example of many free countries shows that this is not an insuperable obstacle. Let me cite a few.

In Soviet Russia there are some 200 nationalities and numerous tribes, sprung from various races, in various stages of human civilization. Some of them were till recent years not only illiterate but had neither any alphabet nor literature to call their own. And the langu spoken in this vast region are more nume than in India. And all the known relig and no-religion, are to be found there. racial, tribal, religious and linguistic div is greater in Soviet Russia than in India. it is free and independent.

The United States of America, too, has languages and more nationalities than In Not to speak of the numerous small tribe Red Indians, speaking different languages, in U. S. A. there are people from all the na of South and Central America, from all nations of Europe, and from nearly or all those of Asia, Africa and the principal is of the ocean. Count the languages of all th and to them add the nearly two hun languages and dialects spoken by Red In tribes, and it will be plain that more langu are spoken in the U. S. A. than in India. there are numerous religious sects, too, America. Yet that country is free.

According to recent statistics, Can which is self-ruling, has 178 languages, nationalities and 79 religious faiths. Canada has a population of a little more t 10 millions, against India's 353 millions.

The American division of the people whites and non-whites is not exactly like ca But the Negroes suffer under social disabili and indignities which are very galling. S America is free.

There are many other free countries wh the caste spirit and something like caste ex I am not a supporter of caste, which must I say all this only to show that the caste sp and political freedom co-exist in very m countries.

Racial and religious riots occur in Ame and in various countries of Europe, includ Britain. But these are not held to disqual them for freedom.

As for illiteracy—why, there was a ti when all the people of the world were illiter —for the art of writing had not then been

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vented. But archæologists do not say that in those ages literate ruling people were imported from Mars or some other planet to govern the earth. Coming to historical times, one finds that there were ages when Britain and other European countries were as illiterate as India and at the same time independent and free. The number of literates in India is larger than the total population of each of many small free countries. Surely these literate Indians ought to be considered entitled to govern their country in preference to literate foreigners.

And if the British Government had chosen to do so, they could have made India literate during the more than a century of British rule, as the examples of Japan, Soviet Russia, etc., show.

So the objections generally urged against Indian self-rule are not valid.

I will now mention some comparatively serious kinds of divisions which are real obstacles. The people of India have been divided into martial and non-martial classes, and the country into martial and non-martial provinces. But neither in India, nor in any other country, are whole classes of people martial or non-martial. Even among those who may be called non-martial, there have been individuals quite as brave and martial as the bravest among those who have been styled "warlike," and among the latter there have been individuals noted for their timidity and faint-heartedness. There is no province of India which has not produced warlike fighters and military leaders.

Those provinces and classes which are considered non-martial resent such discrimination for various reasons. It is based on untruth. It is a reflection on their character because of the implication that they do not possess courage. It deprives them of the right and frees them from the duty of defending their country and to that extent degrades them and makes them inferior to and dependent on those who are classed as martial. And, lastly, though they pay taxes just like, and perhaps more than, the warlike, they are deprived of the economic advantage of being connected with the army.

The resentment, referred to above, felt by those who have been classified as non-martial, is natural. But pan-Indian patriotism requires that the provinces and classes called martial should also condemn this sort of grouping and demand that the army should be recruited solely on the basis of physical fitness and other requisite qualifications, irrespective of provinces and classes. When the provinces and classes called martial have risen to this height of pan-Indian patriotism, overcoming economic selfishness and provincial and class vanity, then one obstacle to India's freedom will disappear. But up till now the provinces and classes receiving preferential treatment have not raised their voice against the division of the provinces and their inhabitants into martial and non-martial.

The rulers of the Indian States, and some States' people also, want more seats in the Central Legislature than their population would entitle them to. When they will see the injustice of such desire and will demand only equal treatment with the Provinces directly ruled by the British Government, then another obstacle to Indian freedom will disappear.

Some provinces are given preferential treatment in the matter of the allotment of seats in the Central Legislature, on the ground of their alleged exclusive importance, the implication being that the other provinces are unimportant. This sort of preferential treatment of some provinces and the consequent discrimination against some other provinces, are a feature of the present Montagu-Chelmsford constitution of India, and they are also a feature of the constitution which is going to be imposed on India by the new Government of India Act. When the provinces which have received this favour and will receive it in the coming constitution, will themselves condemn this sort of discriminatory arrangement and scorn to receive such favours at the hands of imperialistic masters, valuing real equality and fraternity with Indians of all provinces more than any such favours, then, and not till then, will disappear yet another obstacle to India's freedom. But as yet, not even the most eminent patriots of the favoured provinces have advised their fellow-provincials to repudiate such favours.

In the allotment of revenue to Provinces some have been favoured and some treated with injustice. The people of the Provinces unjustly treated and their representatives have been protesting against such injustice. But when the other Provinces, too, and their representatives join in the protest, then another obstacle to the winning of freedom by India will vanish. If India had got a unitary instead of a federal government, perhaps this difficulty could have been got over or avoided.

In the present Montagu-Chelmsford constitution some classes and religious communities have received weightage at the expense of other classes and religious communities. The coming constitution perpetuates and extends this kind of injustice. This sort of discriminatory treat-

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ment has been resented by those who have suffered. But it is not enough that only they should resent. Pan-Indian patriotism demands that those also who have been the recipients of favours should scorn to receive them. When they not only cease to "demand" (which means pray for) favours but actually spurn them, then, but not till then, will disappear yet another obstacle to India's freedom.

The reservation of a fixed proportion of posts in the public service for minorities—not to speak of a proportion in excess of their numerical proportion to the total population, is against national and administrative efficiency and progress and against all notions of justice. Those who are discriminated against ob[illegible] and resent such favoritism.

When these minorities, too, far from [illegible] ing for a fixed and excessive proportion of [illegible] the public service, will reject such favour[illegible] stand on merit alone, then will disappear a[illegible] obstacle to Indian self-rule, as well as to [illegible] own progress. By showing such favour[illegible] opponents of Indian self-rule succeed in a[illegible] ing the minorities from the national cau[illegible]

When favours cease to be a temptati[illegible] States, provinces, communities and class[illegible] when they are rejected by those who [illegible] hitherto craved and received them, then [illegible] will surely be on the way to freedom.

TAGORE'S PLAY OF CHITRANGADA IN DANCE AND MUSIC

A play presented in dance and song, with the *Abhinaya* (acting) portions set as a chain of small cameos, placed wide apart, must appear as a strange—although pleasing—departure from the practice of modern stagecraft, specially as it obtains today in India. Needless to say, we are still in the Mid-Victorian age on the Indian stage, excepting on the rare occasions when a "bold" actor-manager tries to introduce some of Rabindranath's innovations, or that of the foreign Vaudeville as seen on the screen. Rarely does the playgoer have a refreshing treat, as when the Poet brings to town one of his plays, set, acted, sung, and presented in a manner entirely his own, and bearing the stamp of Indian art and culture in undeniable lines of distinction on all its facets. In short it may be safely said that the reform and the remodelling towards Indianising of the stage in this country has been initiated by Tagore.

The play under review, neither ballet nor opera, is strangely reminiscent of the Ancient Indian Art of the Drama. *Nritya* (dance), *Gita* (song) and *Abhinaya* (acting) all are presented in a highly refined and pleasing blend, and the setting has been austere and subdued, so as to offer the least distraction to the actual play and to act merely as a background to set off the brilliancy of the different scenes of the drama. The play itself runs as follows :—

The Opening Song

"Maya, the Demon of Delusion, steals into Youth's wilderness, seeking for victims, in a golden-tinted glamour of dusk.

"She has set her magic snare and made the air drunken with her enchantment. She challenges the brave to stand his trial, enc[illegible] him with illusions.

"Come to the rescue, O Spirit of Be[illegible] unadorned, come Truth untroubled by [illegible] attack the ramparts of dream and bring fre[illegible] to manhood."

The Story

One of the ancestors in the kingly lin[illegible] Manipur had pleased, with his austerities, [illegible] god Shiva and won from him the boon that [illegible] successors would only have male children. [illegible] the king Chitravahana, contrary to the [illegible] promise, had only a daughter Chitrang[illegible] whom he treated as a son, teaching her the [illegible] of the bow and the duties of a king.

In the course of his wanderings, in fu[illegible] ment of a vow of penance, Arjuna came [illegible] Manipur. This play begins with the scene [illegible] which he had his fateful meeting w[illegible] Chitrangada, while she roamed in a forest, [illegible] ing game.

Chitrangada with her companions c[illegible] upon Arjuna lying on a bed of dried lea[illegible] One of her companions pushes him in conte[illegible] and he leaps up angrily, ready to retaliate. [illegible] next moment, at the sight of their bo[illegible] appearance, he laughs and leaves them.

Chitrangada, surprised at the knowl[illegible] that he was the great hero Arjuna, bitt[illegible] bewails her fate that robbed her of the prec[illegible] opportunity of receiving him with pr[illegible] courtesy. Her heart burns with a sudden [illegible] for him at the first sight.

Chitrangada comes to take her bath [illegible] asks her friends to dress her in a new [illegible]

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Chitrangada staged by the students of Santiniketan

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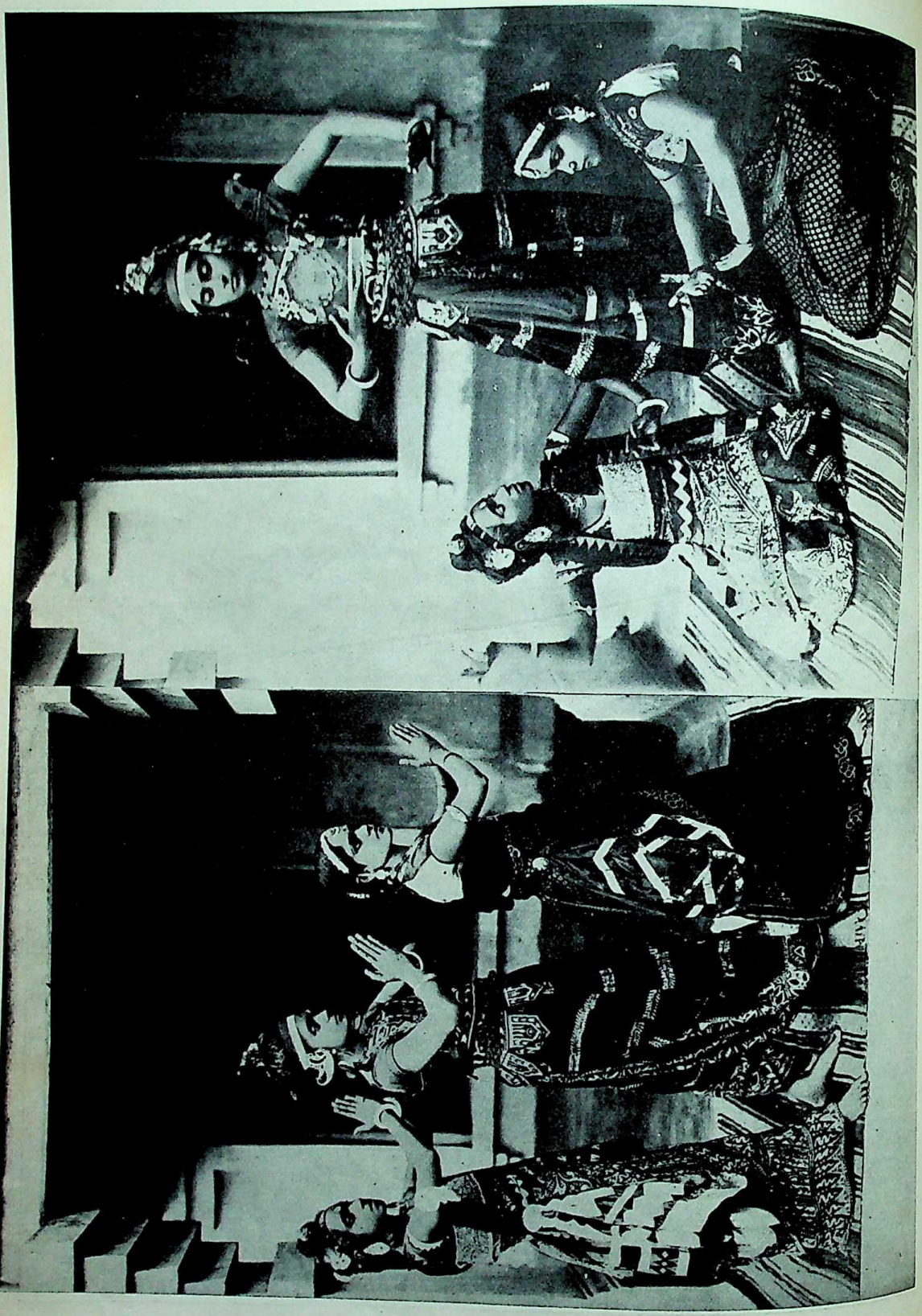

Chitrangada staged by the students of Santiniketan

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and new ornaments in order to make her feel herself in a new incarnation.

Arjuna is at his meditation. Chitrangada re-enters and, after a dance round him, asks him to accept her love. Arjuna firmly rejects her offer, informing her that he was under a vow of celibacy.

Chitrangada appeals to Madana, the god of love, complaining that it was his own defeat, asking him to rouse himself from apathy.

Enters Madana. Chitrangada prays for her only the boon of beauty that may last for a year, which is granted, and then she gazes at her shadow on the lake, and feels the music of the new gift of beauty in all her limbs.

She dances in an ecstasy of youth which is akin to pain.

Enters Arjuna wondering if what he saw in the lake was a dream or was it reality. Chitrangada comes again and Arjuna accosts her with a passionate welcome, and at the same time offers her the homage of his love.

Chitrangada expresses surprise at Arjuna's surrender of his vow. But finally she relents.

Soon she realizes the unreality of this love and entreats Arjuna not to waste his heroic self at the altar of an illusion.

.. ..

Chitrangada comes to Madana and tells him that the flame is tired of the fire that he had kindled. She prays to him that he should not make her wait till it is completely extinct, that the vanishing beauty should be allowed to leave some remnant of a dream behind it.

Madana assures her that the flower that sheds its petal bears its fruit at last.

.. ..

Villagers come running who are out to resist the sudden invasion of bandits from their mountain fastnesses.

Arjuna asks them if they have no protector to guard them and is told that Chitrangada, who is their guardian spirit, is absent on a pilgrimage.

Arjuna is amazed to learn that the warden of this country is a woman capable of performing the duties of a warrior.

While Arjuna's mind was lost in the building of a vision of this woman, Chitrangada comes to him and is asked to tell him about this wonderful princess.

Feigning contempt she tells him of the lack of beauty in this unfortunate creature who is strong enough to bend a bow but never a lover's heart.

This has the effect of rousing up in Arjuna a stronger eagerness to know this stranger.

While the girls tease him about his short-lived infatuation, Chitrangada promises Arjuna a meeting with this woman, who has the rare good luck of attracting the curiosity of the great hero.

.. ..

Chitrangada feels that the time is ripe when she must free her being from its gorgeous concealment and offer it to her hero in its perfect simplicity of truth. She prays to the god Madana to take back his boon from her.

Madana consents.

In the last scene Arjuna is brought before Chitrangada with a welcome song, when she discloses to him her own true self in a song :—

"I am Chitrangada, daughter of a king,
not a goddess, nor a common woman.
I am not one to be adored
and placed on high,
Nor one to be slighted
and kept behind.
If you keep me by your side
in weal and danger,
If you allow me to be your helper
in your strenuous quests,
Then will you know my true self.
Today I can only say humbly,
I am Chitrangada, daughter of a king."

Arjuna confesses that he has come to the utter fulfilment of his life.

.. ..

The dress and ornaments of the players and the composition of the various scenes were exquisite. It seemed at times as if a rare Indian miniature had come to life, in all its vivid colours and characteristically oriental poses and motifs.

The Drama itself—highly emotional as it is—was played throughout with that refinement and restraint that characterise Viswabharati presentations. Throughout there was that ineffable stamp of culture and poise associated with the daughters of Indian gentlewomen, who formed the principal characters in this play.

There has been some criticism of the presentation of Arjuna by a young lady. But we have to bear in mind that the Arjuna of this play is a highly emotional young hero, and not the mature and stern warrior of the Kurukhshetra war.

K. N. C.

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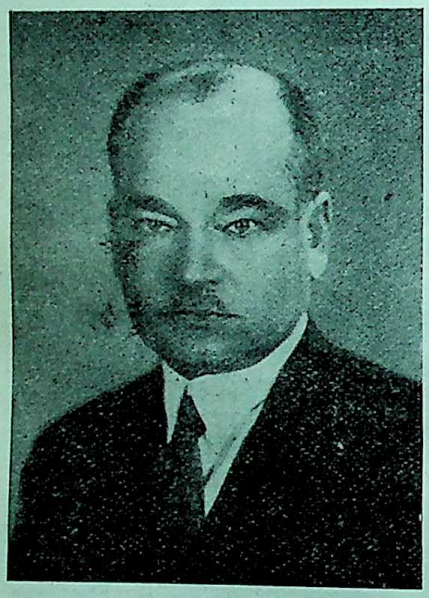
A FRIEND OF INDIA IN POLAND

By SUBHAS C. BOSE

During my journey in Poland in 1933 I was fortunate enough to meet several interesting personalities, some of whom were greatly interested in India. The general attitude was one of sympathy for India's struggle for national emancipation. The Poles having struggled long for their freedom, and having won it quite recently—are in a position to sympathize with another nation struggling for its national freedom. I remember that I was once taken in a car by some Polish friends in Warsaw to see peasant-life in the interior. We were taken to a village agricultural school—one



Prof. Stanislaw F. Michalski of Warsaw

of the new schools established by the Government for giving the children of the peasantry an education in modern scientific agriculture We were shown round by the caretaker, an old woman, and at the end of our visit, she asked very kindly about the health of Mahatma Gandhi and what he was doing at the time. It was touching.

One of the efforts of the Polish people at present is to industrialize their country as rapidly as possible. For this purpose, they have built a port of their own—Gdynia, which has made them independent of the former German port of Danzig, which has now been internationalized. They are also atten develop their foreign trade and in this tion, they have been opening Consu different countries. The Polish Cons India was opened in Bombay in 193 textile industry in Poland is highly de one of the important textile centres being Recently the iron and steel industry h making rapid progress.

There is an Oriental Society in W the capital of Poland, which is specially ested in Oriental culture. I was invited social gathering under the auspices o Oriental Society and I spoke about our for a Polish-Indian Society which endeavour to foster cultural and com relations between our two countries.

The students, both men and women wide-awake. The women were parti enthusiastic in the matter of developing with foreign countries including India. wanted information about students and organizations in India. Their organizatio called the Liga. Within the Liga, they separate circle for each country with whic wanted to develop contact.

In this brief article I shall refer parti to one interesting personality whom I m Warsaw—Professor Stanislaw F. Mich who has devoted his whole life to the stu Sanskrit and Indian Literature and is a of India.

Prof. Michalski-Iwienski was born in in Poland. He studied Sanskrit languag Indian literature under Professor Leop Schroder in Vienna from 1905-1911 a Gottingen in Germany under Prof. Olde in 1914. For several years he delivered le on the Sanskrit Language and Literature Polish Free University of Warsaw—W Wszechnica. In 1920 he took part as a v teer in the war against the Bolsheviks. then, Prof. Michalski has been giving his time to literary and scientific work. In together with some Polish Orientalists he f ed the Oriental Section of the W Scientific Society.

Prof. Michalski is the author of a n of books in Polish on India and Indian The following are some of them:

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Bhagavad-Gita, 1912; second edition—1920; third edition—1926.
Upanishads (selected), 1913; second edition—1922.
Rama's Longing (one chapter from the Ramayana), 1920.
Dhammapadam (translated), 1924.
Forty songs of the Rig Veda, 1914.
Atmabodha, 1923.
Bhagavad Gita (Text in Sanskrit with Introduction and remarks), 1921.
In the Introduction of a Polish Edition of *Odyssea* (Warsaw), 1935—Prof. Michalski referred to the relations between the Ramayana and the Odyssea and has pointed out the necessity of studying the Ramayana in connection with research work about Homer.

During the last few years Prof. Michalski has been engaged in bringing out a big Polish Encyclopædia in which he has written several articles about India, Indian Language and Literature, Indian Geography, Indian History, etc. Many pictures and a multi-coloured map have been appended to the big article on India.

In 1924, the Professor gave a discourse in Warsaw about the Epic Poetry of India. In 1935 he gave a discourse about a general survey of India before the Warsaw Branch of the Rotary Club.

The Professor has been collecting a library about India during the last few years. The library contains at present over 2,000 books on the Sanskrit Language and Indian Literature, ancient and modern.

As a host, Prof. Michalski was exceedingly hospitable. He treated me to a sumptuous dinner and as a parting *dakshina* gave me a big bundle of his own publications.

It is interesting to know that another Polish Professor, Prof. Stasiak of Lwow, is now on a visit to India. Prof. Stasiak is a well-known Orientalist and has spoken at several important centres in Europe on Ancient Indian Literature and Philosophy.

The ground has already been prepared for a Polish-Indian Society in Poland—with a corresponding branch in India. All that is wanted now is that somebody should take the lead.

Mrs. Dharamshila Lal

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Mrs. Dharamshila Lal, Bihar's first woman Barrister was formally enrolled as an Advocate, Patna High Court in March last. After taking her M.A. degree from the Benares Hindu University, Mrs. Lal proceeded to England where she took her M.A. degree from the London University and diplomas in higher teaching from the London and Dublin Universities. She was called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn in 1935.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Kipling: An Indian Estimate

Bhupal Singh contributes to the *Asia* a searching critique from the Indian point of view of Kipling's attitude towards India :

It is unfortunate that Kipling was attracted by out-of-the-way, abnormal aspects of India. It prevented him from seeing normal India, if he had any inclination that way. There is no sign in his tales that he ever tried to understand the life and doings of what he calls "raw, brown, naked humanity" as thinking and feeling beings. Kipling's shortcomings are partly explained by his environment. It is difficult for an Englishman to be intimate and free with Indians without suffering some reduction of prestige and without incurring the opprobrium of his countrymen, who are ever suspicious of a man who goes beyond the pale. Kipling did try to go beyond the pale, but he was too much of an Englishman to scrape off the varnish of English reserve; and he himself tells us that no man can understand India who does not see her with the varnish off.

Kipling acknowledges the debt which he owes to his father, who was Curator of the Lahore Museum. But his father's influence only served to withdraw Kipling's attention from real India to an Indian of mysteries and marvels: that is, he came to look upon it as a big museum, a bigger Lurgan's shop, and began curio-hunting. As an Anglo-Indian he knew more about the hills of India than her plains; as a special correspondent he was familiar with frontier posts, secret service men and with Soldiers Three; and as the son of Mr. Lockwood Kipling he became fond of *fakirs* and *sadhus*, of wandering mendicants, charmsellers and holy vagabonds, of Gobind who begged on the road between Koshin and Etra, of Tibet and its monasteries, of holy lamas and strange quests. Probably some friend of his youth, the original of Strickland of the Indian Police, is responsible for developing Kipling's bias to pry into the underworld of India, the wild and strange world of "*Churel* and ghoul and *Dijinn* and sprite" "wherein the powers of Darkness range." He has exploited the popular conception of India as a vast, incomprehensible, ancient land, full of cruelty, fear and horror beneath its picturesqueness. "East of Suez, some hold, the direct control of providence ceases; Man being there handed over to the power of the Gods and Devils of Asia."

One of the most annoying aspects of Kipling's delineation of India is his deep-seated conviction that the mind of an Indian always works in a crooked and mysterious manner. This belief is repeated in a variety of forms throughout his Indian work. It is seen in *One Viceroy Resigns*. Lord Dufferin is advising Lord Lansdowne:

"You'll never plumb the Oriental mind,
And if you did it isn't worth the toil.
Think of a sleek French priest in Canada;
Divide by twenty half-breeds. Multiply
By twice the Sphinx's silence. There's your East,
And you're as wise as ever . . . . . ."

Kipling never plumbs the oriental mind. It is not worth his while. Sleek, wily men do not exist in India alone; they are found all over the world. Kipling's best garded as tht best of Kipling's Indian books, with Mr. John Palmer when he says: "It is of all Indian tales by virtue of qualities which to do with India. It is an Indian book upon important side." None of its important characters is Indian. At best it is what may be a literary pageant of India.

Alien Workers in France

France, which has become the country of immigration of the whole continues to receive a strong contingent of workers every year. Georges Manco, in the *International Labour Review* general survey of the part played by the national economy of France:

It is difficult to establish the number of present residing in France, for even the French trative authorities have no up-to-date immigration The most accurate information available is that in 1931 by the aliens themselves in connection last quinquennial census, when the number of France was given at about 3,000,000, or 7 per cent total population.

It may safely be stated that if the 1931 census the number of aliens in France at 3,000,000, their number was much higher.

The 1931 figure has not decreased subsequ any great extent. Perhaps it may include fewer workers and more professional workers and trade to all intents and purposes there are still approx 3,000,000 aliens living in France today.

It will suffice to recall that the need of Fran manual workers was and still is considerable, for, of unemployment, it has to import 75,000 alien every year. It is this influx of workers which is the depleted French population to fulfil the func specialists that it tends more and more to assume freeing skilled labour, which thus becomes availa more responsible work, the alien contributes towa better distribution based on aptitudes. It is a fact that in the roughest, dirtiest and most dang trades and in the most barren and isolated districts can be carried on only by recourse to alien labour attempts made to employ some of the Paris unem in the metal-working industries of eastern France with no success. Steps taken to alleviate unemplo in certain industrial centres by reducing the amo foreign labour failed, owing to the impossibility ting French workers to replace aliens in the arduous they performed. Yet it may confidently be asserted no reduction in the amount of alien labour is p without an occupational and geographical redistrib of part of the French population; the need is for much are prepared to leave the towns for the land and

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up the hard and laborious tasks of the fundamental manual activities.

At the present time the number of registered alien workers employed in French industry and agriculture is 500,000, but actually over a million aliens are so employed. In normal times the figures has been over 1,500,000. By their number and occupation these workers play an indispensable part. In the iron mines they do practically all the work of extraction. Of 30,000 workers in the Lorraine mines only 8,000 are French, belonging mostly to the higher-grade staff. In many iron mines, alien workers constitute over 80 per cent of the underground workers, while in coal mines over one-third of the miners are aliens.

In some branches of the chemical industry it is practically impossible to recruit Frenchmen, so arduous is the work on account of the heat, dirt, and risks due to dust and poisonous fumes, which make it necessary for the workers to wear masks and to drink large quantities of milk to counteract poisoning. In the heavy metal industry—blast furnaces, iron and steel works, rolling mills, foundries, etc.—where the physical effort required is considerable and fatigue is intensified by the the heat from the furnaces and molten metal, 33 per cent of the labour is supplied by aliens. On the other hand, aliens form only 10 per cent of the labour employed in the manufacture of metal wares. In building and navvying in certain branches of work are left entirely to aliens; here the number of foreigners is about 200,000, or nearly one-third of the total number employed. Attention may also be called to brick and tile works, glassworks, domestic service, etc., where without alien labour all activity would be paralysed.

But it is especially in agriculture that the need for alien labour is felt, for agriculture, like mining, is one of the forms of toil most disliked and most deserted by the French worker. There are about 300,000 alien workers in agriculture. They may be divided into two main groups: wage-earners, numbering about 200,000, including 35,000 seasonal workers; and settlers, numbering 95,000, including the working members of their families. It is the latter group which has grown most rapidly during the last ten years.

In Gascony more than 150,000 hectares passed into the hands of alien settlers during the six years from 1921 to 1927. In this region the immigrants, Italians for the most part, have been the agents of a rural revival and have done much to keep the remaining French on the land. Aliens work 42,000 hectares in Gers and 30,000 hectares in Lot-et-Garonne.

There are even some prosperous regions which owe their activity to the important part played by alien labour. It is sometimes forgotten that the Mediterranean south is peopled by half a million aliens, that in Alpes-Maritimes aliens form one-third, and in Bouches-du-Rhone one-quarter of the population. In several hundred communes the majority of the population is foreign and practically all economic activities are in foreign hands. What would become of the port of Marseilles without its 125,000 Italians? Along the Mediterranean coast, where one-third of the population is composed of aliens, Toulon stands out as a really French centre, with its population of officers, sailors, engineers, arsenal workers, etc. But, as Mr. Madaud says, the whole of France has had to be drawn upon in order to form this population and to preserve this vital part of the coast against the rising tide of immigration.

Even the demographic characteristics of the country are affected by the alien contribution. Although France has 42 million inhabitants, it should not be forgotten that this figure includes not only 3 million aliens but also half a million persons naturalised since the war. Nor should it be forgotten that during the last fifty years the population has been increased by the naturalisation of one-and-a-half million aliens. Were there no immigration, France would at present have no more than 35 or 36 million inhabitants. It is the aliens who are helping France to cope with a demographic depression that, if allowed to go too far, might, like an atmospheric depression, turn to storm.

The alien population is a young population, and includes more children than old persons, thus happily complementing the French population, which the large surplus of the aged places in the ultra-regressive category.

The presence of an alien working-class population is an economic, social, and even a national necessity. So much is this the case that France herself brings and continues to bring a large proportion of these workers to the country. It is French employers who have recruited them, establishing groups of them in the cities of northern, central and eastern France, with their priests, their churches, their newspapers, their schools and their school masters.

Italy's War on Tuberculosis

John Brown, author of *I Saw for Myself* writes in *The Inquirer* about Italy's efforts to counteract the menace of tuberculosis:

In ten years the tuberculosis mortality curve in Italy has fallen from 60,000, deaths per annum to less than 35,000, a reduction of 41.66 per cent. There are three main reasons for this astonishing result. The first of these is the new compulsory assurance scheme, which was started in a small way in 1927, and was modelled on our own National Health Acts. The Italian social insurance system is not, of course, as comprehensive as our own and even the special anti-tuberculosis scheme does not yet include all classes of workers. But a splendid beginning has been made, and the results speak for themselves.

The second main reason for the success of the campaign is that the State has intervened to ensure perfect co-ordination between the various organisations engaged in combative work. This action has greatly multiplied the strength of the movement. Nine bodies work under the general direction of the Ministry of the Interior, while retaining their mainly voluntary structure. In five years Italy has spent over £25,000,000 through these bodies, and no one who has seen their work will deny that the money has been spent to the maximum of advantage.

One of the latest devlopments is the opening of "sanatorium villages," which are entirely devoted to the after-care of the less dangerous cases, and the segregation of slum-dwellers who might spread infection if discharged only partly cured. These villages are usually situated in the mountains or by the sea, and have proved so successful that they are likely to be considerable reinforced in the next few years.

The third reason for the splendid new results is the intensive propaganda campaign that has been carried on in the last five years. Stress is laid on the instruction of the masses through posters and press articles. Many cinemas have shown short films showing the dangers of infection, etc., and radio talks by experts are another feature. Every year a special anti-T. B. campaign is held in the spring, during which children are enlisted by the thousand to sell stamps—costing about a half-penny—at every main street corner in Italy. These stamps are the

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last word in propaganda skill, having arresting three-colour designs and slogans, and are a great contrast to the insipid efforts seen in other countries.

Present Trend of British Foreign Policy

Taraknath Das discusses in the *Unity* the present trend of British Foreign Policy :

Eventually Japan and Great Britain would come to grips on commercial, economic and political issues concerning China and Eastern Asia. But it seems that the British are willing to give Japan plenty of rope so that she will entangle herself in such a fashion that it will lead to her strangulation. British statesmen are not actively opposing Japan in her expansionist policy in Manchuria and North China, because they have more urgent problems in Europe and the Mediterranean region to solve now. The control of the Mediterranean is the first requisite for maintaining British control over India and Egypt, and control over India is the foundation of British supremacy in Eastern Asia and the Pacific. Even the formidable Singapore naval base and Australia, without the support of India, would be powerless to cope with the growing power of Japan. Furthermore, Japanese expansionist policy in China (especially her recent North China adventure) would transform China, Russia and the United States into determined foes of Japan. If Japan refuses to curb her ambitions in Asia and continues to challenge British supremacy in Eastern Asia, then Britain, after setting her European house in order, will use the League of Nations, the United States, China as well as Soviet Russia, and the tremendous power of India against Japan. In such an eventuality, Japan will be faced with the combined Anglo-American fleet, Russian land-power and air forces, Chinese forces supported by Indian forces which might march through South China or Tibet towards Japanese-controlled North China. In a future Anglo-Japanese conflict, India will play the part of a deciding factor as was the case in the World War.

The future peace of the world largely depends upon British foreign policy. British statesmen will not willingly give up their country's dominant position when challenged by any power. British statesmen want peace on the basis of *status quo*, maintaining the present British Empire and upholding British dominance in world politics. They will not hesitate to mobilize the immense power of the British Empire and enlist support of other nations to crush Britain's rivals. This has been the history of Britain's foreign policy. But there is no possibility of world peace on the basis of status quo. Unless rivalry between Great Powers ceases and they agree to allow other nations—weak and subjugated ones such as India and Egypt—to enjoy equal freedom, there will be international conflicts in which Great Britain with her far-flung empire will be directly and indirectly involved. In such future conflicts of Britain, Egypt, India and other subjugated Asian peoples will be forced to make great sacrifices in men and wealth for the glory of the British Empire!

Tolstoy to Italy

The Tolstoy Museum in Moscow has recently released a hitherto unpublished letter, originally addressed to the Italian public after the crushing defeat of the Italian forces at Adowa on March, 1896. Extracts from the letter, a hasty and unfinished draft, are here made from the *No More War*:

When will the people finally waken from the [illegible] to which irresponsible adventures in power [illegible] (inquires Tolstoy.) Will it ever be possible [illegible] people to draw the conclusions that are natural [illegible] to all who are not befogged by the superstition [illegible] tism? Cannot they understand for themselves [illegible] long as they do not protest against all military [illegible] just so long will wars be unavoidable, and that [illegible] be rushing on, self-impelled, toward their own de[illegible] Armaments keep people in poverty, and poverty [illegible] as armaments increase. As long as the people [illegible] to armaments, war cannot be done away [illegible] whether they win or lose, the result will be the [illegible] countless dead and mutilated and general economic [illegible]

Can we not look for something better in the [illegible] than that some future new Crispi, some new [illegible] should again defraud the people of their poor [illegible] darken the minds of youth and send them again [illegible] destruction in Abyssinia or—even more terrible [illegible] fratricidal conflict with Frenchmen, Germans, [illegible] Russians?

The letter ends as follows:

The day will come when the people, weary [illegible] the meaningless misery and bloodshed, will say [illegible] leaders: 'Go from us; put on the bloody uniforms [illegible] selves and kill your own kind; divide up the [illegible] you see fit, but as for us who have maintained you [illegible] our sweat and toil, leave us in peace. It matter[illegible] to us whether we are considered a great or a small [illegible] all that matters to us is that we should enjoy, undi[illegible] the fruits of our toil, that we should peaceably ex[illegible] them for the goods of other peoples, and that all [illegible] fully minded people should be permitted to [illegible] their lives in mutual harmony and understanding [illegible] is all that we desire, and nothing more!

Italy But Not Japan

While Europe buckles down to the bu[illegible] of restraining Mussolini in Ethiopia and e[illegible] his war there, Japan sweeps on unmole[illegible] her conquest of China. *The Unity* obs[illegible] editorially :

In essence the two are the same—one member [illegible] League making war upon another. Certainly it is [illegible] that has longest defied or ignored the League, and [illegible] Japan that offers a militaristic menace beyond an[illegible] that Mussolini can muster to threaten humankind [illegible] if Japan once gets firm possession of China, sh[illegible] straightway become the supreme imperialist power [illegible] world. In China she will find abundant natural res[illegible] and raw materials, a market for her manufactured [illegible] of immeasurable extent, a mass of cheap labor [illegible] enterprise, and a supply of soldiery to overrun the [illegible] One can see Mussolini embarrassed and weakened [illegible] the end, perhaps, even overthrown by his mad [illegible] in Africa, but before Japan in China one can see [illegible] but triumph, not so much as an end in itself as a [illegible] toward greater and more dreadful ends. And the [illegible] of Nations does nothing, and Britain loses no mini[illegible] any crisis! It is all very strange, and hardly to [illegible] plained by the fact that Japan is far away [illegible] Italy near at hand. The real secret, we imagine, [illegible] Europe, which is a powder magazine, liable to be ex[illegible] at any moment by the Ethiopian sparks. But th[illegible] curiously short-sighted view to take of things. For [illegible] Italy's depredations may mean war tomorrow. [illegible] depredations assuredly mean war next year.

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Sterilization of Criminals

Propaganda in favour of wholesale sterilization of criminals and mental defectives is gradually gaining headway, and in the light of this tendency, some interest attaches to a report, made some time ago by a distinguished committee of the American Neurological Association. A summary of its findings is reproduced here from *The New Republic*:

After careful study, this committee states that we do not know enough about human heredity to "warrant the sterilization of people who are themselves normal in order to prevent the appearance in their descendants of manic-depressive psychosis, dementia precox, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, criminal conduct," etc. Criminality is hardly ever inborn or inherited, if at all; it arises from environmental factors that can be controlled. There is no reliable evidence that epilepsy is hereditary, and in the cases of dementia precox and the manic-depressive psychosis the environment is of tremendous importance. Some types of feeble-mindedness are hereditary, but some other apparent types are caused by environment and it is wrong to assume that wholesale sterilization would result in great injustice to many individuals. Since there is no medical situation, the committee points out that there is no need for haste in adopting so-called eugenic measures.

Sanctions : Are They Right or Wrong?

The *New History* publishes a brief study of sanctions, as laid down by the League of Nations, by John Haynes Holmes, who dismisses the outlawry sanction which provides that an offending member may be banished from the League as obviously ineffective at present and considers military sanctions absolutely useless as a means of preventing war for the simple reason that such sanctions constitute in themselves an act of war—"they are but the latest version, so to speak, of 'a war to end war,'" and it makes no difference to the sufferers whether it is one kind of war or another—but supports economic sanctions provided they are not enforced by the military :

Economic sanctions, I would emphasize, are to be judged upon their own merits as a control in the directions of national policy to the end of securing national and international interests of human welfare. Nobody objects to such control and direction of national policy in time of peace—not, at least, on the ground that it involves anything like an act of war. When a country, for example, inposes a tariff upon the goods of another country, it is not written in any book, neither is it believed by any public opinion, that the first country is thereby going to war against the second country.

When the United States refused, for a period of years, to do business with Russia, there were plenty of people ready to declare that this policy was stupid, spiteful, unwise, unwarranted, even unfriendly; but I have yet to hear of anybody who ever argued that it involved hostility against the Soviet Republic.

If such economic policies are accepted when used in some national interest of security or power or advantage, why, I ask you, should they not be similarly accepted when used in the international interest of peace ?

So far from regarding economic sanctions as an act of war, I for one must insist upon regarding them as an alternative to war—the only alternative we have to a war which is sure to come if economic sanctions be not promptly and effectively applied.

There can be no reasonable opposition, he argues, to economic sanctions against credits, arms and the materials of arms. But what is to be done when we come to articles which are as necessary to life as to war itself—articles which belong to the routine of peace as well as to the business of war—steel, cotton and food for example?

To this question I have never seen but one satisfactory answer, and that is the one offered to the Congress of the United States at the present time by the National Peace Conference in its redraft of the existing neutrality law of the nation. This National Peace Conference, in addition to the present embargo on loans and credits and the further embargo on munitions, would also put general raw materials of every kind such as cotton, oil and food products which are useful in war and also useful in peace, on a definite quota basis in accordance with the pre-war trade of immediately preceding years. Such provision will protect the population of the belligerent country.

Sri Ramkrishna: Messiah of Spiritual Democracy

The *Message of the East* observes :

Sri Ramkrishna's mysticism not only proves that superman can attain for himself, but that even a common man, as we term the ordinary run of humanity, can unfold his divine heritage. His methods are most unlike those of reformers. He does not strike; he does not denounce; but by his gentle, unaggressive and unpretentious spiritual illumination he clarifies the whole atmosphere of doubt and dogmatic differences. He is the very fulfilment of his own remarkable parable, that if in muddy water a piece of alum is thrown, very soon all the mud settles at the bottom and the water becomes crystal-like, clear.

Sri Ramakrishna can be regarded as the Messiah of spiritual democracy. He never forgets that his *Ishtam* (chosen Ideal) is also the chosen Ideal of all existing forms of thought and religion. Perhaps we can readily understand his tolerance for India's multiple expressions of faith, but is it not interesting to observe that his mind reaches out to know and understand the basic Principle of Christianity, Mohammedanism, and the other great religions of the world. Is not the substance, water, called by many names? "One calls it 'water,' another 'vani,' a third 'aqua,' and a fourth 'pani,' yet it remains ever the same. So the one *Sat-Chit-Ananda*, Absolute Being-Intelligence-Bliss, is invoked by some as God, by some as Allah, by some as Hari, and by others as Brahman."

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Bengal Vaishnavism

In the course of an article in *The Theosophist* on God as Love, dealing with mysticism, Hirendra Nath Datta discourses on Bengal Vaishnavism:

The *Bhakta*, the Mystic of the devotional temperament, delights to speak of God as Love and for this he has high authority. For the Christ himself declares: "God is Love" echoing which Emerson says: "The essence of God is Love." The Upanishad also proclaims *Raso Vai Sah*.—He is the "supremest Delight" (*Rasatama*)—*Dolce Amore*, the *Dayita*, the *Vanita*, the Beloved, the Dearest One (*Priyatama*)—"Dearer than offspring, dearer than wealth, dearer than all other things, ... "*Preyah Puttrat, Preyo Vittat, Preyo'nyasmat Sarvasmat*. . . . . ."

The Sufi also speaks of Him as the *Musuk* (the Beloved), he himself being the Asek (the lover), and the highest felicity for man (according to the Sufi) consists in the dedication of Love (which he calls *esk*) to God.

To this aspect of the Divine Wisdom, my province (Bengal) has much of value to contribute.

Let me preface by saying that my province, though often accused of dry intellectualism, is deeply devotional. True, Bengal produced Raghunath, the father of that neo-logic which, to use the language of Prof. Cowell, makes the European head dizzy—and also Madhusudan whose *Advaitasiddhi* is the high-water mark of Vedantic atheleticism. But did not Mother Bengal also give birth to Shri Chaitanya and his galaxy of God-inebriated Saints —Rupa and Sanatana and Haridas, Raghunathadas and Krishnadas, not to speak of Nityanand, Advaita and Gadadhara, and before the advent of Chaitanya to such minnesingers of the Holy spirit as Jayadeva, Vidyapati, Chandidas and the rest.

Now, in the Krishna-and-Radha legend, which these saints and seers of Bengal have woven into the greatest spiritual allegory in the world—the allegory of the union of the human soul with the Divine—Radha is the ideal Lover and Krishna is the Beloved, and the "lovely dalliance of their private conference in the secret garden of the Soul," named *Brindabana*, is the motif of those wonderful love-lyrics of the Bengali bards (we call them Mahajanas—Troubadours of God), which for passion, insight and sheer artistry of song leave far behind the erotic effusions of other times and climes—from Sappho to Swinburne. Now, in this allegory, why is *Radha* represented as a woman, rather than as a man? Because in the words of F. W. Newman, "if thy soul is to go on to higher spiritual blessedness, it must become woman —yes, however manly you may be among men."

Radha then is the prototype of all lovers of God, male or female, only her love is human love raised to the *n*th power. For, if I may employ the words of Gertrude More, "never there was or can be imagined such a love as there was between this humble soul (Radha) and—God." So she is called *Mahabhava mayi*.

Now, this Radha, a simple artless maiden, chances one day to cast her eyes on Krishna and is smitten with love—for is not Krishna the embodiment of beauty and grace divine and loveliness unspeakable? Presently, she "sigheth and panteth after Him and she feels the intensest longing to meet her Beloved. says in thought what a Christian mystic (St. John of Cross) has said in words about the Christ: "I draw near to Thee in silence and will uncover Thy that it may please Thee to unite me to Thyself, my soul Thy bride! I will rejoice in nothing but in Thine arms."

This we call *Purva-raga* in Bengal, the same as Mystics' "first flame of love"—when the lover deep of the sweet-bitter chalice of Love, the nectar which Divine love verily is.

On His side *Krishna* reciprocates Radha's says (to borrow the language of another Mystic): Soul! before the world was, I longed for thee and for Me." This must be so, for, as Rumi assures "when the love of God arises in thy heart—no doubt God also feels love for thee!" Thus a tide of love flows from God into the Soul and draws mightily." So Radha is the *Priyaji* and Krishna *Pitam*.

But before the Radha-Soul can be united Krishna, there are three obstacles to be overcome, fetters to be shed. What are they? *Mana, Loja, Bhaya*—pride, shame and fear.

When Radha has thus prepared herself by ing pride and shame and fear, she hears the Divine (symbolized in our legend) by the flute-notes of Krishna which must be responded to, and she sallies forth dark night to meet her Beloved. The sky is and there is thunder and lightning and rain; she walk alone—for must not every aspirant walk the file till the journey's end? So *Light on the* "Now thou must travel alone."

This we call *abhisara* in Bengal. The Christ mystic calls it the "spiritual quest," in fulfilment which the mysterious traveller goes forth to "the of the soul."

So the Lover and the Beloved meet and Oh ecstasy of that meeting!

The Clash of Colour

In a thought-provoking article in *Aryan Path*, W. E. B. Du Bois, the famous leader of the Negroes of the U. S. lays particular emphasis on the need of standing among the dark, brown and races of the world, specially between the and the American Negroes:

The great difficulty of bringing about understanding sympathy and co-operation between the Negroes America and the peoples of India lies in the utter lack of knowledge which these two groups people have of each other.

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First of all, the Negroes, taught in American schools and reading books and articles by American writers, have almost no conception of the history of India. It practically has no place in our curriculum and reference to that great past which every Indian knows bring an intelligent comprehension on the part of the Negroes in America.

On the other hand, the knowledge which educated Indians have of the American Negro is chiefly confined to the conventional story spread by most white American and English writers: ignorant black savages were enslaved and made to do physical labour which was the only thing they could do. They were finally emancipated by a benevolent government and given every aid to rise and develop. Much of this aid was mistaken, as, for instance, the bestowing of the right to vote, and proved a hindrance rather than a help. Today these Negroes are contented labourers occupying that lower sphere for which they are especially adapted.

This false knowledge and lack of knowledge in the two groups are now emphasized by the modern methods of gathering and distributing news. To the editors of the great news agencies, Indians and Negroes are not [illegible].

To this is added deliberate and purposeful propaganda, so that from American newspapers Negroes get no idea of the great struggle for freedom and self-government which has been going on in India, or of the deep philosophy of the meaning and end of human life which characterizes the Indian nation. They only hear of what England has done to develop India and to keep the peace.

On the other hand, few Indians know of Negroes [illegible] to do more than read and write, of the Negro literature that has been growing and expanding for [illegible]ty-five years, and of the leaders who have done [illegible] part, not only in the development of black men, but in the development of white America.

Much of this lack of knowledge and misapprehension [illegible]ld be avoided if Indians and Negroes had a chance [illegible]eet and know each other; but they are at opposite [illegible] of the earth and, so far as American Negroes are [illegible]erned, deliberate and other difficulties are put in [illegible] way of their meeting.

There are in the United States one hundred or more [illegible]kly newspapers circulating among Negroes, of which [illegible]t or ten have considerable circulation. It would be [illegible]xcellent thing if contributions from India, explaining the history and problems of the land, should appear [illegible]hese papers; and on the other hand, the press of [illegible] ought to welcome a number of Negro contributors [illegible] explanations of their situation here.

Despite the difficulties, there must be greater [illegible]cious effort to get these groups into sympathetic understanding. Indians appeared in the four or five Pan-[illegible]can Congresses which were held and which were of [illegible]se only tentative efforts toward a greater ideal. In [illegible] future, congresses including Indians and Negroes [illegible]ht to meet periodically, not necessarily for action, [illegible] for understanding, and especially for emphasizing the [illegible] that these people have common aims.

India has also had temptation to stand apart from [illegible] darker peoples and seek her affinities among whites. [illegible] has long wished to regard herself as "Aryan" rather [illegible] "coloured" and to think of herself as much nearer [illegible]ically and spiritually to Germany and England than [illegible] Africa, China or the South Seas. And yet the history [illegible] the modern world shows the futility of this thought.

The problem of the Negroes thus remains a part of [illegible] world-wide clash of colour. So, too, the problem [illegible] the Indians can never be simply a problem of autonomy in the British commonwealth of nations. They must always stand as representatives of the coloured races—of the yellow and black peoples as well as the brown—of the majority of mankind, and together, with the Negroes they must face the insistent problem of the assumption of the white peoples of Europe that they have a right to dominate the world and especially so to organize it politically and industrially as to make most men their slaves and servants.

Hail Harijans!

In an article on caste and untouchability in the *Prabudha Bharata* Prof. Ernest P. Horrwitz observes:

Gokhale and Tilak, the early champions of the national cause, were Maratha Brahmins and learned Sanskritists. Both were rigidly orthodox and passionately polemic. Gokhale condemned social abuses resulting from Varna or race-pride. Tilak who assumed national leadership in 1902 was not so much concerned with social reforms.

But fearless Tilak was far more than a political propagandist and agitator; deep and broad was his knowledge of national antiquities, based on sound Vedic research and astronomical computations. His scientific theory, far-reaching and compelling, that the homeland or nest of the Aryan race *must* have been the Arctis (Swetadwipa), and that the Indo-European exodus from the circumpolar zone commenced soon after the Interglacial Age, is still made light of by Hindu literalists, but eagerly taken up and elaborated by German pundits.

Caste is a Dravid or pre-Aryan usage. The Vratyas, of Dravid origin, abhor intermarriage with aliens; mixed marriages are abominated as a race-taint, and are prohibited by law. Blood pollution and racial purification have hardened into Varna; as time went on, castes multiplied along occupational lines. Far back in the Rig-Vedic age when the Hindus occupied N. W. India, Vratyas dwelt and dominated east of them. Brahmins civilized and converted the Vratyas, but at the same time adopted Dravid Varna which, with a Vedic veneer, developed into Varnasrama Dharma, the rockbed of Hinduism. Magical incantations, a most popular feature of the Vratya faith, were recast in Sanskrit spells and charms, known as the Atharva-Veda. Vratyastoma, part of the Veda, is a historic repercussion of Vratya conversions to Brahmanism.

Gandhi on whom Tilak's mantle has fallen, identifies Western civilization, loathed by him, with economic exploitation and ever-growing armaments. That modern dragon-slayer or St. George, with his ardent passion for social justice, is bent on crushing the blood-sucking giant of capitalistic industrialism.

His special proteges are the untouchables; these age-long victims of pitiless Varna belong to God's household, he calls them Hari-jans. They have implicit faith in Gandhi, but utterly distrust the bulk of his orthodox supporters, that "satanic" brood, with a pariah pun on Sanatani. The "constitutional antipathy," felt by the well-bred and high-browed, and their cruel division between Dwija and Harijan, that is, high-caste and social outcast, saddens Gandhi, and touches him to the quick. He is ready to lay down his life, if necessary, for Indian unity.

The breakdown of caste will unity rather than split the Hindu colossus, and restore race-consciousness without the pitfalls of Varna.

A new era dawns in Bengal, and sheds light over the whole Aryan East.

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On Communal Problem

Visva-Bharati News publishes a letter written by Rabindranath Tagore in which he says that the solution of the communal problem must not wait :

I feel it very strongly that the barriers of mutual suspicion and hostility that exist in our country between classes and communities are real impediments in the way of our achieving national self-realization.

The splendid penance of Mahatmaji and the response it evoked from the country have opened the way of unity by breaking down the age-long disabilities from which a section of the Hindu Community has been suffering. But a greater problem is still facing us,—that of breaking down of the barriers that have arisen between the Hindus and the Moslems. I am not a politician and I do not understand the political problems that must be solved in order to achieve a complete understanding between the communities. To me it is not a question of compromise or of concessions. The two communities have been living side by side through the centuries and yet are suspicious of each other, and mutually hostile. To me it is a sign of barbarism. It is this which is a constant source of humiliation to our national life.

The solution of the problem of harmonizing the clash between the Hindus and the Moslems cannot be put off any longer. It must not wait till we have eliminated what is called the third party from the Indian horizon. The evidence of history is against the shelving of the problem till political "Independence" is realized. Though the states of South-Eastern Europe have political independence their national life is vitiated by the clashing interests of the various elements composing the State. Chinese history gives the same evidence. The work of harmonizing the conflicting elements in our national life must go on simultaneously with the political struggle in which the country is now engaged.

Nationalism and Socialism

The New Call publishes Jawaharlal Nehru's message to his socialist friends advising them to build up their dream on clear ideology. He says :

The two ways that have moved me, are Nationalism and political freedom as represented by the Congress and social freedom as represented by Socialism.

No Socialist need be reminded that nationalism by itself offers no solution of the vast problems that confront our country and the world; it ignores indeed the world and fails to realize that in doing so it makes an understanding of even the national position impossible. For, the Indian problem is but a part of the world problem of imperialism, the two are indissolubly linked together, and that world problem is essentially an economic problem, though it has many changing phases.

Scientific Socialism itself teaches us not to follow slavishly any dogma or any other country's example, which may have resulted from entirely different circumstances. Armed with a philosophy which reveals the inner workings of history and human relation, and with the scientific outlook to guide him, the Socialist tries to solve the problems of each country in relation to its varied back-ground and stage of economic development, and also in relation to the world. It is a hard task. But then there is no easy way.

Ideas are the essential basis for action. But behind ideas there must be the Men to carry them [illegible] character and discipline to translate them [illegible] No Socialist can be true to his creed or [illegible] seeks satisfaction merely in brave ideas and [illegible] of others who do not agree with him. That [illegible] of facile intellectual opportunism. He has to [illegible] that he is no arm-chair politician but one [illegible] an object—for achievement. And achievement [illegible] character and discipline and united action and [illegible] ness to sacrifice the individual self for the larger [illegible]

Economic Welfare under the New Indian Constitution

Dr. B. N. Kaul of the Aligarh [illegible] University, in evaluating the effects of [illegible] economic provisions of the constitution on [illegible] national dividend, discusses in *The Fr[illegible] Times* how far the machinery of administr[illegible] as provided by the Act, will be suitable [illegible] organizing economic development.

No government, especially under present con[illegible] can altogether disclaim the responsibility of con[illegible] and regulating the economic life of the people. [illegible] the last few years even the present Indian Gove[illegible] have adopted a number of measures for economic de[illegible] ment. These measures possess certain common fe[illegible] They show that the Government do not have a c[illegible] tent and co-ordinated programme of economic de[illegible] ment, that they are not too willing to accept the re[illegible] sibility of regulating the economic life of the c[illegible] and that they accept such responsibility only [illegible] forced by circumstances. Their method of approa[illegible] to select peacemeal certain lines of development a[illegible] concentrate on them individually without consi[illegible] national economy as a whole. This attitude to[illegible] economic development and this method of approa[illegible] open to criticism. This procedure leaves out larg[illegible] tions of the economic life totally untouched and [illegible] rise to a number of inadequate and improvized m[illegible] adopted with sectional ends in view, lacking co-ordi[illegible] and continuity of purpose and often in conflict [illegible] each other. Such regulation no government can e[illegible] under the present condition of economic life.

Successful organization of economic development [illegible] a country requires that this haphazard and chaotic m[illegible] of state interference should be substituted by e[illegible] planning. This does not imply that in every sph[illegible] economic activity the adjustments of the comp[illegible] price system should be replaced by deliberate re[illegible] Whatever the economic responsibility assumed by [illegible] state, planning is necessary for the purpose of co-ordi[illegible] ing the government's economic activity into a [illegible] whole, for establishing continuity of policy and p[illegible] ing sectional, inconsistent and imperfectly thoug[illegible] legislation. The general scheme of administration [illegible] the Government of India Act considerably limits [illegible] scope of planning.

The Act creates three uncoordinated centr[illegible] power, the Governor-Gentral and Governors for the p[illegible] pose of their "special responsibilities" and for [illegible] in respect to which they are required to act "in [illegible] discretion," the Federal Government and the Provi[illegible] Governments, and recognizes a fourth centre of pow[illegible] the Government of the States. Important economic [illegible] tions are assigned to each, but no means is pr[illegible]

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co-ordinating the economic activity of one centre power with another.

In allocating subjects between the Federal and the vincial Governments, which constitutes the two most portant centres of power, facility of organizing economic elopment has not been kept in view. So that power been divided in such a way that planning even hin limited spheres is difficult.

The future government, therefore, must suffer from limitations imposed by uncoordinated division of wer among the four centres, by the actual division subjects among them and by the restrictions arising of the specific provisions of the constitution.

The Niemeyer Enquiry

V. G. Ramakrishna Aiyar writes in *The dian Review*:

Sir Otto Niemeyer has undertaken the financial iry contemplated under Sections 138, 140 and 142 the Government of India Act (1935). It is in nection with Section 138, the allocation of income-tax, Sir Otta will find the greatest difficulty.

The division of the income-tax has presented very administrative difficulties in almost every country which attempts have been made to distribute the ceeds of this tax on a rational basis. The problem investigated by the League of Nations with the stance of eminent economists in connection with the ablance of double income-tax. It has been examined great length with special reference to the peculiar ditions of India by the Taxation Enquiry Committee paragraphs 528-538 of their Report. The Committee de an attempt to apportion the proceeds of the tax cording to the principles of the *origin* of the income the domicile of the assessee, but they found the actical difficulties almost insuperable and they come the conclusion that the only possible method was base the distribution primarily on the principle of icile. The Taxation Committee recommended that Provinces should be given the proceeds of a dicated rate on personal incomes of assessees from sources including dividends from companies wherever ated. In partial recognition of the principle of origin, y also suggested that each Province should be given *small* portion of the receipts from the supertax on mpanies.

The Percy Committee suggested that the basis of tribution should be, so far as personal incomes are cerned, the tax paid by the persons resident in the vince, and so far as the tax on incomes other than sonal income (*i.e.*, the income of non-residents and distributed of companies) is concerned, the basis of distribution should be population owing to the difficulty of tracing the origin of such income. The Percy Committee estimated the net proceeds of income-tax to be 17.20 crores. Of this 3.70 crores representing supertax on companies, tax on salaries of Federal offices and in Federal areas would go to the Federal Government. Two crores representing collections of personal supertax, *i.e.*, other than company supertax would be distributed on the basis of actual collections from residents. Of the balance of Rs. 11½ crores, about ⅐th would represent the estimated tax on the undistributed profits of companies and on the incomes of persons resident outside British India. This one-seventh is to be distributed on the basis of population and the remaining 6|7ths on the basis of personal income-tax.

Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Butler moved in the course of the discussion in the Joint Select Committee that the Committee, in regard to the distribution of the assigned income-tax among the Provinces, should commend "for consideration the general principle that the share of each Province should be determined primarily by the proportionate amount contributed by its tax-payers in respect of income-tax." But they withdrew the motion. The Joint Select Committee finally stated "that the actual method of distribution between the Provinces . . . . is a technical problem of some complexity, and we do not think it is part of our duty to suggest a detailed scheme." "The report of the Federal Finance Committee," they however added significantly, "suggests a useful line of approach on the assumption that an automatic basis of distribution can be fixed."

A proper decision on the fixing of the percentage of income-tax to be assigned to the Provinces, however, involves considerations of fundamental importance concerning the trend of Provincial and Central finances in the future and their ultimate relative position under the New Constitution. The White Paper suggested that a minimum of 50 and a maximum of 75 per cent of the income-tax might be assigned to the Provinces, while the Joint Select Committee could not envisage the possibility of transferring to the Provinces more than 50 per cent at any time. The crucial question to be decided is whether the difficulty of the Central Government is only temporary or may be permanent. If their difficulty is temporary, then the best way out of the difficulty would be to extend the period during which they might retain the income-tax assigned to the Provinces on a generous scale. The fact must never be forgotten that it is the Provinces which are saddled with growing responsibilities and which need growing resources to spend on ever-expanding nation-building activities.

KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE

Siddhartha and Yashodhara

Finding Prince Siddhartha indifferent to worldly affairs, his father, King Shuddhodana, arranged a gathering of beautiful princesses from all parts of the country to be held in his palace. Prince Siddhartha was asked by King Shuddhodana to offer trinkets to these royal maidens. Siddhartha is seen in this picture offering the best of the trinkets to Yashodhara, the maiden of his choice.

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NOTES

War Clouds

There are war clouds both in the West and in the East.

Japan has been practically at war with China during the last few years. The recent coup of a military clique which has removed the moderate element in her cabinet and established paramount military influence over it, shows that her jingo policy will be continued and strengthened. Events in Mongolia and the Soviet Russia border give similar indications. In the note on Japan's latest budget, published in this issue, the extent of Japan's preparations for war has been pointed out.

In Europe, though Mussolini has been treating the members of the League of Nations —particularly Britain, with contempt, they have not taken any substantial steps to cripple Italy, and they are yet far from thinking of declaring war against her. But the danger of war breaking out in Europe and Africa between some at least of the European powers is not over. Britain has been making herself more powerful in the air, on land and in the sea. Subsequent to the complications due to the Italo-Abyssinian war, Germany's assertion of self-respect by the occupation of Rhineland and other measures and declarations have made a Franco-German war probable. Germany has declared that she does not want war. Perhaps she is not yet ready for it. France appears to be in a more bellicose mood, as the massing of troops on her frontier indicates.

The Franco-German situation may lead to war.

BERLIN, March 24.

The papers interpret the decision of the League Council to adjourn *sine die* as the end of the Locarno White Paper, which is described as an unnatural, hastily drafted and complicated production. The hope is expressed that an opportunity will be taken to ease the situation by forgetting the painful and unsuccessful document most quickly.—*Reuter.*

PARIS, Ma

The French view of the Locarno situation med up by political correspondents, who declare London agreement of March 19 remains in fo Britain, France and Belgium, to the exclusion of and thus the contacts between their general begin since the nations which have not denou Locarno Pact are still bound by its obligati guarantees.—*Reuter.*

In order to understand thorough situation in the East the sort of civil wa has been going on in China has also to be into consideration. The latest news fro country is not reassuring:

PEIPING, Ma

Yen Hsi-Shan, Governor of Shansi, has ord divisions of troops to march on Hungtung an Yang-Fu, which have been occupied by an invadi of 5,000 Reds. The fate of 26 British and four A missionaries living in the two cities is unknow Governor has also requested that 30,000 Central ment troops stationed in South Shansi should to oust the Communists.—*Reuter.*

Probable Future War and Congress Att

The opinion expressed by the British mander-in-Chief of "the army in India" "the Indian army" or "India's army" instead of a reduction of military expe an increase would be needed, was perhap to his reading of the situation in the Ea the West. But supposing there is a wa Britain is involved in it, why should In dragged into it and Indian men and mon materials be used (or more accurately sp wasted) for it? India has no freedom dependence to lose that she must fight it. Nor would the probable war in the future into which she may be dragged, o her being tied to the tail of the Britis help her to become free. For, though be made to take part in it, abundant pr may be made diplomatically to rouse enthusiasm, it would be equally e diplomatically break those promises.

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We are not among those who think that, as India has no hostile designs on any other country, therefore no power will probably invade and try to conquer her in the near or distant future. But so long as she is in a subject condition, the defence of India as Britain's property should be Britain's look-out. India can take part in a war if it helps her to become free. Therefore, the following resolution which the Congress Working Committee has decided to place before the Lucknow Congress is quite timely :

The Congress at its session held in Madras in 1927 drew the attention of the country to the danger of an imperialist war and the possibility of India being made a tool in such a conflict for imperialist purposes, and declared the right of the Indian people to refuse to participate in any such war without their express permission. That danger has become more evident and urgent since then with the growth of the Fascist dictatorship, the Italian attack on Abyssinia, the continued Japanese aggression in North China and Mongolia, rivalries and conflict of the great imperialist powers and the feverish growth of armaments, and a vast and terrible war threatens the world. In such war an attempt will inevitably be made to drag in and exploit India to her manifest disadvantage. The Congress, therefore, reiterates its old resolve and warns the people of the country against this danger, and declares its opposition to the participation of India in any imperialist war.—*United Press.*

Is Japan preparing for a Fresh War?—A Study of the New Japanese Budget

It is no doubt true that the Japanese Budget of 1936-37 did not get the legislative sanction, but that was because the Japanese Diet was dissolved. Under the Japanese Constitution, in such a case, the government of the day need not go through the formalities of submitting another budget to the next session of the Diet, but can administer its financial affairs by that of the previous fiscal year.

Let us give below the summarised Budget of 1936-37 and compare it with that of 1935-36.

	In Million Yens.		
	1935-36	1936-37	Change.
REVENUE			
Ordinary Section ..	1,336	1,452	+116
Extra-ordinary Section ..	101	146	+45
Loans	772	680	—91
Surplus transferred from previous year ..	7	0	—7
TOTAL ..	2,215	2,278	+63
EXPENDITURE			
Ordinary Section ..	1,309	1,357	+48
Extra-ordinary Section ..	906	921	+15
TOTAL ..	2,215	2,278	+63

It will be noticed that there has been an increase in both the ordinary and the extra-ordinary revenues over the figures of the last year.

Analysing the sources of Revenue, we get :

CLASSIFICATION OF REVENUE	In Thousands of Yens.		
	1935-36	1936-37	Change.
ORDINARY SECTION			
Taxes	828,742	924,804	+96,063
Revenue from Government enterprises and properties ..	276,410	291,885	+15,475
Stamp receipts	82,205	79,664	—2,541
Contribution from the Special account of communication Services	78,000	81,000	+3,000
Contribution from the Bank of Japan	25,365	20,760	+4,604
Miscellaneous revenue	38,588	47,079	+8,492
Transferred from Education Improvement and Agriculture Encouragement Fund	6,232	6,649	+417
TOTAL ..	1,335,541	1,451,842	+116,301
EXTRA-ORDINARY SECTION :			
Proceeds of sales of Government properties	10,647	16,154	+5,507
Miscellaneous receipts	22,076	11,791	—10,285
Construction expenses contributed by public organization ..	5,263	7,225	+1,963
Share in construction expenses borne by public organization ..	8,497	10,364	+1,867
Scientific research encouragement funds received ..	30	30	——
Transferred from the Special account	10,124	29,506	+19,381
Repayment from insurance companies	3,521	3,521	——
Receipts from Export Credit Insurance	796	796	——
Manchoukuo's contribution to National Defence ..	9,873	24,500	+14,627
Special profit tax	30,396	42,088	+11,692
TOTAL ..	101,222	145,974	+44,725
TOTAL receipts (from non-borrowed sources)	1,436,763	1,597,816	+161,053

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In the ordinary section, of the total increase of 116 million yens, 96 million is due to the increased receipts from taxes. During the current fiscal year, the financial resources were exhaustively explored; and they have been scoured with even greater thoroughness for the next year. Estimated revenue from taxation for the next year exceeds the peak tax revenue figure of 1928 by 9 million yens. Coming to the extraordinary section, of the total increase of 45 million yens, 11 million is due to Special Profit tax, 14 million to the increase in (Japan's India) Manchukuo's contribution to National (Japanese) Defence; and 5 million to the increase in the proceeds of sales of government properties. In the Japanese Budget "Special Accounts" refer to certain self-balancing revenues and expenditures, like our Railway Budget. There has been an increase of million yens in the extraordinary receipts transfer from special accounts.

The meaning is that during the current fiscal year the capital side of these special accounts will be starved. Japan is thus mortgaging herself and mortgaging her future to the utmost to get as much revenue as she can get immediately. And how she proposes to spend it will be apparent from the following table, in which expenditures by departments are shown and compared with those of the previous year.

Expenditure for 1936-37 By Departments (In 1,000 yens)

	Ordinary Section.	Comparison with previous Year.	Extraordinary Section.	Comparison with previous Year.
Imperial Household	4,500	——	——	——
Foreign office	17,293	+463	14,410	+1,561
Home office	52,912	+3,051	131,384	+17,640
Finance Department	462,944	+2,438	28,604	—51
War office	191,160	+11,356	316,343	+3,188
Navy office	236,886	+20,968	314,970	+1,105
Justice Department	36,469	+556	3,086	+603
Education Department	131,534	+1,048	10,996	—8,343
Agriculture and Forestry Department	34,123	+2,881	56,072	—6,161
Commerce & Industry Department	5,705	+216	13,202	+5,226
Communications Department	181,487	+4,590	15,045	+1,979
Overseas Affairs Department	2,188	+214	16,819	—1,813
TOTAL ..	1,357,201	+47,783	920,930	+14,933

Of the total Ordinary Revenue of 1357 million yens, 32 per cent is to be spent in the War and Navy Departments; and of the extraordinary Revenue of 920 million yens, 69 per cent is to be spent in those departments. Of the total increase of 63 million yens, compared with the previous year, 56 million yens are to be spent on War and Navy and Home office. The increase in the extraordinary section of the expenditure on Home office is significant. This increase is mainly due to expenditure in connection with industrial development. Is Japan organizing her industries for meeting foreign blockade?

We now tabulate below Japan's military expenditure since she planned the disguised annexation of Manchukuo. It will be seen that in seven years Japan's total expenditure on Army and Navy has nearly trebled itself. Expansion in military expenditure since 1932-33 occurred chiefly in non-recurring items, chiefly of military equipments. In 1936-37 Budget appropriations for Army and Navy showed only a slight increase, and that chiefly in ordinary expenditures. This fact lends colour to the belief that the maximum in Japan's swelling military expenditure has now been reached; that she is now fully equipped militarily.

ARMY AND NAVY OUTLAYS SINCE 1930-31.

Fiscal Year.	Army.	Navy.	Total.	Change
1930-31 ..	201	242	443	—
1931-32 ..	227	227	455	—
1932-33 ..	274	313	586	[illegible]
1933-34 ..	463	410	873	[illegible]
1934-35 ..	454	489	943	[illegible]
1935-36 ..	493	530	1,023	[illegible]
1936-37 ..	508	552	1,059	[illegible]

The hectic increase in the military expenditure of Japan, and the methods by which the increased revenue is secured resembles closely that of Germany in the penultimate years before the Great War. Our suspicion is that Japan is preparing for a fresh War. And no wonder the Commander-in-Chief foreshadows an increase in the Military Budget over here in India.

We speak of a fresh war, because Japan has been in reality at war with China for the last few years.

J. M. DATTA

Proposed Congress "Foreign Department"

Of the draft resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee at its meeting

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On March 21 last and subsequent dates, to be placed before the Subjects Committee of the Congress session at Lucknow, one relates to the organization of a "foreign department." It runs as follows:

The Congress authorises and directs the Working Committee to organise a foreign department of the All-India Congress Committee office to work under the general superintendence of the Working General Secretary and with such special staff as may be necessary with a view to creating and maintaining contacts with Indians overseas and with international labour and other organizations abroad with whom co-operation is possible and is likely to help in the cause of Indian freedom.

Such a department has been all along needed.

By the by, what has become of the one lakh of rupees left by President Patel for foreign publicity work in the interests of India to be organized and conducted by Mr. Subhas C. Bose?

Closer Association with the Masses

Another draft resolution of the Congress Working Committee runs thus:

The Congress is of the opinion that it is desirable to develop closer association between the masses and the Congress organization so that they may take their full share in shaping the Congress policy and in its activities and the organization might become even more responsive to their needs and desires. With a view to this and further to bring about closer co-operation with other organizations of peasants, workers and others, which aim at freedom of the Indian people and to make the Congress a joint front of all anti-imperialist elements in the country, this Congress appoints a committee consisting of (names to be filled in) to suggest a revision of the constitution. The Committee shall report to the All-India Congress Committee by the end of June, 1936 and its report shall be then circulated to the Provincial and District Committees for opinion. The final recommendations of the All-India Congress Committee on this report shall be placed before the next Session of the Congress.

This is a very important resolution.

In order that the masses may really participate in the activities of the Congress, they should have some education. At present in many places members of the intelligentsia assume the leadership of the peasants and workers and speak in their name. This may be necessary at the initial stage. But the sooner real peasants and real working men are able to elect some of their fellows as leaders the better.

The education of the masses is a big problem, but it cannot be left untackled, to take care of itself or to be taken care of by the bureaucracy.

Congress to "carry on the struggle for freedom"

The next resolution of the Congress Working Committee is very long, and does not require any comment. It runs as follows:

The Congress draws public attention again to the widespread and intensive suppression of civil and, in many instances, personal liberties in India by the British Government with the object of crushing the national and labour and peasant movements, in particular, to the banning of hundreds of Congress and other national organizations and labour and peasant unions and political and other groups, seizure and continued possession by the Government of many Ashrams and other educational institutions, continuation of the ordinance regime by certification and passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act even after its rejection twice by the Assembly and enactment of similar provincial Acts, proscription and banning of books and periodicals, numerous press laws and censorship resulting in suppression of 348 newspapers in recent years and forfeiture of large sums deposited as securities, detention of large numbers of people for indefinite periods without charge or trial, numerous special and additional disabilities under which the people of the Frontier Province have to suffer, many encroachments on personal liberty in parts of Bengal, restriction by externment, internment and otherwise to free movement of persons within the country, thus preventing them from carrying on their usual occupations and businesses and even obstruction of humanitarian and relief work, indiscriminate and widespread searches of houses, difficulties placed in the way of Indians going abroad and barriers to return home—many Indians in foreign countries have thus to live in exile far from their own people and their motherland.

The Congress notes that at no period since the great revolt of 1857 has the suppression of civil and personal liberties and repression of the Indian people, which is the normal feature of the British administration in India today, been so great as it is now. While recognizing that this extraordinary suppression and repression are measures of strength and success of India's struggle for freedom, the Congress desires to point out that such is the background to the new constitution Act, in spite of the statements made by representatives of the British Government that constitutional progress is being made in India.

Further the Congress deeply regrets that in Indian States there is similar suppression of civil and personal liberties and in many of them conditions in this respect are even worse than in the rest of India and almost every kind of liberty is non-existent, that in some States even the Congress has been banned and normal and peaceful work of organization prevented and insult offered to the national flag. The Congress realises that the effective power behind States is that of the British Government and many States are under direct control of British officers. However, the responsibility for this deplorable state of affairs might be shared between the British Government and the rulers of the State, the Congress declares that it can recognize no differentiation in personal, civil and democratic liberties as between the States and the rest of India.

The Congress expresses the determination of the Indian people that, notwithstanding this attempt to paralyse national growth and activity, they will continue to face the situation with courage and fortitude and will carry on the struggle for freedom till independence is achieved.

Congress and Political Sufferers

In a fourth resolution Congress would be asked to send its greetings to the thousands of Indians who are in prison, in detention and in

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exile for political causes and who suffer in silence and with brave endurance in the cause of India's freedom. "In particular, the Congress sends its affectionate greetings" to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. "The Congress also offers its earnest sympathy to the brave people of the N.-W. F. P., as well as to the people of Midnapore district and some other parts of Bengal."

Government and Subhas Chandra Bose

The fact having been published that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has received through the British consul at Vienna, an intimation that he could not expect to be at liberty if he returned to India, questions were asked in the Legislative Assembly in relation to the matter. The official answer confirmed the report that such intimation had been sent to him by Government.

Government has been censured by the Assembly for depriving a man of his liberty without any trial and intending again to send him to prison—of course without any trial as before, thus intending to keep him in exile for an indefinite period.

Government's defence is the unproved assertion that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is a terrorist and was associated with terrorists. But where is the proof? If there be any evidence, why not place it before a judge and jury? Mere assertions, from whomsoever they may proceed, cannot take the place of evidence which can stand the test of cross-examination and judicial sifting according to the ordinary processes of law. The old and hackneyed plea that (alleged) revolutionaries cannot be brought to trial on account of the risk which the witnesses for the prosecution will have to run, has no legs to stand upon. For very many such revolutionaries have been tried without the witnesses receiving even pin-pricks on that account.

Government appears to attach much importance to a letter written by Mr. Krishnadas to Mahatma Gandhi, years ago, which was intercepted by the police. But what Mr. Krishnadas himself says shows that the allegations made in that letter do not possess any evidential value. Says he:

"The alleged facts about the existence of several schools of revolutionaries in Bengal were gathered by me in prison during the rush of the movement when all sorts of people were thrown together pellmell. These included satyagrahis, unsophisticated villagers, some revolutionaries and a host of Government emissaries or agent provocateurs who were sent to create confusion in the ranks of civil resisters. I cannot vouch that I was not misled by some belonging to this last group into forming my opinion about the political situation in Bengal [illegible] may ultimately prove to be without any foundation.

"I should also make it clear that I have no knowledge of Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose's complicity [illegible] the Yugantar party of the revolutionaries and that I wrote was based on hearsay or gossip. There is another fact to be taken into consideration. The Gandhiites started with a prejudice against Sj. [illegible] because of his opposition to Gandhiji at the two [illegible] of the Congress held in Calcutta and Lahore and open criticism of Gandhiji's policy. This opposition criticism might have been induced by the radical [illegible] of Sj. Bose as opposed to what is considered [illegible] Gandhiji's conservatism. But some people often [illegible] pered into our ears that Sj. Bose's real opposition [illegible] round the Congress creed of non-violence which [illegible] us readily believed. This however is no evidence [illegible] prove that Sj. Bose was an out and out advocate [illegible] violence as opposed to the policy of non-violence [illegible] may be after all a victim of the prejudice created [illegible] him by the parties, including the government interest [illegible] keeping him out of the field of politics, especially that of Bengal."—*United Press.*

Even if Mr. Krishnadas had not now [illegible] how he came to write the intercepted letter [illegible] how its contents, "based on hearsay or gossip" were gathered, we would not have attached [illegible] importance to it. Even men who are [illegible] greater than Mr. Krishnadas are not infallible [illegible] particularly if their statements are based [illegible] hearsay or gossip. If they can stand cross-examination, then their statements may [illegible] some value. Incidentally, it must be said [illegible] that Mr. Krishnadas ought to have said all [illegible] he now says, at the time when the Law Member [illegible] first mentioned his letter in the Assembly [illegible] months ago.

The spokesmen of the Government in [illegible] Assembly referred repeatedly to Mr. Bose's [illegible] tellectual powers and organizing capacity [illegible] Perhaps these constitute his real offence. [illegible] a man, if left at large, is a real menace [illegible] official autocracy!

By the by, as Mr. Krishnadas says "[illegible] the Gandhiites started with a prejudice against [illegible] Mr. Bose," etc., may it be asked whether [illegible] sort of prejudice and its causes have anything [illegible] to do with President Patel's one lakh not [illegible] given to him?

The Financial Plight of Bihar

Mr. Sachchidanda Sinha's article in [illegible] March number of *The Hindustan Review* is [illegible] text of a memorandum submitted to Sir [illegible] Niemeyer at the request of the Government [illegible] Bihar and Orissa. It gives one an accurate [illegible] idea of the financial condition of the Bihar [illegible] Government. Bihar and Orissa was made [illegible] separate administrative unit in 1912.

". . . the budget of 1912-13 provided a revenue of 704 lakhs for Bengal (population, 45 millions) [illegible]

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ly 396 lakhs for Bihar and Orissa (population, 34 illions). The province thus started with a serious ancial handicap—an incidence of revenue per mille population of Rs. 1,165, as compared with that of 1,563 in Bengal; and Bengal itself was worse than other provinces."

How Bihar and Bengal are worse off than other provinces is shown by Mr. Sinha in o tables. He writes :

The table given below shows the expenditure per ille of the population in the various provinces, as ggested for 1935-36.

Bihar and Orissa	1447
Bengal	2234
United Provinces	2487
Assam	3101
Madras	3518
Central Provinces	3096
Punjab	4480
Bombay	6669

These figures call for no comment.

The other table is introduced with the llowing words :

The following table (which covers expenditure under following "Development" heads of expenditure—ientific Departments, Education, Medical, Public alth, Agriculture, Industries, Civil Works and scellaneous) show clearly the effect of necessary rechment in this province as compared with that in the her provinces.

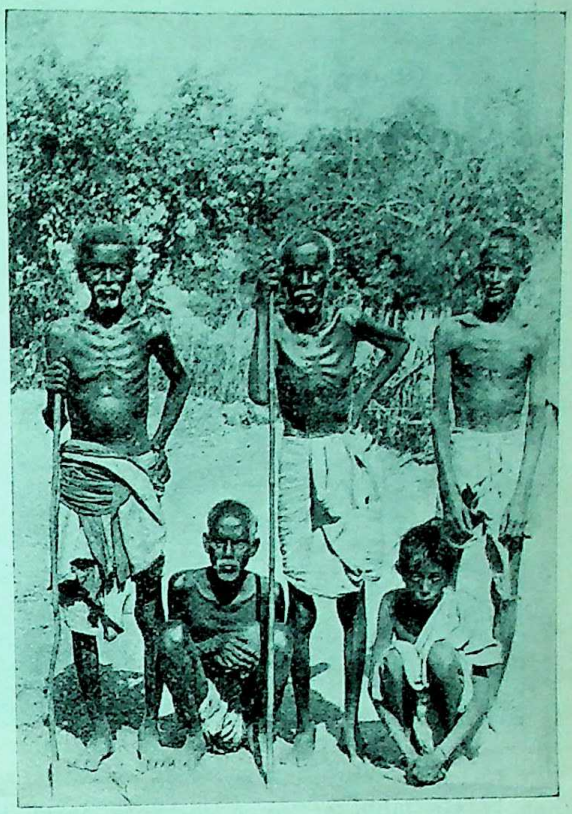
EXPENDITURE PER MILLE OF POPULATION.

	1929-30.	1935-36.	Percentage of reduction in expenditure.
Bihar and Orissa ..	693	514	26%
Bengal ..	761	764	..
United Provinces ..	769	798	..
Central Provinces ..	1260	1032	18%
Madras ..	1450	1358	6%
Bombay ..	2029	1882	7%
Punjab ..	2182	1731	21%

arcity or Famine in Bankura Again

Last year's floods following upon scanty ops created great distress in several districts the Burdwan division, including Bankura. his year again a large section of the population of that district has been reduced to great raits owing to very poor crops.

The Bankura Sammilani, along with other ganizations, have been giving relief to the ople in distress. The editor of this journal the president of this body and Mr. Rishindrath Sarkar, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, s honorary secretary. Those who wish to lp the poor hungry ragged people through is body will kindly send their contributions to Mr. Rishindranath Sarkar at 20A, Sankharitola East Lane, Calcutta. The photographs reproduced here are of people who had come for doles at the Jamjuri centre of the Bankura Sammilani.



Another body which has been giving relief is the Bankura District Relief Committee. The District Judge is the president of this committee. Other office-bearers and members are: the District Magistrate; Rai Bahadur Basanta Kumar Niyogi, leader of the local bar; Rev. A. E. Brown, principal of the local College; and many leading gentlemen of the town. Professor Sasankasekhar Banerji is its secretary. The treasurer, to whom all contributions meant for this committee are to be sent, is the treasury officer of Bankura.

The appeal to the generous public of this Bankura District Relief Committee states that out of a total population of 11 lakhs in this district more than five lakhs are seriously affected by scarcity of food, and that to save the lives of so many people some fifteen to sixteen lakhs of rupees will be required. The appeal adds that the district is suffering not merely from scarcity of food, but that there is great scarcity of water also, the tanks and wells having for the most part dried up to a great extent. The result is that men and cattle are compelled to drink muddy water, where even

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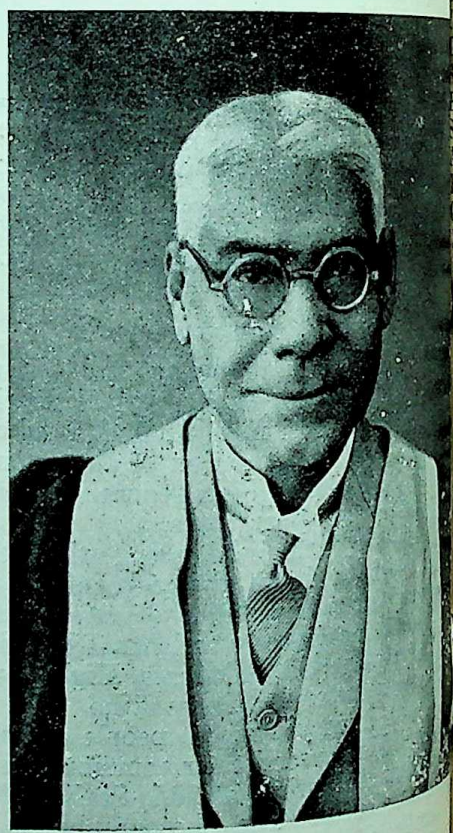
that is available at some distance from the villages.

Dr. Sir Kedarnath Das

By the death of Dr. Sir Kedarnath Das both the profession and the public have lost a very distinguished obstetrician. His career as a student was very brilliant throughout and equally brilliant was his professional career. He was an author of note in the subject which he professed and invented a surgical instrument which goes by his name. He made his mark as a teacher and administrator in connection with the Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta. He was a B.A. and M.B. of the Calcutta University and obtained his M.D. degree from the Madras University.



Dr. Sir Kedarnath Das

The Proposed Bengal National Museum

Mr. Mukul Chandra Dey, principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, has launched a scheme for a Bengal National Museum to be founded in Calcutta. The scheme comes appropriately from him, as he is himself a distinguished artist. We recall the days when he was a school boy at Santiniketan, a pupil of the ordinary school department but

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at a student of the Kalabhavan or art school here. He used even then to draw water-colour pictures, some of which, along with the works of various artists, were exhibited at an exhibition held at the Samavay Mansions, Calcutta. Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald was then on a visit to this country and happened to come to this exhibition. One water-colour by the boy Mukul Dey arrested his attention, and, after learning who he was, Mr. MacDonald said that, if the boy could be given opportunities for training, he would make his mark as an artist. He got such opportunities in this country, Europe and America, and now he tends with the help of the public to provide a home for Indian works of art, where they can be kept for exhibition or for sale, where lectures on art can be delivered and various other things done for the encouragement of arts and crafts.

Mr. Dey has received encouraging letters from many persons, including the poet, thinker and artist Rabindranath Tagore, supporting the scheme. We have no space to mention the names of all of them. We mention only a few: Gaganendranath Tagore, Samarendranath Tagore, Abanindranath Tagore, Surendranath Tagore, the Hon'ble Justice John Lort-Williams, C. O. Remfry (Chief Judge, Small Causes Court), B. C. Law, P. C. Nahar, M. D. Darbari, Dr. Stanley J. G. Nairn, I. S. K. Ghuznavi, Sarat Chandra Chatterji, Colonel and Mrs. E. H. Vere-Hodge, Dr. A. C. Ukil, Mrs. Louise J. Rankin, Sir Akbar Hydari, G. S. Dutt, A. H. Harley, L. R. Fawcus, S. C. Mitter, Dr. Frank MacCay, D. N. Wadia, J. V. Manen, O. C. Gangoly, Mr. and Mrs. D. W. Dodwell, James Buchanan, Lady Muriel Paget, Miss Josephine MacLeod.

Mr. Dey's scheme is useful and worthy of support. We wish him success. Rabindranath Tagore has written to him:

MY DEAR MUKUL,

I have read with great interest your scheme for a Bengal National Museum in memory of the late King George V. I agree with you that an organized centre such as you suggest could do much to educate our public in the value of the indigenous arts and crafts of this province and create a genuine interest in their promotion. It is an object very dear to my heart and I cannot help welcoming any endeavour towards its realization. You have my best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Rabindranath Tagore.

One Effect of the Communal Decision

In the following table we compare the average area, population and voting strength per rural constituency in the future Bengal Legislative Assembly.

	Area.	Population.	Voters.
General ..	1,999 sq. mile.	551,294	68,944
Muslim ..	651 „ „	242,168	29,596

Even if we allow for the multiple constituencies, in the case of the Hindus, the average number of Hindu voters per seat would be 37,606 as against 29,596 Muhammadan voters.

Calcutta University Constituency to be made A Government Pocket Borough

At present graduates of seven years' standing can vote for the Calcutta University constituency. The Bengal Government proposed the electorate to be restricted to fellows (80 per cent of whom are nominated) and the registered graduates. The Provincial Advisory Committee accepted it by a majority—the majority consisting of two Hon'ble Members of the Bengal Cabinet and the Reforms Commissioner, who seemed to take it for granted during the Committee discussions that the last word had been said on the subject—and of non-graduates, while the minority consisted of graduates of the Calcutta University. The Bengal Government proposal and that of the Provincial Committee restricted the electorate to registered graduates only, but the Hammond Committee has gone one step further, it has recommended only graduates of not less than 7 years' standing *whose names are borne on* the *Register of Graduates*. The result is a very considerable narrowing down of the electorate. According to the Command Paper No. 3922, the number of electors in the Calcutta University constituency in 1929 was 7,886. By this time, it is expected to have swelled to some 9,000. But according to the Hammond proposals, the approximate number of voters is going to be 350. [See Indian Delimitation Committee, Vol. II, p. 78]. And out of these 350 more than 100 are Fellows. The University Constituency is going to be converted into a pocket borough; for the Government of the day by manipulating the nomination of fellows will be able to influence the election.

J. M. DATTA

In the opinion of the wise men of the Hammond Committee any illiterate adult paying a small cess or tax is fit to judge of the qualifications of candidates and vote for the right person; but an adult graduate must be of *seven* years' standing and be a registered one, to boot, before he can be safely entrusted with the vote! British bureaucrats in India

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may have their reasons for thinking or pretending to think thus. But why did the Indian members cry ditto? We are not surprised, however. Government know the men they select to serve on their committees.

The extremely retrograde Hammond proposals cannot be too severely condemned.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

Japan's Readiness for the Next War

NANKING.

Japan has a standing army of only 276,647 men, but she can mobilize 2,000,000 men in the event of war, declared Mr. Liu Pai-Min, Professor of Japanese History at the Central Political Institute, in a lecture here.

Mr. Liu, recognized as one of the foremost Chinese authorities on Japan, said that Japan's military strength and industrial preparedness had shown "almost unbelievable growth" since Japan's war with China in 1894 and 1895.

Of Japan's standing army, 17 divisions consisting of 187,000 men were stationed in Japan proper, while the remaining 159,000 men were in Formosa, Manchuria and North China. The forces were composed of 17,343 officers and 259,304 soldiers.

Japan was the third largest Naval power. She had 269 ships with a tonnage of more than 1,000,000, and Mr. Liu predicted the early completion of her second naval replenishment plan, which, he said, called for the construction, before the end of 1936, of two 8,500 ton cruisers, 14 first-class destroyers of the 1,400 ton type, six submarines and a number of torpedo-boats.

The Japanese army's air force consisted of approximately 1,000 aeroplanes, while the naval air force had 24 aeroplane corps with 10,000 officers and men. The number of aeroplanes belonging to these air corps were, however, unknown.—*Reuter*.

Soviet Russia can bring into the field thirteen million soldiers. She has perhaps a larger number of aeroplanes than any other power. Her navy is not so big as those of the other front rank powers.

A Japanese Lady's Impressions of India

Dr. Kohra Tonika of the Tokyo Women's University, founder of the Institute of Home Science and the Executive Secretary of the New Living Movement in Japan, born of a reputed Samurai family, was the Japanese delegate to the All-India Women's Conference held at Trivandrum. *The Orient Gong* of Singapore publishes her impressions of India. She says in Trivandrum she met many leading Indian women of different communities, all working unitedly and whole-heartedly for the welfare of women in India. Our submission to the women leaders of India have been similar to Dr. Kohra Tonika's advice quoted below.

"From what I have observed, I have come to feel that Indian women should come down to the level of the poor people to work hand in hand with them and then only they would be able to fulfil the mission of the Conference. It is not always wise to depend upon the legal solution of all their problems, but the wo[illegible] face the real conditions of life and work d[illegible] and thus bring about the success of their work.

"In this respect my Indian sisters h[illegible] thing to study from Japanese women who f[illegible] sistently for their legal rights for full twenty y[illegible] brought many legislations passed; but these legi[illegible] come so slowly, while women's talents are spent [illegible] practical problems of everyday life. We have [illegible] wave over Japanese organizations not to [illegible] much but to go straight at our problems to be s[illegible] what we women in Japan can contribute to [illegible] in India is to advise them to be quite prac[illegible] like in home life without speaking much. We [illegible] are always trying to clean the Society, watch the [illegible] and feed our men.

"Japan no more believes in the theory of [illegible] Fate has nothing to do with the present-day [illegible] life. Japan always looks to the practical side of [illegible] great enthusiasm and practical attempts."

The British rulers of India appear to [illegible] that India of the past was an entirely or [illegible] entirely agricultural country and her [illegible] role now and in future should be that [illegible] supplier of raw materials. That is a [illegible] view. But assuming its correctness for [illegible] nonce, may one ask whether what Gover[illegible] has done for agriculture in India is [illegible] adequate? We know it is utterly inade[illegible] But let our Japanese visitor speak.

"Engineering skill and knowledge of the [illegible] tion of machinery in agriculture should be a[illegible] [in India]. The poor farmers work very hard [illegible] paddy fields. Sufficient irrigation has not yet com[illegible] land. If properly looked after, the rich nature of [illegible] soil will certainly produce more than enough [illegible] thickly populated inhabitants of the continent and [illegible] for the world too.

"In Japan, every inch of agricultural land is [illegible] vated like a garden. We had once no good [illegible] good water-supply and no irrigation system. All [illegible] difficulties have now been conquered. At pres[illegible] have in Japan even the so-called 'Vertical Agri[illegible] that is to say, we plant suitable plants according [illegible] heights of the land, and so we are able to raise [illegible] products even on the top of the rocky mountains."

Regarding untouchability and caste [illegible] writes:

"We hear much about untouchability and [illegible] system, but if Indians have so much love for [illegible] animals, why should they not overcome caste d[illegible] among them? In Japan we had a time when [illegible] System was in existence. Feudal System compelled [illegible] distinctions. There were nobilities, warriors, [illegible] artisans and merchants. Below them came untou[illegible] But we overcame it at the time of the Restorat[illegible] gradually social equality is established partly by Re[illegible] tion system and partly by compulsory public educa[illegible]

We have often said in our Bengali [illegible] English monthlies that, though we [illegible] rhetorically to the rise of Japan in order [illegible] encourage and strengthen ourselves, we [illegible] not taken the steps which the Japanese to[illegible] build up a new nation. Political reconstru[illegible] might have been and may still be beyond

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power. But social reconstruction is not so. Are not the bulk of the Indian people still indifferent, if not actually hostile, to social reconstruction?

The result of compulsory free education in Japan is thus described:

"Compulsory free education for every human child in the experiment we have gone through in Japan, with the result 99% of Japan is literate. Almost all women in Japan today can read newspapers and magazines. This is the basic method to bring up national unity as well as higher standard of morality. Patriotism comes only with unified feeling throughout the nation."

It is for this reason that British bureaucrats and their Indian servants have not been in reality in favour of universal literacy in India—whatever the professions of any of them may be.

Ever since we began to discuss public questions in our youth we have insisted upon universal literacy as the *sine qua non* of Indian progress. We are glad to find, therefore, that the essential importance of universal literacy is further stressed by the Japanese lady:

In India when I met Dr. Tagore, Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and many other prominent leaders, I found them suffering very hard and trying their very best to provide means for those starving masses of India and the uneducated depressed classes. Without literacy, ability to read and write, most of all 'to think,' all their efforts seem to me like pouring water upon the hot and burned stones to be cooled.

Perhaps the Japanese visitor is not right in grouping Dr. Tagore with the Congress leaders in general in impressing upon our "prominent leaders" the indispensability of literacy for the advancement of India. The Congress under its leaders since the twenties of this century has never attached due importance to literacy, though a few Congress leaders do value it. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, on the other hand, is quite aware of its value and has not kept his opinion a secret. In the address delivered in Calcutta during the recent Education Week he declared in effect that it was shameful that both the bodies and the minds of our people are starved.

Aligarh Makes Viceroy Doctor of Laws

The Bombay Chronicle, edited by Syed Abdullah Brelvi, writes:

A series of visits by high Government officials to the Aligarh Muslim University, which has been the distinctive feature of Dr. Ziauddin's regime, triumphantly culminated on Sunday when the Nizam as the Chancellor of the University conferred the honorary degree of LL.D. on the Viceroy. The address to Lord Willingdon was, not unexpectedly, couched in the language of the Court Poet and, of course, referred to 'the tact, caution and courage' of the Viceroy, who 'guided India through the period of gloom into the bright era of the new constitution which had earned the gratitude of all thoughtful Indians.' Fulsome flattery recognises no accepted standards and observes no moral rules. Dr. Ziauddin and his colleagues deserve thanks that they did not commit a worse outrage on thought and thinking. Indeed, the authorities of Aligarh are entitled to congratulations. They did not sell truth cheap. For, 30,000 pieces of silver, even though liberally alloyed with baser metals, are a thousand times more valuable than the proverbial thirty.

We have, ere this, expressed the opinion that, if a British ruler of India can boast of the promulgation of many ordinances and the enactment of many ordinance-like laws, the honorary degree of Doctor of Ordinances ought to be conferred upon him.

Is it the opinion of the Aligarh hierarchy that those who are not admirers of Lord Willingdon are not "thoughtful"? What do the Aligarh students think?

Origin and Home of Indian Muhammadans

His Highness the Right Honourable the Aga Khan, who is accepted either openly or tacitly by Indian Muhammadans of a political turn of mind as their leader, is reported by "The Statesman" of February 18 last to have spoken thus, in part, in addressing a meeting of the Executive Board of the All-India Moslem Conference at Delhi:

"Indian Moslems realized that most of them were of the same blood as their Hindu brethren, and that many of them were of mixed blood, and that those who had come to India with the Moslem invaders had settled down in this country for many centuries and had made India their home and had no home outside India: they were natives of India just as their Hindu brethren were natives of India. The mere fact that they professed a religion which was professed by inhabitants of other countries also made no difference. Just as the Afghan would not like Arabian domination and the Arab did not like Turkish domination, there is no occasion to doubt the genuine feeling of Indian Moslems for Indian nationalism."

What the Aga Khan said "Indian Moslems realized" is correct as a statement of facts, though we do not know whether "Indian Moslems realized" them to be facts. Our experience in Bengal has been that many leading Muhammadans in Bengal get annoyed if they are reminded that the blood in the veins of Indian Muhammadans is wholly or mostly Indian—though Hindus make such statements only from the anthropological and historical points of view, as Hindus have nothing to gain in the way of raising their intellectual, ethical and cultural status by claiming kinship with the Muhammadans. The late Professor Khuda

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Baksh, barrister-at-law, of the Calcutta University, who was a Bihari, was intensely disliked by large numbers of his co-religionists for holding and giving expression to the views now reported to be held by the Aga Khan and had to change his residence for fear of molestation.

Not very long ago, Sir Abdur Rahim, now the President of the Legislative Assembly, a few days after laying down the reins of office as an Executive Councillor to the Government of Bengal, said in his Presidential address before the All-India Muslim League at Aligarh that "he feels more at home amongst the Turkomans and the Afghans than amongst his next-door Hindu neighbours." We do not know, at least the newspapers did not report, how Sir Abdur felt when in November last some frontier tribesmen of Peshawar (all his co-religionists) shot at his car. Such irresponsible statements, having no regard for the basic truth underlying the facts and circumstances of the case, and made perhaps under the stress of the 'Curse of Public life—that they could not discuss any question, however grave, without introducing communal hatred' (our apologies to Sir Brojendra Lall Mitter), have been responsible for fostering the separatist mentality of the Indian Muhammadans.

It is quite true that Indian Muhammadans are natives of India, just as the Emperor Aurangzeb was, with this difference (in favour of that Mughal potentate) that, though he lacked neither wealth nor power nor orthodoxy, he did not order that after his death his body should be buried elsewhere than in the unsacred soil of India; but it cannot be said that no modern Indian Muhammadan has thought India unfit for his grave.

Curricula for Bengal Primary Schools And Maktabs

The Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education have decided to appoint a Committee to consider the curricula suitable to the needs of primary schools and maktabs and the question of religious education in these institutions. The Committee will be constituted as follows:—

Chairman :—Mr. S. N. Mallik, C.I.E.

Members:—Dr. Dhirendra Mohan Sen, Santiniketan, Mr. Anath Nath Bose, Teachers' Training Department, Calcutta University, Rai Bahadur Abinash Chandra Banerjee, C.I.E., Dr. Prem Chand Lal, Ph.D., Rev. S. K. Chatterjee, Head Master, Bishnupur Siksha Sangha, Maulana Md. Akram Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Alfazuddin Ahmed, Retired Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muhammadan Education, Mr. J. M. Sen, Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Miss S. B. Gupta, Inspectress of Schools, Presidency and Burdwan Divisions, Khan Bahadur Mr. Md. Maula Baksh, A. Director of Public Instruction for Muhammadan Education, Mr. Abul Hossain, M.L., Mrs. M. A. Khan Bahadur Tasaddaq Ahmad, Special Officer Primary Education, Mr. T. C. Roy, Retired Magistrate and Maulvi Abul Quasem, M.L.C.

Khan Bahadur Tasaddaq Ahmad is also appointed Secretary of the Committee.

We do not want to consider in detail the fitness of the ladies and gentlemen named above for the work to be performed by this committee. But it may be noted that the official section of the public interested in primary education and non-official non-Christian people carrying on the work of primary education in Bengal are not represented in it—at any rate not adequately represented. Hindu ladies who are not Government servants have not, to the least, taken less active part in primary education than Muhammadan ladies. But the committee has no Hindu non-official woman member. Among the members there is not a single person representing the critics of the Education Minister's primary education scheme either from the ranks of journalists or from those of the general public. While the Muhammadan critics of the alleged "Hinduizing" Bengali literature are represented in it, there is none from those who have rebutted such alleged allegations.

Biography of Haraprasad Sastri

A biography of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., D. Litt., C.I.E., is under preparation. The committee entrusted with the task of preparing and publishing it appeal to persons who have letters of the savant and similar material in their possession, to send them to Srijut Ganapati Sarkar, Honorary Secretary, 69, Beliaghata Main Road, Calcutta, who will return them to the owners after taking copies.

Congress Jubilee Celebration in Berlin

The Indian Students' Association, Berlin, celebrated the Congress Jubilee on Saturday, February 15, 1936. The function was attended in addition to the Indians resident in Berlin by many distinguished German guests, including officials and university professors.

The celebration had to be postponed because of the fact that the Association was being reorganized in its new club rooms (Berlin-Charlottenburg 4, Schluter Strasse 56).

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then in Badenweiler and Sjt. Subhas Bose then on his way to Dublin, were both invited to join in

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Jubilee celebration, but unfortunately neither could come. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in reply wished the function all success and Sjt. Subhas Bose, who has been intimately connected with the Association since its foundation, sent a special message for the Jubilee celebration.

In his welcome address the Secretary emphasized the special significance of the function owing to the coincidence of the opening of the club rooms with the jubilee celebration. Dr. Kanai Ganguly, representative of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, spoke briefly about the origin and growth of the Indian Congress movement.

In conclusion "Bande Mataram" and Tagore's "Janaganamanaadhinayaka" were sung.

Movement for A Women's Medical College in Calcutta

There ought to be a separate women's medical college in Bengal located in Calcutta. We, therefore, welcome the establishment of the Ramkrishna Medical Education Society for Women and accord it our support. An influential women's meeting has already been held for promoting the objects of the society.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Sivaji

It has been pointed out in the press that in his historical work, written while he was in prison and subsequently published, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has written that Sivaji murdered Afzal Khan treacherously. We have not seen the Pandit's book. But if there be such a statement in it, it may be due to the fact that the author had no reference library by his side and could not study what the latest European and Indian authorities on the subject of Sivaji's life have written. Now that he is in a position to consult books freely, he will be able to revise his judgment after reading what Jadunath Sarkar, Kincaid and others have written. There is no occasion to attack the Pandit for it. He can have no animus against Sivaji.

"India in . . ."

That annual volumes called "India in . . ." (some year or other) are not carefully prepared even according to the official standard must be apparent to all who have had occasion to read or consult them. The latest issue is even more unsatisfactory than the previous ones, and this has been officially admitted. And yet each issue is published under the general approval of the Government.

The debate on the vote relating to the Publicity Bureau of the Government of India has done at least some good. Sir Henry Craik had to tell the opposition that the Government never questioned the *bona fides* of Mr. Gandhi or doubted his probity. Whatever the real value of such an official admission necessitated by circumstances, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai is to be congratulated upon having elicited it.

Official and Non-official Annual History

Just as the Government of India issue an annual historical survey of events happening all over India from their point of view, so the provincial governments make such surveys in their respective administration reports. There are criticisms in the press, on the public platform and in council chambers of these surveys, showing that in the opinion of the public they are not unbiassed history.

While there ought to be such criticism, or rather, more exhaustive, thorough and comprehensive criticism, something of a constructive character ought also to be done. There ought to be non-official historiographers to write the annals of India year after year, as also the annals of the separate provinces annually. We are aware the publication of such annals, if they are to be quite accurate as far as humanly practicable, is attended with risk. But the risk should be taken. If they are written, and published after due forethought and precaution, some copies at least will remain in India and the world for the use of future generations, including future historians.

"Dominion Status" Again ! ! !

The British people call the Duke of Wellington the Iron Duke. In characterizing Prince Bismarck's policy the words blood and iron are used by historians. In our own day the word steel is used adjectively to characterize Stalin and his career. What metallic and non-metallic substances will be named in connection with Lord Willingdon's viceregal regime in India by future historians cannot be accurately anticipated. But no one can deny that he is a bold man. For on the eve of his departure from India he has again used the deliberately discarded words "dominion status" in connection with the coming so-called reforms.

In his speech at the farewell dinner given in his honour by Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, the Viceroy described the Reforms Act as "a great step forward towards India's goal of Dominion Status." Educated Indians are well able to take and have already taken a correct view of that

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Act. They consider it a retrogressive measure, one which embodies a constitution much worse than India's present constitution They will refuse to be misled by what Lord Willingdon has said.

If the Act had really given India a progressive measure automatically or evolutionarily leading to self-rule, Indians would not have minded the absence of the expression "dominion status" or any reference to it in the White Paper, the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report, or the Government of India Act, 1935. But the Act, as we have said, is a retrograde measure, and the use of the words "dominion status" was deliberately avoided in all these official publications in order not to leave any lingering hope of such a thing in the Indian mind. As it is a historical fact that such a hope was roused by words used by British Royalty and by British statesmen holding prime-ministerial, ministerial and viceregal rank, one member of Parliament felt it necessary to state in the House of Commons that Parliament was bound only by its own promises, pledges and Acts, but not by even the words of the Sovereign—and no one in that house dissented from that view. In the House of Lords, when the question of India's final political goal was raised the Archbishop of Canterbury declared in effect that the expression "dominion status" roused his repugnance so much that he would advise all people to give up its use if possible. But Lord Willingdon has not found it possible. Some British politicians have said and would have us believe that that expression could nowhere be used in the Act as it was incapable of a legal definition. Perhaps when Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald, Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax) and Lord Willingdon used it, they had some illegal or unlawful definition of it in their possession.

We have said that its use has been deliberately avoided in order to kill the hope of dominion status in the Indian mind. But it need not have been done with that object. For the most advanced politically-minded Indians have been for years hoping and still hope to reach the goal of independence—not dominion status.

Viceregal Sermon on Communal Strife

In the course of the speech referred to above Lord Willingdon also said:—

"But as an old friend and well-wisher I warn you that India can never attain national life until individuals will work entirely for the good of the country and not merely their personal advancement or gain and until she can get rid of bitter communal strife, which is at present a canker in the body-politic. It is my profound hope that under the new Reforms Act parties come into existence as in other countries, supporting different [illegible] principles, that those parties will consist of members of different communities who hold the same views, and that this will help to get rid of that communal strife which is such a terrible handicap to your political advancement."

These oft-repeated official sermons are perfectly boring. We have long known the hackneyed truisms they contain. But officialdom or bureaucracy in general ought not to utter them repeatedly or even once. For they cannot and do not denounce or oppose the Communal Decision (miscalled an "Award") on which the misnamed Reforms Act is based; they do not and do not condemn the reservation of seats for minorities (and an excessive proportion of jobs at that) for minorities; they cannot and do not openly support and in practice the policy of open door for the ablest irrespective of creed, colour, caste, class or race; they cannot and do not denounce the policy of giving the vote to some on a higher qualification than to some others on a lower one; they cannot and do not denounce the policy of decorating with titles and bestowing other official favours on rank communalists. The things which we have referred to above have much to do with accentuating communal bitterness and still and preventing the formation of parties based on similarity of politico-economic principles instead of on communal lines. Was it not recently declared in the Central Legislature by the official benches that communal tension is now greater than during the last twenty-[illegible] years? What is that due to?

If any member of the bureaucracy or officialdom after retirement can and does denounce all the evil things named above he can then, but not otherwise, become entitled to preach a sermon like the one delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India.

The Universal Peace Congress

While the forces of aggression and war are threatening to defy the codes of international law and ethics, the noble band of workers for the cause of Peace are pursuing their [illegible] with rare devotion and courage and have naturally drawn the sympathy and co-operation of leading men and women of different nationalities. Inspired by the success of the Peace Ballot of England counting over [illegible] million votes, the peace army of France has organized themselves into a grand party [illegible] the political and religious groups, by

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syndicalists and ancient combatants. So, the peace movements have been backed by eminent leaders like President Benes and E. Herriot, Manuel Azana and Salvador de Madariaga. Mr. Madariaga, who is the president of the Committee of the Five and of the Thirteen in the League of Nations, wrote with his usual brilliance the following message :—

"Peace is not a passive or finished stage, a sort of a Dead Sea wherein the currents of history would find their quiet death. On the contrary, Peace represents the highest activity of mankind pressing into its service some of the noblest functions of the human soul. Peace presupposes the continual creation of new values, new emotions, new ways of thinking. With that price alone we may hope to keep alive the new institutions of Peace. In short Peace is the highest and the most difficult form of World Revolution."

These profound sayings of Mr. Madariaga have roused enthusiastic response from thousands in Great Britain and France, Spain and Switzerland, Belgium and Holland, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and even a few representatives of the German social-democratic party who stand by the side of the noted writer Heinrich Mann.

From the Orient we find, among the supporters, the members of the Pacifist leagues of Cairo and Alexandria; and from India, ardent support to the organizers has been offered by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Ramananda Chatterjee.

The immediate programme is the co-ordination of the forces of peace followed by the nomination of the delegates to the forthcoming Congress.—D. Litt. (Paris).

(Compiled from a French pamphlet).

League Committees of the Five, the Eight and the Thirteen

In the foregoing note there is a reference to the Committees of the Five and the Thirteen. What they are will appear from what Miss Freda White said in the course of the discussion following the reading of a paper on "The Role of the Smaller Powers in International Affairs To-day" by Mr. Carl J. Hambro at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London :

It was well known that the small States were the best internationalists, the best "Leaguers." In the Disarmament Conference, for example, when there were two groups of States working together they were popularly known as the Straight Eight and the Crooked Five, and it was never necessary to explain to anyone who knew anything about the League which of those two groups was composed of small States and which of great States. The superior virtue of the small States, regarded as Leaguers, was not so much due to purity of policy in themselves as to the fact that they were weak. The great States trusted a certain amount to diplomatic action and a certain amount to international law, but principally to their own power. The small States, if they could not trust to the League and to collective action, were absolutely lost. Even if there were a European war, Germany would survive in some shape or other, but if there were a European war, Czechoslovakia would disappear off the map. It was no wonder that Czechoslovakia was a good Leaguer. That was why one of the problems of the League of Nations was a sort of conflict of interests between the great States and the small States.

The Usefulness of Small Powers

Mr. Carl J. Hambro has been President of the Norwegian Storting since 1934 and is a member of the Supervising Commission of the League of Nations. In the paper referred to in the previous note and published in *International Affairs* for March-April, 1936, he writes :

It is always easier to take an absolute attitude in a small nation than in a great State. But it is essential for the sake of international co-operation today and tomorrow that there shall be amongst the Great Powers some understanding of the fact that they cannot do without the small Powers in international discussion. In the development of international relationship the role of the small Powers may be very modest, but even if they only act the part of the slave who was placed behind the Roman Conqueror to remind him that he was only a human being, or of the little boy in Hans Andersen's fairy tale who alone dared to whisper that the Emperor had nothing on, that may be of great importance. It is often essential that there should be some people able to declare truths of this nature without fear of being punished afterwards. It is also essential that in all the great States public opinion should understand that when a small State acts independently and speaks the truth without fear or prejudice, even if it supposedly goes against its own interests at that moment, it renders a great service to the world.

Ban on Subhas Chandra Bose

LONDON, March 28.

Resolutions protesting against the repressive measures in India, and also the Government of India's attitude towards Mr. Subhas Bose and urging further that he should receive passport facilities for Britain, were passed at a meeting today at the Essex Hall, under the auspices of the India League.

Mr. W. T. Kelly, M.P., presiding, described the keeping of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose from his own country as being "contrary to British notions of freedom." The speakers included Dr. Edith Summerskill, who referred to the conditions of health in India.—*Reuter*.

Congressmen in India and those in Britain who are in sympathy with Congress politics have condemned the ban on Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Indian Liberals, popularly known as

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Moderates, condemn it no less. *The Servant of India*, the organ of the Servants of India Society and the foremost Liberal weekly, after summarizing the reasons of the Government for depriving Mr. Bose of his liberty without any trial, as expressed in the Assembly by the Government spokesmen—the Home Secretary, Home Member and the Leader of the House (Law Member), writes :

All these things may be true, but they prove nothing as to Mr. Bose's complicity in a violent revolution.

The cocksureness with which Government retail some of the incidents connected with Babu Subhas Chandra Bose cannot fail to arouse suspicion that they are acting under the influence of prejudice. For instance, we are told, he promoted a revolutionary organization called the Samyavadi Sangh, the intercepted letters in his own handwriting to whose members show that he "regretted the limitation of the Congress movement due to non-violence." One need not be a votary of armed revolution in order that one may believe that violence also has a place in national movements. Is Sir Henry Craik himself, who adduced what evidently he regards as a conclusive piece of evidence, prepared to pledge himself to utter non-violence in all circumstances? In fact very few people will be so prepared. But anyhow if Government have evidence let them produce it before any ordinary court of law. Until they have the courage to do so, the public in India will continue to believe that grave injustice is being done to a gifted leader who has captured the hearts of the young.

Germans in India

"United Press" learns that the German Consulate for India has received confidential instructions from the German Government to prepare and keep ready the full details of German residents in India, particularly those between the ages of 18 and 25. Details include the name, occupation, residence, accounts in bank, etc.

Though details are called for ostensively to safeguard the interests of German nationals in India if any emergency occurs, it is gathered that this move is in furtherance of the contemplated move of Herr Hitler like that of Signor Mussolini for a colonial conscription to meet eventualities.—*United Press.*

Tagore's Reply to Delhi Citizens' Address

Rabindranath Tagore's reply to the address presented to him by the citizens of Delhi has been thus summarized by the Associated Press :

It took time for wisdom to ripen and to enable one to realise that in return for any real service rendered the best gift was not honour, but love, which was the most precious form of gratitude.

Referring to the truth of the fundamental unity of man, the poet said, "I decided to cherish this truth in the heart of Santiniketan, and in spite of painful twisting of our heart's chords through all tension and unnatural relationship, we have been able to keep open in our institutions the channel of inter-communication of hearts—the hearts separated by differing circumstances, racial and historical. This is the highest ideal of human truth as preached by India."

Concluding Dr. Tagore said : "Let me conclude this address by requesting you not to burden me with honour, which so often is heavily padded with a great proportion of unreality, but garland me with [illegible] no more hand clapping, but warm hand [illegible] bring the healing balm of sympathy to [illegible] intolerable weariness of the last few miles of [illegible] journey. Now, when the lonesome toil of [illegible] years of my mature days has approached its end [illegible] dismiss me off cheaply with promises of memorial [illegible] when I am no longer amongst you, offer [illegible] succour even now when I sorely need it, and [illegible] memorial in my own hands and time's judgment."

Some Delhi Citizens' Practical Appreci[illegible] Of Tagore

New Delhi, Ma[illegible]

In appreciation of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's [illegible] towards the cultural development of the country [illegible] view of his failing health some friends of the [illegible] prefer to remain anonymous, have donated Rs. 6[illegible] the Visvabharati for which Dr. Tagore had un[illegible] a tour of the principal cities in India. Dr. Tag[illegible] accordingly cancelled his future programme of [illegible] will go to Meerut to receive the address arranged [illegible] Meerut Municipality.—*United Press.*

We are glad these worthy citizens of [illegible] have shown their real appreciation of the [illegible] educational and cultural activities in this [illegible] tical and substantial manner. It is a dis[illegible] to India—particularly to Bengal, that [illegible] advanced age and in broken health [illegible] almost every year to undertake long tou[illegible] collect money for his Institutions, one of [illegible] namely, the Agricultural and Village Re[illegible] struction Institute at Sriniketan has all [illegible] depended on the generous contribution [illegible] foreigner for its maintenance.

Had Tagore been orthodox in his rel[illegible] social, political, educational and cultural [illegible] and ideals—uttering popular catch-phrases [illegible] he been an educational megalomaniac in[illegible] of being India's greatest educational [illegible] who thinks independently, he would [illegible] probably got plenty of big donations. Pro[illegible] the fact of his being the grandson of "Pr[illegible] Dwarkanath Tagore has also stood in the [illegible] of his being adequately financed by his co[illegible] men, few of whom know that personally he [illegible] given unstintedly not only his time and phy[illegible] and intellectual energy but his material [illegible] sources also to his university. There ma[illegible] other causes which it will do no good to s[illegible]

Mahatma Gandhi Opens Exhibition At Lucknow

In opening the Khadi Village Indu[illegible] Exhibition at Lucknow Mahatma Gandhi s[illegible] at length on the condition of poverty-str[illegible] villages.

He said that he was the most village-travelled [illegible] in the Congress and spoke from experience and [illegible]

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at a large number of villagers in the countryside sted on a bare subsistence, that weakened them ysically and mentally.

Continuing, he said that efforts had been made since Ahmedabad Congress in 1920 to ameliorate the lot villagers and lately, there had come into existence All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India age Industries Association with a view to finding rkets to help the villagers. The villagers were dying starvation and the duty of the nation lay in playing r part to ameliorate their condition. Exhibitions re the fulfilment of his dreams in this connection and present exhibition was organized under the auspices both the associations. He exhorted all present to as advertising agents of village products and view the hibition with the purpose of serving villagers. An hibition had no entertainments to offer like a cinema, made them realise the strength that lay in a dead ntry.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi referred to the presence of Nandalal Bose from Shantiniketan, who was organiz- the art section of the exhibition, and said that alal Babu was a genius who had revived the glory Indian Art.

Another account says :

He traced the history of the Congress Exhibitions d in the past and characterized them as mere shows. said he had travelled a great deal of the villages in dia and was struck by the poverty of the country. s poverty, he said, had prompted him to form the VIA to help and revive arts and crafts in villages d their cottage industries. In the last Congress session Bombay it was decided therefore to entrust the orga- ing of these exhibitions to the AISA and the VIA. He pointed out that the Lucknow Exhibition s the first of this type organized under the auspices these associations. He expressed pleasure to see both cessfully translated the Congress wish into action.

Proceeding he pointed out how the teeming millions villages were dying of poverty and their arts and crafts numerous industries were vanishing for want of right idance and patronage. Efforts were made in this hibition to show those living in the cities what seven ths of villages in India could produce. He appealed those present to look at the various sections of the hibition where India's forgotten arts and industries re represented. He asked those present to become ertising agents of the Exhibition and do propaganda it.

ofessor Satya Charan's Lecture Trinidad

Mr. B. Singh, president, Arya Samaj, aguanas, Trinidad, has sent us an abridged ort of Professor Satya Charan's lecture on Comparative Exposition of Indian Litera- re," delivered at the Arya Samaj, Chaguanas, inidad, from which we make a few extracts low.

The lecturer surveyed all the successive stages of the elopment of Indian literature from Vedic period down the modern age and impressed on the public that ere was no other country on the face of the earth ood to possess a nobler record of literary achievements an the land of the Ganges and the Himalayas.

With regard to the common impression outside India that there is no Indian Literature but that the literatures in India are as different from one another as is Portuguese from Russian or Tchech from Danish, the Professor said that the literature of young India is intrinsically the same and the same national mind speaks through all the diverse media, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil or Telgu.

The cult of social service, the cry of rural reconstruction, the stir among millions of agriculturists, and the valuable researches of profound scholars in fields of Art and Science are all contributing to the democratic growth of India. Hence the democratic experience of young India is represented in every department of national literature.

The influence of Western life and literature on India had not been mean. As might naturally be expected, Western fiction, drama, and poetry furnished Indian authors with new ideas and modes of thinking. But they assimilated the best elements of Western literature without surrendering their personalities, loyal to their own wonderful literary tradition.

There is a happy blending of the Eastern and the Western Arts noticeable in all the departments of modern Indian literature. The cosmopolitan experience of young India has its literary counterpart.

While recounting the glorious achievements of Valmiki, Vyasa, Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Magha, Sur Das and Tulsi Das and several other classical and mediaeval poets, the Professor introduced the literary achievements of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. This was received with tremendous applause by the appreciative audience. Paying glowing tributes to the extraordinary poetic genius of Tagore, he spoke of him, the greatest living poet of the world, born to lead toiling humanity to the blissful rhythmic joy of the universe. This Aryan Saint-poet, with fine sensibility and exquisitely delicate temperament responsive to the very subtlest impressions, handles marvellously his lyrical tunes, wherein harmony between spiritual emotion and aesthetic perception based on intuitive inspiration finds its culmination.

Producers Of Raw Materials Not To Manufacture Them !

(*Reuter's Special Service*)

LEIPZIG, March 1.

A fervent appeal for redistribution of the world's raw materials was made by Dr. Goebbels in a speech opening the trade fair.

He said some were at present being literally suffocated by unused wealth, while others perished in poverty. It was time the world raised the madness of its economic methods which were everywhere causing anarchy to raise its head.

He added the problem of unequal distribution of raw materials would not necessarily be so great if sane exchange of it was not impeded by capitalistic blindness, political spite and the instability of exchanges.

Dr. Goebbels spoke to an assembly of fifteen hundred German and foreign journalists.

Mr. C. R. C. Nixon on behalf of the latter thanked the trade fair administration for its hospitality and referred to the depression which hit all countries alike, causing India particularly to lose valuable German markets for Jute and Tea. They hoped again to see a prosperous Germany. Mr. Nixon reminded them that India with a population of 350 million was perhaps the world's greatest potential market for manufactured goods:

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Evidently the idea is that some countries (not European), including India, are only to produce raw materials and buy manufactured goods from Europe. They themselves are not to manufacture goods from their own raw materials. A fine Christian idea!

Lowest Postage For Newspapers

All the cuts and reductions made in the budget of India in the Legislative Assembly are to be restored in the Finance Bill by the Governor-General's power of certification, except, it is stated, the change that registered newspapers weighing up to 10 tolas instead of 8 as at present are to be carried for a quarter anna postage.

When this alteration was moved by Mr. Paliwal, Mr. Bewoor, opposing the motion, said that "the change would cost the Government approximately Rs. 74,000. The rate was already the lowest as compared with other countries and had not been increased since 1898."

Mr. Bewoor is mistaken. In Japan the lowest postage rate for newspapers is half a sen. A sen is the hundredth part of a yen, and the yen is at present equivalent to about 12 annas of Indian money. So a sen is about equal to half a pice or one and a half pie, and half a sen is equal to ¾ pie. Hence in Japan the lowest postage for newspapers is three-fourths of a pie, in India it is three pies.

The Indian Oliver Twists

Twenty-three Muhammadan members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly have sent a memorandum to His Excellency the Viceroy regarding the representation of Muhammadans in railway services, in the course of which they say:

> Last year they prayed that the percentage fixed for Muslims in future recruitment on Railways, *viz.*, 25 per cent on an all India basis, was extremely inadequate. The Government have not, however, taken any action to increase that ratio. The Government has under its control only the four Upper India Railways, which serve the part of the country where the Muslim community is concentrated. To remove the injustice, therefore, it is prayed that the Muslim quota for the four Indian State Railways should be fixed at not less than 40 per cent.
>
> It is pointed out that those Indian Railways which are at present controlled by Companies are really the property of the Government. Therefore it will be extremely unfair to deprive the Muslims of their due share of the appointments on these Company Railways.

Charles Dickens has made the hero of his novel Oliver Twist famous because he wanted a second helping of gruel. But in I[illegible] have Oliver Twists whose appetite gro[illegible] what it feeds upon and who would not [illegible] tent with any definite number of help[illegible] is time for the kitchen-master to consid[illegible] is left for other-than-Oliver-Twists.

"Open Letter to the Japanese People"

As all Chinese have not yet be[illegible] quered by the Japanese and made their [illegible] it has been possible for a Chinese sch[illegible] journalist to write an outspoken letter [illegible] Japanese people and publish it in his [illegible] paper. The gentleman is Dr. Hu Shih, [illegible] a prominent editor and publicist and ow[illegible] edits the *Independent Critic* of Peipi[illegible] letter has been reproduced in *The Livi[illegible]* from which we make a few extracts [illegible] some appropriate introductory sentence[illegible] Hu Shih writes:

> The first message that I wish to convey to y[illegible] I sincerely beseech that from now on you will [illegible] talk about the so-called 'Sino-Japanese amity.' [illegible] during the past four years I have heard any Jap[illegible] this sweet-sounding phrase, it has always given [illegible] sickly feeling of pain—the same feeling of pain [illegible] suffered whenever I heard any Japanese militari[illegible] of the 'rule of benevolence.' To speak frankly, I [illegible] understand what these phrases mean. Your m[illegible] talk about the 'rule of benevolence,' when e[illegible] can see that what they really mean is the '[illegible] malevolence.' And you talk about striving for [illegible] Japanese mutual help and amity when, as a ma[illegible] fact, every one can see that you are only doing [illegible] utmost to sow the seeds of mutual hatred and [illegible] I presume that you must have enough sentiment [illegible] common sense to realize that under such circum[illegible] it is entirely meaningless to talk about 'Sino-Ja[illegible] amity.'

This is followed by his second message.

> The second message that I wish to give you [illegible] sincerely hope that you will not treat lightly the [illegible] of a people numbering four hundred millions. 'Ev[illegible] sting of a small wasp is poisonous;' it will [illegible] hard for you to imagine what injury may result [illegible] from the deep resentment of four hundred million p[illegible]
>
> I believe you must agree with me that for the [illegible] four years the Chinese Government and people [illegible] all their patience and submission, have gone far [illegible] in prostrating themselves before your unreasona[illegible] mands—demands backed by force. This they have [illegible] only because they recognize the superiority of your [illegible] and navy and have tried to avoid every possib[illegible] armed conflict, so that under this forced submission [illegible] might be given a chance to rebuild their badly sh[illegible] nation.
>
> But as we watch patiently the activities of [illegible] militarists, we have finally come to the painful [illegible] tion that there is no limit to their greediness.

He points out how Manchuria, then [illegible] then Chahar, then Hopei, . . . [illegible] satiated Japanese greed—they want "[illegible]

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puppet state in the five provinces of Northern China." "True it is that there is no limit to their greediness."

The Chinese editor's third message is :

My third message to you is : as an admirer of Japan, I strongly advise that you take care not to despoil yourselves of your marvelous achievements of the past and the great future that lies before you. The great achievements of Japan in the past sixty years not only present a glorious picture of the Japanese people, but may also be viewed as one of the great 'miracles' of all mankind. Anyone who reads the glorious records of Japanese history in the past sixty years cannot help feeling both awe and admiration.

But let me remind you of another Chinese proverb : 'A task well started, if not carried on in the same good spirit, is likely to end sadly.' It may take endless aeons for a people to build up a great country, but it takes only a moment's rashness to break it into pieces. I am not going to cite instances from the huge empires of the past. It was only about two hundred years ago that Spain occupied about half of the globe, and her colonies took up every corner of the earth. But where is her big empire now? The swiftness with which Japan rose to a world Power could not find a better parallel than the Germany before the Great War. Before 1914, Germany excelled every country in almost everything military equipment, political organization, industry, commerce, culture, science, philosophy, music and art. But the destructive effect of four years' wretched warfare turned this most admired country into the most disorderly and impoverished country in the world. In spite of her hard struggle for nearly twenty years, her position now is still far below her pre-War status. The more we examine these historical instances, the more we are convinced that we should 'be careful to end well.'

The letter concludes :

Therefore my last admonition to you is : I hope you will highly treasure the glorious achievements of your past, as well as your bright prospects for a great future. I feel constrained to offer you sincerely the above advice, because I do not believe that the annihilation of Japan would be a blessing either to China or to the world at large.

India's Economic Condition in Past Ages

Sir James Grigg, Finance Member, made a speech last month in the Assembly in reply to the debate on the Finance Bill. In it he made quotations from certain books to show that from the age of the Vedas to that of the Mughals the material condition of the people was terrible and that since the beginning of British rule famines have disappeared. He quoted Lord Curzon, who according to him had "proved how the British rule had given better prosperity, superior justice and higher standard of material wealth than this great dependency had ever previously attained."

We will deal with the subject of famines during the British period of history in the next note. In the present one we will speak of India's economic condition under British rule and in times past.

If it is to be believed that India was a poverty-stricken country before the advent of the British, were the foreign peoples who really came to India either for trade or for conquest and plunder, or for both, attracted to it by the poverty of the people? Did they come here to give alms to the people? Did they find, from a distance, the lure of the desert and of destitution irresistible?

But we do not want to prove the prosperity of India in former ages merely by asking questions like these. We shall adduce the evidence of British writers, premising that wealth and prosperity are relative terms, and if we want to have a correct idea of India's economic condition in times past, it should be compared with the economic condition of other countries in those ages.

Now for the evidence.

Thornton writes in his *Description of Ancient India*:

"Ere the pyramids looked down upon the valley of the Nile, when Greece and Italy, those cradles of European civilization, nursed only the tenants of the wilderness, India was the seat of wealth and grandeur. A busy population had covered the land with the marks of industry; rich crops of the most coveted productions of nature annually rewarded the toil of the husbandman. Skilled artisans converted the rude products of the soil into fabrics of unrivalled delicacy and beauty. Architects and sculptors joined in constructing works, the solidity of which has not, in some instances, been overcome by the evolution of thousands of years."

"The ancient state of India must have been one of extraordinary magnificence."

Dr. Robertson writes in his *A Historical Disquisition Concerning India*:

"In all ages, gold and silver, particularly the latter, have been the commodities exported with the greatest profit to India. In no part of the earth do the natives depend so little upon foreign countries, either for the necessaries or luxuries of life. The blessings of a favourable climate and a fertile soil, augmented by their own ingenuity, afford them whatever they desire. In consequence of this, trade with them has always been carried on in one uniform manner, and the precious metals have been given in exchange for their peculiar productions, whether of nature or art."

Brooks Adams has written in his book entitled *The Law of Civilization and Decay*:

"The influx of the Indian treasure, by adding considerably to the nation's cash capital, not only increased its stock of energy but added much to its flexibility and the rapidity of its movement. Very soon after Plassey, the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect appears to have been instantaneous; for all the authorities agree that the 'industrial revolution,' the event which has divided the nineteenth century from all antecedent time, began with the year 1760....."

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"Plassey was fought in 1757 and probably nothing has ever equalled the rapidity of the change which followed."

"From 1694 to Plassey (1757) the growth had been relatively slow. Between 1760 and 1815 the growth was very rapid and prodigious. Credit is the chosen vehicle of energy in centralised societies, and no sooner had treasure enough accumulated in London to offer a foundation, than it shot up with marvellous rapidity. The arrival of the Bengal silver and gold enabled the Bank of England, 'which had been unable to issue a smaller note than for £20, to easily issue £10 and £15 pound notes and private firms to pour forth a flood of paper'."

Sir James Grigg will perhaps agree that the Bengal silver and gold which arrived in England after Plassey and brought about the 'industrial revolution' there, could not have been taken from a poverty-stricken country. Direct evidence that Bengal was at that time wealthy—and the other parts of India were also rich at that time—is to be found in what Clive saw. According to him,

"The city of Muxudabad (the old name of Murshidabad) is as extensive, populous and rich as the city of London, with this difference that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than any of the last city."

As regards the economic condition of present-day India, we shall quote a few words from two authoritative official reports.

In the report on Constitutional Reforms, popularly known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the signatories, the then Secretary of State and the then Governor-General of India, have stated that "the immense masses of the people are poor, ignorant, and helpless far beyond the standard of Europe."

In the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report on Indian Constitutional Reform it is stated that in India "the average standard of living is low and can scarcely be compared even with that of the more backward countries of Europe."

If in the opinion of the past and present members of the British bureaucracy in India this is prosperity, then let them insert a few words in English lexicons against the words "wealth," "prosperity" and the like, defining what these are taken by Britishers to mean with reference to India.

The death-rate per mille per annum is an indication of economic condition. The following figures taken from the Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations 1933-34 shows the death-rate for some countries:

Canada	10.1	Germany	11.2
U. S. A.	11.1	Austria	14.0
Argentine	12.5	Belgium	13.3
Ceylon	22.1	Bulgaria	16.8
Cyprus	17.1	Spain	[illegible]
India	24.8	Britain	[illegible]
Japan	19.0	Australia	[illegible]
Palestine	22.1	New Zealand	[illegible]
Philippines	19.4		

Another index to the economic condition of the people is their expectation of life in years at birth. The following figures for different countries are taken from the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 171-172 ff.:

Country.	Males.	Females.
Australia	55.20	[illegible]
Denmark	54.9	[illegible]
England	48.53	[illegible]
France	45.74	[illegible]
Germany	44.82	[illegible]
Holland	51.0	[illegible]
India	22.59	[illegible]
Italy	44.24	[illegible]
Japan	43.97	[illegible]
Norway	54.84	[illegible]
Sweden	54.53	[illegible]
Switzerland	49.25	[illegible]
United States	49.32	[illegible]

Famines in Ancient and Modern India

Sir James Grigg, the Finance Member, m[illegible] in his speech the absolutely unfounded cl[illegible] that under British rule famine has disappe[illegible] from India. He quoted the Vedas to show t[illegible] famine was not unknown in Vedic times, a[illegible] he also cited the testimony of obscure histori[illegible] to prove the existence of famines in differ[illegible] periods of Indian history before the Brit[illegible] period. We do not at all claim that famin[illegible] did not occur in India in times past—did th[illegible] not occur in those days in other countries als[illegible] What we do assert is that during the Brit[illegible] period there have been more frequent and m[illegible] destructive famines over more extensive are[illegible] than in any previous age.

The Finance Member said:

"In 970 the condition in Kashmir State was th[illegible] the Jhelum river was swollen with the corpses of th[illegible] dead."

We will not draw his attention to th[illegible] terrible famine in the Bengal Presidency in th[illegible] seventies of the 18th century, for British ru[illegible] had not then taken root in the country. B[illegible] in the famine of 1837 in the Province of Agra

"In Cawnpore a special establishment patrol[illegible] the streets and the river to remove the corpses. The same thing was done in Fatehpur and Agra. In many places the dead lay on the road-side till wild animals devoured the corpses."

Mr. W. S. Lily, a distinguished British civilian, writes as follows in his *India and Its Problems*:

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"During the first eighty years of the nineteenth century 18,000,000 of the Indian people perished of famine. In one year alone—the year when Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, assumed the title of Empress,—5,000,000 of the people of Southern India starved to death. In the District of Bellary, with which I am personally acquainted, a region twice the size of Wales—one-fourth of the whole population perished in the famine of 1876-77. I shall never forget my own famine experience; how as I rode out on horseback, morning after morning, I passed crowds of wandering skeletons, and saw human corpses by the roadside, unburied, uncared for, half devoured by dogs and vultures; and how—still sadder sight, children, 'the joy of the world' as the old Greeks deemed them, had become its ineffable sorrow there, forsaken even by their mothers, their feverish eyes shining from their hollow sockets, their flesh utterly wasted away, only gristle and sinew and cold shivering skin remaining, their heads mere skulls, their puny frames full of loathsome diseases engendered by the starvation in which they had been conceived and born and nurtured—the sight, the thought of them haunts me still."

In the first quarter of the last century there were five famines, in the second there were two, during the third there were six, and during the last quarter there were eighteen. The estimated deaths due to famine during these periods were 1,000,000, 400,000, 5,000,000, and from 15,000,000 to 26,000,000, respectively.

According to the Famine Commission of 1878 the Orissa famine of 1866-67 was responsible for 10,000,000 deaths.

Bengal Physical Culture Conference

The Bengal Physical Culture Conference, held in the first week of March last in the Senate Hall, Calcutta, under the presidency of Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar was a very important gathering. Sir Hari Sankar Paul acted as chairman of its reception committee. In his address he stressed the fact that physical culture is necessary not only for building the body but is also necessary for intellectual vigour and for developing will-power and the moral qualities of self-control, courage and tenacity of purpose. Sir Nilratan Sircar said that in Bengal for well-nigh a century efforts have been made solely or chiefly to cultivate the intellect to the neglect of the body. The University has latterly recognised the defect and danger of such an one-sided development and turned its attention to the strengthening of the foundations of national vigour through physical culture. Medical inspection of our student population has led to the discovery of the alarming fact that 50 per cent. of our boys and girls have defective physique, some organ or other of theirs being unsound. This state of things must be remedied. One means to be adopted was physical culture, of which the object was not the turning out of a few world champions but the development of a sound and strong physical frame for all boys and girls.

A large number of devotees of physical culture in different forms attended the conference from different parts of Bengal, and gave demonstrations of various kinds of exercise and feats. Informative and instructive papers were read under the chairmanship of different sectional presidents.

"Deeksha" by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

The method of "Deeksha" or initiation adopted by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for the removal of untouchability at Nasik is a continuation of what he began to do a few years back. *The Indian Social Reformer* writes :

> The method adopted by the Pandit to admit the depressed classes to the caste Hindu fold, was carefully devised so as not to infringe traditional beliefs. The study of the Vedas is forbidden to castes other than the twice-born. All religious reformers respected this rule. But they also found that the Shastras themselves had provided other ways by which all classes, men and women alike, could attain salvation equally if not more effectively than by the rites prescribed by the Vedas. The great reformer who composed the Bhagavad Gita expressly declared that the path of salvation which he indicated was a surer and easier one than that prescribed by the Vedas. To one who followed his precepts, the Vedas, he said, were as little useful as water to one swimming in a flood. The Pandit following in the line of this tradition administered a simple vow to the depressed classes. The Nasik correspondent of the *Mahratta* describes the scene. He writes : "Deeksha means taking a vow that 'in the name of God I shall remain pure and shall be one with Him.' This is the practical solution Malaviyaji has found out from Shastras for the removal of untouchability. On the 17th Tuesday, he gave the Deeksha to nearly a hundred Harijans who had come from villages specially for this purpose. Mr. Rajbhoj worked with tireless energy for the Deeksha ceremony. Completely for two hours in the hot sun of March, Malaviyaji stood bareheaded on the bank of the Godavari, managing every item of Deeksha. At the end of Deeksha, when each Harijan asked for his blessings and when his frail hand lovingly touched each of them, tears glided from the eyes of all that had gathered there."

If the persons receiving this "deeksha" obtain proper instruction and guidance, they will benefit by it;—for no mere mechanical repetition of a few words can be of any use. Moreover, assuming that the initiated succeed in improving themselves morally and spiritually, persistent efforts must be made to give them their social and other secular rights in order that the depressed classes may become a self-respecting and respected section of Hindu society.

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Immediate Termination of Ottawa Agreement Demanded

NEW DELHI, March 30.

The Assembly accepted by 70 to 65 votes Mr. M. A. Jinnah's amendment urging immediate termination of the Ottawa Agreement and recommending the Government to examine the trend of trade for entering into bilateral trade treaty with foreign countries including England.

The Opposition received the voting with shouts of "Down With Ottawa."—*Associated Press.*

"Germany is Hitler"

BERLIN, March 30.

The election result broadcast at 8-30 p.m. yesterday, showed a vote of 99 per cent for Herr Hitler.

Thousands gathered outside the Chancellery to-night to hear the broadcast of election results.

They cheered and shouted for Herr Hitler who repeatedly appeared on the balcony.—*Reuter.*

BERLIN, March 30.

The final figures of the election will not be available for three weeks, but there will be practically no alteration in the present figures giving Herr Hitler nearly 99 per cent of votes.

The result was greeted with a triumphant pæan officially and was summed up in the heading of an editorial by Herr Rosenberg, head political officer, as "Germany is Hitler."—*Reuter.*

Local Self-Government Conference Resolutions

NEW DELHI, March 30.

The first session of the Local Self-Government Conference concluded this morning after passing about two dozen resolutions. The Conference welcomed the news of the arrival of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, ex-Executive Officer and ex-Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation to the motherland and requested the Government not to place any restrictions on his freedom and liberty on landing in India.

The Conference elected Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, ex-Mayor of Calcutta and Mr. Biren Roy, Chairman of the Southern Suburban Municipality, Calcutta, to represent India at the International Municipal Conference to be held in Berlin in June next, authorising them to invite the next International Conference to India. The Conference decided to hold the next annual session at Calcutta with the proviso that the Executive Board of the Indian Union of Local Authorities has the power to change the venue if the International Conference to hold its next session in India.

The Conference resolved that the Government of India should lend money, either direct or through provincial Governments, to local authorities at a rate exceeding the rate at which the Government of India borrows plus one per cent for meeting all [illegible] charges, and extend the period of repayment upto [illegible] years.

The Conference expressed the opinion that authorities in all provinces should have elected men, and election should not be subject to the [illegible] of the Government. Whereas the law, order and [illegible] are really provincial concerns, the Conference [illegible] that the cost of rural police ought not to be [illegible] subjecting rural people to further taxation, but [illegible] be met entirely from the Provincial revenue.

The Conference depreciated the policy of [illegible]ing Government officers to form education Sub-Committees also the policy of forming independent Education [illegible] for taking the subject out of the hands of local [illegible] It decided that the system of nomination in local [illegible] should be discontinued and a provision should be [illegible] for representation of minorities and special interests reservation of seats for them. Adult franchise for [illegible] and women over twenty-one years of age should [illegible]troduced in election of members to local bodies.

In respect of supercession of local bodies, the [illegible]ference resolved that the Provincial Governments [illegible] undertake legislation providing that no order for [illegible]seding a local body should be passed without [illegible] an enquiry by an independent committee and [illegible] session should be preceded by a dissolution body in [illegible] to enable the electorate to pronounce their own [illegible] on the conduct of the local body. The Conference [illegible]quested the Governments of such Indian States as [illegible] not yet started Local Self-Governing bodies to take [illegible] to start them as early as possible.—*Associated Press.*

ERRATA

P. 394, column 1, line 8 from bottom, [illegible] fell *read* felt.

P. 417, column 2, line 20 from bottom, [illegible] *for* maidans *read* maidens.

P. 420 column 2, line 3 from top, [illegible] mirgamanam *read* nirgamanam.

P. 421, column 2, line 14 from bottom, [illegible] guru *read* garu.

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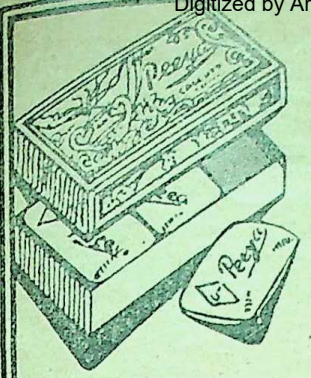

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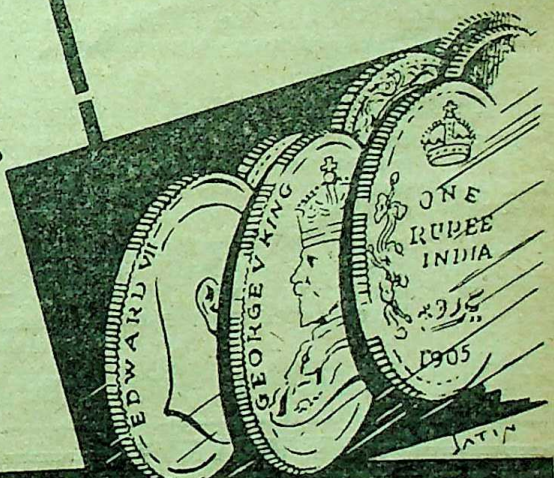

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Unfortunately, we do not have so many of these idiomatic phrases in "Loyalty" or "The Cake Festival," though the character of the boy Gopal in the latter is cleverly done. "The Letter" carries on the work of "The Ugly Bride." The narrator, an honest rascal, might have stepped out of Defoe. The children Raju and Molly are delicious. Luckily the author tries to extract no pathos from Molly's devotion to her dying sister. Sita Chatterjee's other two stories, "The Broken Lily" and "The Wedding Dress" revolve around the selling of brides and the *marriage deconvenance*. There are striking passages in these stories, plenty of colour and authentic description. But the girls are too beautiful and their fate too tragic.

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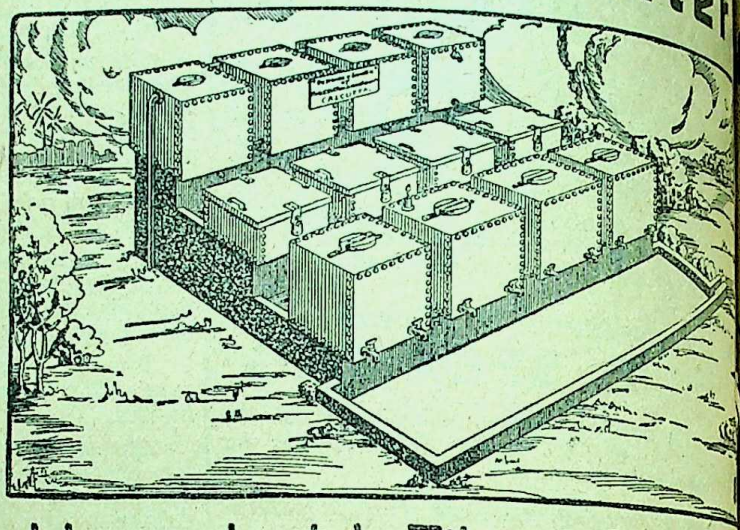

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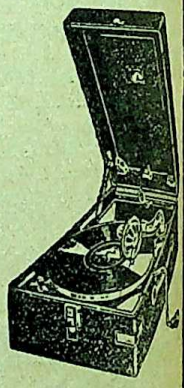

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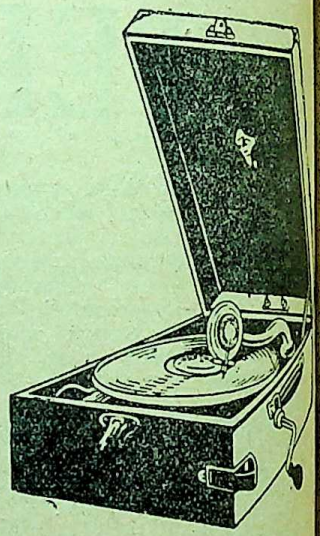

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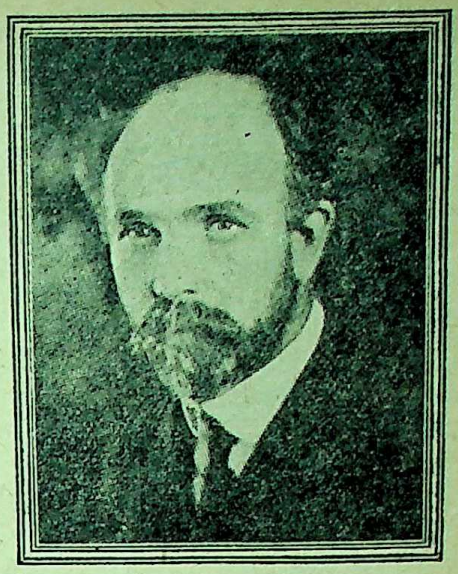

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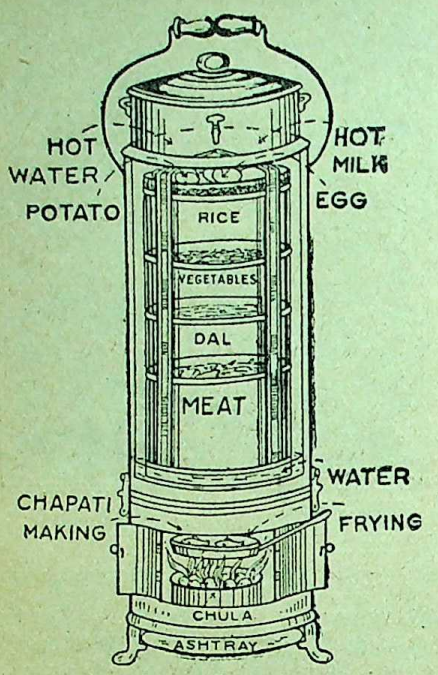

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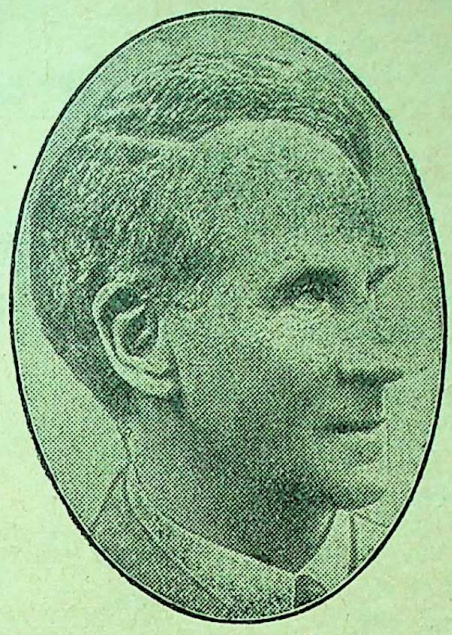

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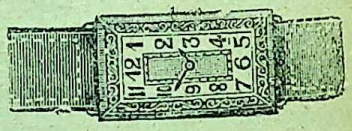

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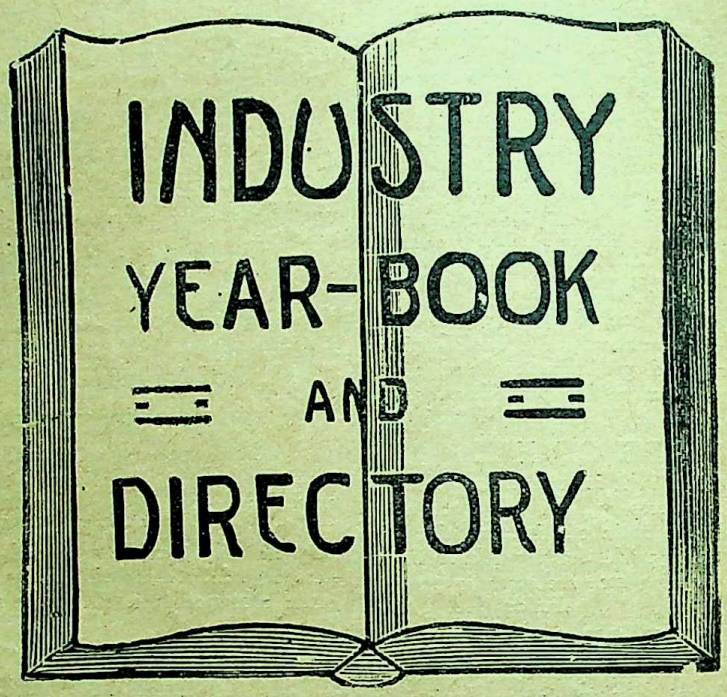

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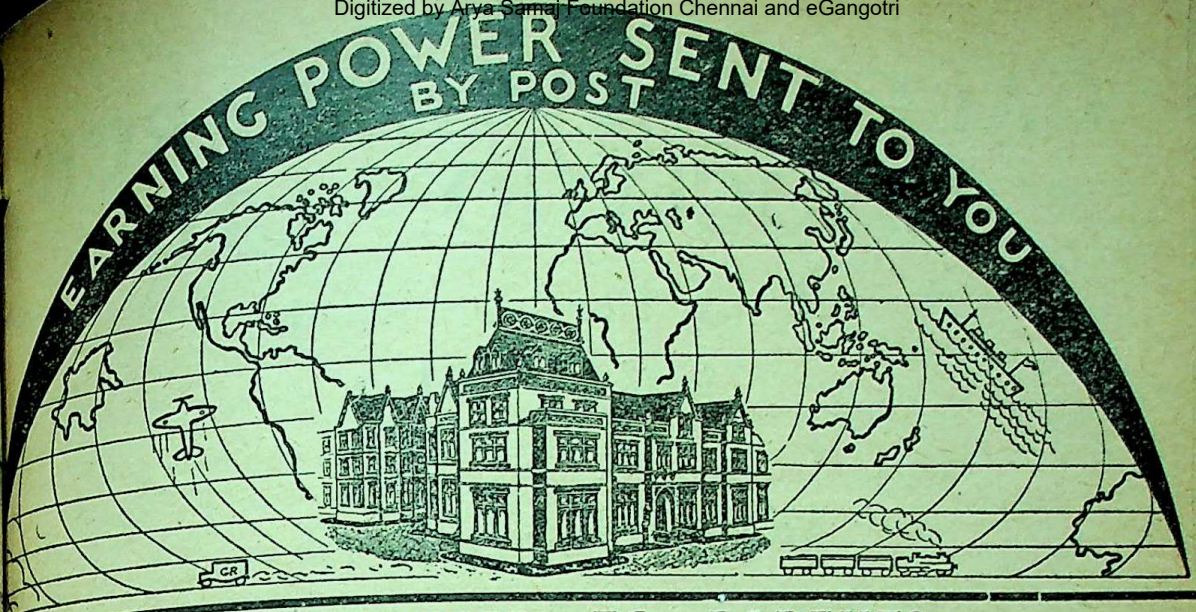

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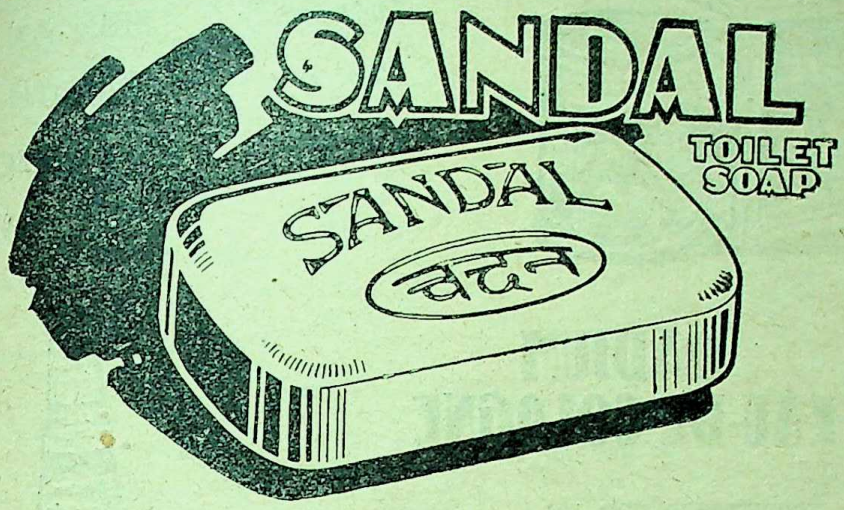

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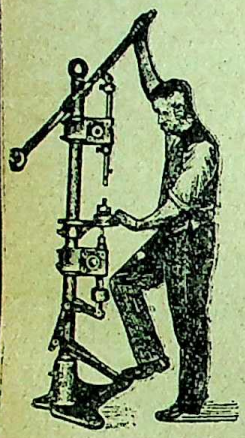

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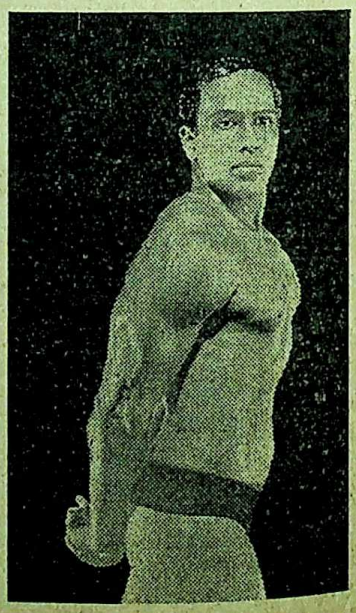

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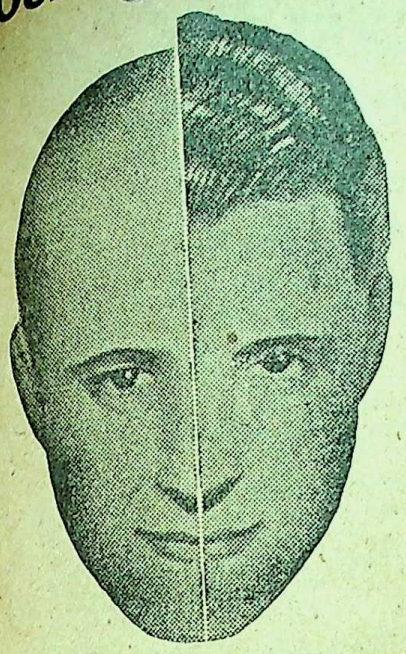

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Some Opinions of the Press:

The Young Builder writes :

Have already elicited high praise from such papers as "The Nation and The Atheneum," and "The Manchester Guardian." They give a graphic portrait of the social aspects of Bengali life, and will be read with great interest from cover to cover, being full of charm and pathos. H. C. K.

The Twentieth Century writes :

Both the sisters have won their spurs in the field of Bengali literature and are a force to reckon with.

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Quite legitimately, the position of the woman claims their attention. The dowry system, the bane of the Bengali society, comes in for a good deal of castigation at their hands. Humour coupled with matchless insight into feminine psychology and cultivated imagination heightens the interest of the stories.

"The Ugly Bride" stands facile princeps. Tara Sundari, the victim of her own wiles, has been drawn with a masterly hand. "The Broken Lily" reveals the grim tragedy of the life of a girl wedded to an old and decrepit man and brings into bold relief the curse of the dowry system. "The Cake Festival" gives the reader an intimate glimpse of the heart of a young widow doomed to a dull and drab existence under the harsh laws of a society, hide-bound by effete customs and crass superstition. It is also a vivid picture of a yearning motherheart. The rest also show their power of depiction and construction of plots. These talented sisters have touched up the sleek humdrum of our pinched existence with their imagination.

The style of each story is simple, graceful and chaste, though here and there, it has been marred by exuberance of imagination.

The Leader writes :

Tales of Bengal is a collection of stories written by the talented daughters of the well known publicist, Babu Ramananda Chatterjee editor of the *Modern Review*. Santa Chatterjee and Sita Chatterjee write both in Bengali and English and their stories bear evidence of imagination and sympathy.

The first story in this collection has for its theme one of those worldly-wise old women, who make it a point to feel interested in the affairs of every else. They escape with all their impertinences as before to ask, listen, and offer advice, Chatterjee, however, does not allow her old to escape.

In 'Loyalty' and the 'Cake Festival', the mood is abandoned and pathoes envelopes the in a sombre mantle.

Sita Chatterjee is obviously deeply moved by evils in the Bengali society. Her protests criticisms, however, are silent and effective. Her are mute, pitiable creatures. her widows are characters, and there is the dowry which still its victims in Bengal and elsewhere.

Above all it may be hoped that Santa and Chatterjee will serve as examples to show that not necessary for our Indian authors to get mental when writing a story or a novel.

The Guardian writes :

The talented daughters of the Editor of *Modern Review* have specialised in writing stories have avoided vague pictures of Indian life by ing in minutest detail their own environment—Home life. The stories look simple when but the hidden life of the village women of is such a mixture of crudeness and charm narrator of its story may fail to convey the of its emotions and feelings in preserving of detail. The stories of the Chatterjee sisters remarkable for making every incident the vehicle the depth of agelong sentiments that surge in breasts of simple village folks. The stories prose much what folk-songs would convey in form, exhibiting simple thoughts, romance, fears, foibles and also the sturdy qualities that marked ancient Indian life. Fresh charm is in many of these pictures by revealing the the imperceptible pervasion of new ideas. The do not show violent social conflicts as is the method of writers on social themes, but mild intrusion of new influences which traditional settings. These half a dozen stories delicate pieces which should fascinate Indian also, while * * * * * they have enraptured readers. * * * they are a valuable addition literature.

The Tribune writes :

In as much as all great Art is suggestive, we safely say that "Tales of Bengal," is a extraordinary book. It glows and glitters on page. As vigorous but genial satirists Santa Sita Chatterjee, distinguished daughters of Ramananda Chatterjee, the gifted Editor of Review," have been thoroughly successful view to correct the shams, shallowness and

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of their times, it is but necessary on their part to expose them, but the way in which they blend the qualities of realism, ease and humour with a knowledge of the present-day Hindu social life is, indeed, remarkable. "Tales of Bengal" offer us a rich variety of comedy and tragedy in which keen satire has been tempered with ready and abundant charity. The book is also full of literary excellences and will appeal to all who are deeply interested in solving one of our pressing and perplexing social problems. In Bengal, it seems, Chatterjee sisters are playing the same role at present which was played by W. M. Thackeray during the last century in England.

The Hindu writes :

...the merit of those stories has been recognised on all sides.

The task of evaluation has already been done and it is generally agreed that "The Ugly Bride" by Santa Chatterjee and "The Letter" by her sister are the best stories in the collection. In the former the scene in the women's compartment of the railway train carries complete conviction. A young mother travelling with her sick child is described with vivid realism. The writer's similes are particularly interesting: "looking more *like a dried fish* than a human being," "she had a gold circlet hanging from an ugly nose like the *moat of an ancient city*." Scrutinizing her nose at the end of the story and seeing her daughter-in-law at the end of the story the old woman cries : "It is that broomstick of a girl, that black owl, we met in the train !"

Unfortunately, we do not have so many of these dramatic phrases in "Loyalty" or "The Cake Festival" but the character of the boy Gopal in the latter is cleverly done. "The Letter" carries on the work of "The Ugly Bride." The narrator, an honest rascal, might have stepped out of Defoe. The children Raju and Molly are delicious. Luckily the author tries to extract no pathos from Molly's devotion to her dying sister. Sita Chatterjee's other two stories, "The Broken Lily" and the "Wedding Dress" revolve around the selling of brides and the *marriage de convenance*. There are striking passages in these stories, plenty of colour and authentic description. But the girls are too beautiful and their fate too tragic.

There is an immense field for the writer of fiction in India. This Book of short stories shows what can be done by honest writers.

"**The Hindustan Times**" writes :

Most people are familiar with, and resign themselves to the involved and artificial language that comes from the pens of Indian writers of fiction in English. To them this book will come as a relief and a pleasant surprise. Both the contributors have expressed themselves neatly and simply, and there are but very few traces of "Indo-anglian" crudeness. "The Ugly Bride" by Santa Chatterjee and "The Letter,,' by Sita, contain well executed feminine character deliniations. The plots are simple and effective, and a humorous twist at the end the "Ugly Bride" adds to its merit.

"**The Hindusthan Review**" writes :

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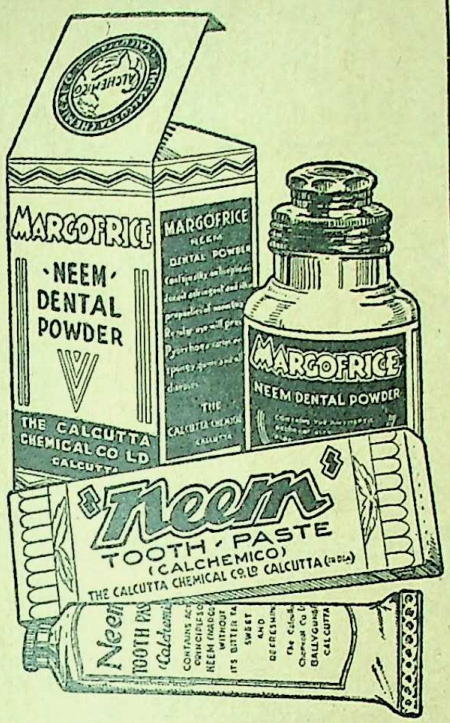

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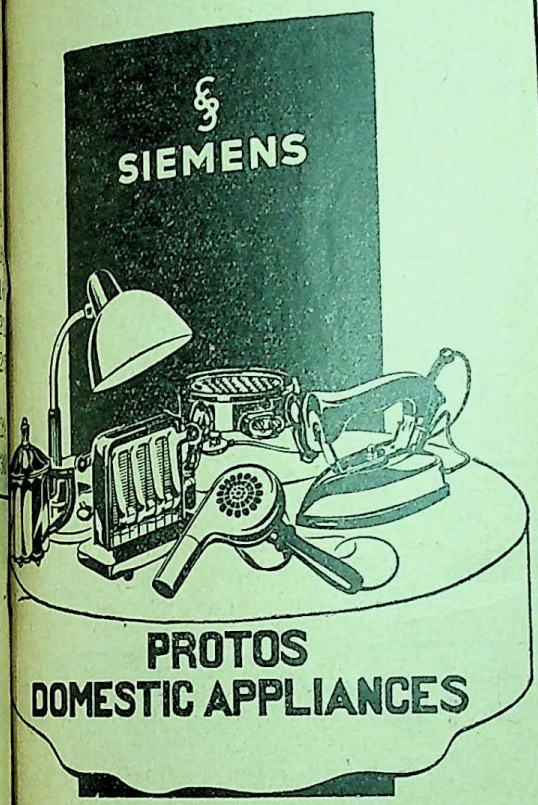

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INDIAN GENIUS IN POLITICS

BY SRI AUROBINDO

THE true nature of the Indian polity can only be realized if we look at it, not as a separate thing, a machinery independent of the rest of the mind and life of the people, but as a part of and in its relation to the organic totality of the social existence. The master idea that has governed the life, culture and social ideals of the Indian people has been the seeking of man for his true spiritual self and the use of life as a frame and means for that discovery and for man's ascent from the ignorant natural into the spiritual existence. This dominant idea India has never quite forgotten even under the pressing needs and the externalities of political and social construction. But the difficulty of making the social life an expression of man's true self and some highest realization of the spirit within him is immensely greater than that which attends a spiritual self-expression through the things of the mind, religion, thought, art and literature. In these India reached extraordinary heights and largenesses, but in the outward life she could not go beyond certain very partial realizations and very imperfect tentatives,—a general spiritualizing symbolism, an infiltration of the greater aspiration, a certain cast given to the communal life, the creation of institutions favourable to the spiritual idea. Politics, society, economics are the natural field of the two first and grosser parts of human aim and conduct recognized in the Indian system—interest (*artha*) and hedonistic desire (*kama*): Dharma, the higher law, has nowhere been brouhgt more than partially into this outer side of life, and in politics to a very minimum extent; for the effort at governing political action by ethics is usually little more than a pretence. The co-ordination or true union of the collective outward life with *Moksha*, the liberated spiritual existence, has hardly even been conceived or attempted, much less anywhere achieved in the past history of the yet hardly adult human race. Accordingly, we find that the governance of India's social and economic existence, and even, though here the attempt broke down earlier than in the others, her political life by the Dharma, was as far as her ancient system could advance. A spiritual significance there was behind her social forms, but attainment of the spiritual life was left as a supreme aim to the effort of the individual. This much endeavour, however, the rule of the Dharma, she did make with persistence and patience and it gave a peculiar type to her social polity. It is perhaps for a future India to fulfil her ancient mission of reconciling the outward life and spirit. It is not yet possible for a yet half-evolved humanity to found the status and action of the collective being of man on the realization of the deeper spiritual truth, the yet unrealized spiritual potentialities of our existence, or so to ensoul the life of a people as to make it the *Lila* of the greater Self in humanity, a conscious communal soul and body of *Virat*, the universal spirit.

Another point must be noted which creates a difference between the ancient polity of Indian and that of the European peoples and makes the standards of the West as inapplicable here

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as in the things of the mind and the inner culture. Human society has in its growth to pass through three stages of evolution, before it can arrive at the completeness of its possibilities. The first is a condition in which the forms and activities of the communal existence are those of the spontaneous play of the powers and principles of its life. All its growth, all its formations, customs, institutions are then a natural organic development. The motive and constructive power come mostly from the subconscient principle of the life within it. The social structure and its forms express, but without any deliberate intention, the communal psychology, the temperament, the vital and physical need of the community; they and these persist, or they alter, not by deliberate reasoned adaptation to new needs, but partly under the pressure of an internal impulse, partly under that of the environment acting on the communal mind and temper. In this stage the people is not yet intelligently self-conscious in the way of the reason, is not yet a thinking collective being, and it does not try to govern its whole communal existence by the reasoning will, but lives according to its vital intuitions or their first mental renderings. The early framework of Indian society and polity grew up in such a period, as in most ancient and mediaeval communities; but even in the later age of a growing social self-consciousness they were not rejected but only farther shaped, developed, systematised so as to be always an organic continuation of the past; at no time did it become a construction devised by politicians, legislators and social and political thinkers, but remained a strongly stable vital order natural to the mind, instincts and life intuitions of the Indian people.

A second stage of the society is that in which the communal mind becomes more and more intellectually self-conscious, first in its more cultured minds, then more generally. Then it learns to review and deal with its own life, communal ideas, needs, institutions in the light of the developed intelligence and finally by the power of the critical and constructive reason. This is a stage which is full of great possibilities but attended too by serious characteristic dangers. Its first advantages are those which go always with the increase of a clear understanding and finally an exact and scientific knowledge and the culminating stage is the strict and armoured efficiency which the critical and constructive, the scientific reason, used to the fullest degree, offers as its reward and consequence. Another and greater outcome of this stage of social evolution is the emer[illegible] of high and luminous ideals which pro[illegible] raise man beyond the limits of the vital [illegible] This intellectual social idealism spurs him [illegible] beyond his first social, economic and pol[illegible] needs and desires, urges him to break o[illegible] their customary moulds and inspires an im[illegible] of bold experiment with the communal life [illegible] opens a field of possibility for the realiz[illegible] of a more and more ideal society. The app[illegible] tion of the scientific mind to life with the [illegible] well-finished, armoured efficiency which is [illegible] normal highest result, the pursuit of [illegible] consciously proposed social and political ide[illegible] and the progress which is the index of [illegible] ground covered in the endeavour, have be[illegible] with whatever limits and drawbacks, the [illegible] tinguishing advantages of the political [illegible] social effort of Europe.

On the other hand, the tendency of [illegible] reason when it pretends to deal with [illegible] materials of life as its absolute governor, is [illegible] look far away from the reality of the socia[illegible] as a living growth; it tends to treat it as [illegible] mechanism which can be manipulated at [illegible] and constructed like so much dead wood [illegible] iron according to arbitrary dictates of [illegible] intelligence. The sophisticating, labouring constructing, efficient, mechanising reason los[illegible] hold of the simple principles of a people [illegible] vitality; it cuts it away from the secret ro[illegible] of its life. The result is an exagger[illegible] dependence on system and institution, on legislation and administration, on machine-like organization, and the deadly tendency [illegible] develop in place of a living people a mechanical State. An instrument of the communal life tries to take the place of the life itself and there is created a powerful engine, an artifical organization in place of a natural organism. As the price of this exterior gain, there is lost the truth of life of an organically self-developing communal soul in the body of a free and living people. It is this error of the scientific reason stifling the work of the vital and the spiritual intuition under the dead weight of its mechanical method which is the weakness of Europe and has deceived her aspiration and prevented her from arriving at the true realization of her own higher ideals.

It is only by reaching a third stage of the evolution of the collective social as of the individual human being that the ideals first seized and cherished by the thought of man can discover their own real source and character and their true means and conditions of effectuation. Only then can the perfect society be ar[illegible]

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thing more than a vision on a shining cloud constantly run after in a circle and constantly deceiving the hope and escaping the embrace. That will be when man in the collectivity begins to live more deeply and to govern his collective life neither primarily by the needs, instincts, intuitions welling up out of the vital self, nor secondarily by constructions of the reasoning mind, but first, foremost and always by the power of unity, sympathy, spontaneous liberty, supple and living order of his discovered greater self and spirit. It is in this greater self that the individual and the communal existence have their law of freedom, perfection and oneness. That is a rule that has not yet anywhere found its right conditions for even beginning its effort. It can only come when man's attempt to reach and abide by the law of the spiritual existence is no longer an exceptional aim for individuals or else degraded in its more general aspiration to the form of a popular religion, but is recognized and followed out as the imperative need of his being and its true and right attainment is perceived to be the necessary next step in the evolution of the race.

The small early Indian communities developed like others through the first of these stages; a vigorous and spontaneous vitality, finding naturally and freely its own norm and line, casting up form of life and social and political institution out of the vital intuition and temperament of the communal being. As these small communities fused with each other into an increasing cultural and social unity and formed larger and larger political bodies, they developed a common spirit and a common basis and general structure allowing of a great freedom of variation in minor line and figure. There was no need of a rigid uniformity; the common spirit and life impulse were enough to impose on this plasticity a law of general oneness. And even when there grew up the great kingdoms and empires, still the characteristic institutions of the smaller kingdoms, republics, peoples were as much as possible incorporated rather than destroyed or thrown aside in the new cast of the socio-political structure. Whatever could not survive in the natural evolution of the people or was no longer needed, fell away of itself and passed into desuetude; whatever could last by modifying itself to new circumstance and environment, was allowed to survive: whatever was in intimate consonance with the psychical and the vital law of being and temperament of the Indian people became universalized and took its place in the enduring figure of the society and polity.

This spontaneous principle of life was respected by the age of growing intellectual culture. The Indian thinkers on society, economics and politics, Dharma Shastra and Artha Shastra, made it their business not to construct ideals and systems of society and government in the abstract intelligence, but to understand and regulate by the practical reason the institutions and ways of communal living already developed by the communal mind and life. New development was fixed and harmonized without breaking the original elements. Whatever new element or idea was needed was added or introduced as a superstructure or a modifying but not a revolutionary and destructive principle. It was in this way that the transition from the earlier stages to the fully developed monarchical polity was managed; it proceeded by an incorporation of the existing institutions under the supreme control of the king or the emperor. The character and status of many of them was modified by the pressure of the monarchical or imperial system, but, as far as possible, they did not pass out of existence. As a result we do not find in India the element of intellectually idealistic political progress or revolutionary experiment which has been so marked a feature of ancient and modern Europe. A profound respect for the creations of the past as the natural expression of the Indian mind and life, the sound manifestation of its Dharma or right law of being, was the strongest element in the mental attitude and this preservative instinct was not disturbed but rather yet more firmly settled and fixed by the great millenium of high intellectual culture. A slow evolution of custom and institution conservative of the principle of settled order, of social and political precedent, of established framework and structure, was the one way of progress possible or admissible. On the other hand Indian polity never arrived at that unwholesome substitution of the mechanical for the natural order of the life of the people which has been the disease of European civilization now culminating in the monstrous artificial organization of the bureaucratic and industrial State. The advantages of the idealizing intellect were absent, but so also were the disadvantages of the mechanizing rational intelligence.

The Indian mind has always been profoundly intuitive in habit even when it was the most occupied with the development of the reasoning intelligence, and its political and

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social thought has therefore been always an attempt to combine the intuitions of life and the intuitions of the spirit with the light of the reason acting as an intermediary and an order-ing and regulating factor. It has tried to base itself strongly on the established and persistent actualities of life and to depend for its idealism, not on the intellect, but on the illuminations, inspirations, higher experiences of the spirit; it has used the reason as a critical power testing and assuring the steps and aiding but not replacing the life and the spirit—always the true and sound constructors. The spiritual mind of India regarded life as a manifestation of the self: the community was the body of the creator Brahma, the people was a life body of Brahman in the *samashti*, the collectivity; it was the collective Narayana, as the individual was Brahman in the *vyashti*, the separate Jiva, the individual Narayana; the king was the living representative of the Divine and the other orders of the community the natural powers of the collective self, *prakritayah*. The agreed conventions, institutes, customs constitu-tion of the body social and politic in all its parts had therefore not only a binding authority but a sacred and religious character.

The right order of human life as of the universe is preserved according to the ancient Indian idea by each individual being following faithfully his *swadharma*, the true law and norm of his nature and the nature of his kind and by the group being, the organic collective life, doing likewise. The main function of the political sovereign, the king and council and the other ruling members of the body politic, was therefore to serve and assist the maintenance of the sound law of life of the society; the sovereign was the guardian and administrator of the Dharma. The function of society itself included the right satisfaction of the vital economic and other needs of the human being and of his hedonistic claim to pleasure and enjoyment; but this was to be done according to their right law and measure of satisfaction subject and subordinated to the ethical and social and religious Dharma. All the members and groups of the socio-political body had their Dharma determined for them by their nature, their position, their relation to the whole body and must be assured and maintained in the free and right exercise of it; they must be left to their own natural and self-determined func-tioning within their own bounds, but at the same time restrained from any transgression, encroachment or deviation from their right working and true limits. That was the office of the supreme political authority, the sov[illegible] in his Council aided by the public assem[illegible] It was not the business of the state aut[illegible] to interfere with or encroach upon the [illegible] functioning of the caste, religious comm[illegible] guild, village, township or the organic [illegible] of the region or province or to abrogate [illegible] rights, for these were inherent because nece[illegible] to the sound exercise of the social Dharma. [illegible] that it was called upon to do was to co-ordin[illegible] to exercise a general and supreme control [illegible] defend the life of the community agains[illegible] ternal attack or internal disruption, to re[illegible] crimes and disorders, to assist, promote [illegible] regulate in its larger lines the economic [illegible] industrial welfare, to see to the provision [illegible] facilities, and to use for these purposes [illegible] powers that passed beyond the scope of [illegible] others.

Thus in effect the Indian polity was [illegible] system of a very complex communal free[illegible] and self-determination; each group unit of [illegible] community had its own natural existence [illegible] administered its own proper life and busi[illegible] set off from the rest by a natural demarca[illegible] of its field and limits, but connected with [illegible] whole by well-understood relations. Each gr[illegible] was a co-partner with the others in the pow[illegible] and duties of the communal existence; e[illegible] executed its own laws and rules, admini[illegible] within its own proper limits, but jo[illegible] with the others in the discussion [illegible] the regulation of matters of a mutual [illegible] common interest and was represented in s[illegible] way and to the degree of its importance in [illegible] general assemblies of the kingdom or emp[illegible] The State, sovereign or supreme poli[illegible] authority was an instrument of co-ordina[illegible] and of a general control and efficiency [illegible] exercised a supreme but not an absol[illegible] authority; for in all its rights and powers [illegible] was limited by the law and by the will of [illegible] people and in all its internal functions only [illegible] co-partner with the other members of the soc[illegible] political body.

This was the theory and principle and [illegible] actual constitution of the Indian polity, [illegible] complex of communal freedom and self-det[illegible] mination. The supreme co-ordinating author[illegible] a sovereign person and body, was armed w[illegible] efficient powers, position and prestige, [illegible] limited to its proper rights and functions, [illegible] once controlling and controlled by the re[illegible] admitting them as its active co-partners in [illegible] branches sharing the regulation and admini[illegible] tration of the communal existence. T[illegible] sovereign, the people and all its constit[illegible]

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communities were bound to the maintenance and restrained by the yoke of the Dharma. Moreover, the economic and political aspects of the communal life were only a part of the Dharma and a part not at all separate but inseparably united with all the rest, the religious, the ethical, the higher cultural aim of the social existence. The ethical law coloured the political and economic and was imposed on every action of the king, and his ministers, the councils and assemblies, the individual, the constituent groups of the society; ethical and cultural considerations counted in the use of the state and the qualifications for minister, official and councillor. A high character and training was expected from all who held authority in the affairs of the Aryan people. The religious spirit and the reminders of religion were the head and the background of the whole life of king and people. The life of the society was regarded not so much as an aim in itself in spite of the necessary specialization of parts of its system, but in all parts and the whole as a great framework and training ground for the education of the human mind and soul and its development through the natural to the spiritual existence.

MATTHEW ARNOLD

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

For thirty or forty years immediately after the middle of the Nineteenth Century Matthew Arnold was one of the most eminent literary men of England. His profession, his calling by which he earned his bread, was that of an educator; he was a government inspector of schools. But very early in his adult life he began writing for the public,—poetry and essays in literary criticism; and it was through these that he won distinction at home and abroad.

Probably the true place to begin the study of Matthew Arnold is with his father, Dr. Thomas Arnold, who attained great fame as Professor of History in Oxford, and especially as Head Master of the historic "Rugby School," where many of the sons of the English higher classes received the most important part of their education. Matthew Arnold was not born at Rugby, but at Laleham, a quiet little town on the green banks of the Thames, where his father lived for a time. But a part of his boyhood was spent at Rugby, so that we may associate him, in a way, with the famous Rugby School.

Rugby never had any other such a Head Master as Thomas Arnold; indeed it would hardly be too much to say that England never had such another teacher and inspirer of boys and young men. Every young man setting out upon life and wishing to make his life strong and true, and especially every young man or woman setting out in the teacher's profession and desiring to know what a power in molding young lives to high ideals that profession may be, should not fail to read and study the life of Thomas Arnold of Rugby, written by Dean Stanley. In addition to being the life of an almost incomparable teacher, it is one of the most perfectly written biographies in the English language.

At eighteen young Arnold went to Oxford, and became a brilliant student at Balliol College. Principal Shairp, himself at the time a Balliol scholar, describes in an interesting poem, how Mr. Arnold,

"Wide-welcomed for a father's fame,
Entered with free, bold step, that seemed to claim
Fame for himself, nor on another lean,—
So full of power, yet blithe and debonair,
Rallying his friends with pleasant banter gay,
Or, half a-dream, chanting with jaunty air
Great words of Goethe, scraps of Beranger.
We see the banter sparkle in his prose,
But knew not then the undertone that flows
So calmly sad, through all his stately lay."

I have called him a brilliant student at the University. Yet as a mere scholar he was not at the very front. He loved too well to take long walks, to fish in the streams; to make acquaintance with the country folk; and when in his room, too well he loved to read books of literature instead of bending over textbooks, to

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win the very highest distinction as a mere scholar. However, he won the Newdigate prize for a poem on "Cromwell"; and a little later was elected a Fellow of Oriel College, which was a fine Oxford record.

Arnold's Oxford life was at an eventful time. It fell in the midst of the excitement caused by the great Tractarian Movement led by John Henry Newman and Dr. Pusey, which resulted in Newman and others seceding from the English Church and going to Rome, and also in a great revival of ritualism and high churchism in the English Church itself. Young Arnold felt the influence of the great excitement which the movement caused in the University and all over England; and especially he felt Newman's power. But he was not carried off his feet in the direction of Rome. Rather was the result with him the opposite,—an impulse toward greater freedom and breadth of thought in religion. He did not then, or ever, lose his attachment to the Church of England into which he was born; but he early rejected the theology on which that church is based, and became an earnest advocate of a broader basis of religious fellowship and life than that upon which any form of orthodox Christianity rests.

Concerning his early religious experience he writes in later years:

> "Rigorous teachers seized my youth.
> And purged its faith, and trimmed its fire,
> Showed me the high white star of Truth,
> There bade me gaze, and there aspire."

For a time after finishing his Oxford studies Arnold was private secretary to an English Lord, and then was appointed a national inspector of schools, and entered upon the great work of his life as a public educator. For thirty-four years his duties of inspecting and shaping the schools of England were carried on. Meanwhile he made extensive studies of the schools and educational systems of Germany, France and other continental countries, for the purpose of gaining suggestions for the benefit of education in Great Britain. Perhaps we do not often think of Matthew Arnold as an educator by profession. And yet that was the calling to which he devoted himself steadily during most of his life.

The greater part of the writing that he did for the public was educational. Even his most strictly literary writing may be in a sense called educational. Its great thought is education, enlightenment, culture. He is often called the apostle of culture; and with good right. No man of the Nineteenth Century in England pleaded more earnestly or persistently for culture of the best kind, or more se and uncompromisingly scourged self-compl ignorance and pretense, whether in pleb aristocrat.

When he was 35 years of age, he elected Professor of Poetry in the Univer of Oxford—a position which he held for a of ten years, though without giving up Inspectorship of Schools.

There is something rather strange Arnold's poetical career. He began wr poetry very early, taking more than one during his student days for poetical com tion. It was believed by many of his fr that his life would be devoted to the poet for his gifts in this direction were seen to a high order. He did continue to write po not as the main work of his life, but a important aside, all the way on to abou 45th year. Then, to the great regret of admirers, who were steadily growing in num his muse grew silent; and for the last 20 of his life his literary work was confined al wholly to prose writing.

It was during these later years that produced most of those Essays in lite criticism which, perhaps equally with his poe ensure him a lasting place in English litera

A few years before his death he mad lecture tour in America which attracted con derable attention, and which resulted in gi to the world a small volume called *Discou in America*, which Mr. Arnold spoke of in life as being that part of his prose work which he would best like to be remembered judged. I must say that I myself do not th that it is his best prose writing, as many ot do not. But it is interesting to know what his own judgment in the matter.

Matthew Arnold's American tour disappointing, and for several reasons. Fi he was at the beck of a showman-manager, sent him to lecture at the places where most money could be obtained, and not to places where he ought to have spoken would have been most appreciated. Seco being presented to the public under auspices, he appeared in the light of a money-maker, whereas there was little care money in his nature. Third, he was eloquent or easy or taking as a speaker, never should have been advertised and para before the public as a popular lecturer. Ev in his writings he appealed to only the fe much less could he have been expected to popular as a public speaker. Indeed his lect tour in America was hardly other than

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At its termination a prominent American writer thus described the impression he had made:

"Mr. Arnold seems to have left an impression at once able and disagreeable in this country. His audiences every one failed to find value in his talk, on whatever subject. The people at large rebelled against his wanton depreciation of the majority in behalf of 'the elect.' In Boston few regard his estimate of Emerson as all competent, because it betrayed the dilettante tendency, and made one suspect that Mr. Arnold is a curious artist, and not an earnest thinker—a sentimentalist, and not a teacher. At Brown University, the night, he discussed 'Literature and Science,' and, seems, to the disapproval of students and faculty alike, to have greatly depreciated science in comparison with literature as an elevating influence, and the advocates of scientific departments are indignant, while those of literary departments are nowise pleased. The only in all cases with Mr. Arnold apparently is that he is deficient in sympathy and narrow in thinking, and, in giving his thoughts with a consideration for himself he inevitably awakens antagonism, even from those who would naturally agree with much that he says. It is evident that Mr. Arnold can be known to more advantage by reading than hearing. He is too insular for America."

This criticism of Mr. Arnold was too severe, but there was truth in it. Wherever he went he exhibited not a little of the typical "John Bull" spirit. He took little pains to make himself personally agreeable to people. It was as if he carried about with him a condescending and conceited air. He found little in America that pleased him. His views of Europe were narrow. Above all, as has been the case speaker. He should never have come to America as a lecturer. If he had come to speak at all, it should have been to universities and to literary circles. All his strength, all his power, he was a most unattractive and ineffective lecturer, was as a writer, not at all as a speaker.

Matthew Arnold died suddenly at the too early age of 66, while yet in the full vigor of his mental powers, and while his pen was yet showing no sign of laying aside its great activity.

Let me speak of him first as a poet. The quality of his poetical writing is not large, but its quality is such as to lift it up into distinction, and to win for it a very considerable number of warm admirers among the best minds of England and America. What are his characteristics as a poet? I think that more truly than any other English poet he may be called a book of the classic age writing in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. His long narrative poem, *Sohrab and Rustum*, is perhaps the best example in the language of Homeric blank verse. It is not an overstatement to say that, in spite of its severe restraint, this powerful epic moves us to quite as deep feeling as anything in Homer. This is high praise. It takes a master to be able to move others deeply while keeping himself calm and restrained. This Arnold is able to do, as shown not only in his *Sohrab and Rustum*, but also in his *Balder Dead*, his *Tristram and Isuelt*, his *Forsaken Merman*, his *Empedocles on Etna*, and several others of his poems.

Notwithstanding his dramatic power, it must be confessed that Arnold is the poet of the few, not of the many. He belongs in the class with Browning, Lowell, Clough, and Emerson. Comparing him with Tennyson, he lacks Tennyson's wide sympathy, many-sidedness and breadth of sweep. Of Byron, Swinburne and their School, Arnold is almost the opposite. They are sensuous; Arnold is severely intellectual. With them words and word-painting are first; with him the thought is always supreme, though the wording is always choice. They often take a low moral tone; Arnold is high and almost austere in his morality. The modern English poet whom Arnold most praises is Wordsworth, and in his thought he reminds us somewhat of Wordsworth; but he lacks Wordsworth's hope, faith, and joy. He is superior to Wordsworth as a purely intellectual thinker and scholar; but he is inferior as seer and prophet of the soul.

Arnold is pre-eminently a serious poet, and not infrequently his seriousness becomes sadness. In the broad sense of the word he is a distinctly religious poet. But his religiousness is oftener the religiousness of duty, of toil, of hard pursuit of ideals, of patience, of resignation, of self-control and self-discipline, rather than of joy and hope and love. The most regrettable thing about him as a religious teacher is that he does not sing a clear song of faith. He is the poet of introspection. He lived in an age of doubt; and the doubt and questioning spirit of his time left their mark deeply on him. He often dwells upon what he calls "this strange disease of modern life, with its sick hurry, its divided aims, its heads o'ertaxed, its palsied hearts." He sees with keen sensitiveness the faithlessness, the unreality, the shoddy, and pretense that festers at the heart of much of our artificial civilization. And he sounds a most earnest call to reality, to simplicity, to truth, to sincerity, to sweet reasonableness, to serenity. We only wish that his call was as hopeful as it is ringing and earnest.

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Arnold's place as a poet is unique. His verse fills a niche apart,—a niche filled by no other writings. While his readers are comparatively few, those that he has are usually very fond of him; without his poetry they would feel themselves deeply bereaved. I confess that truth would compel me to describe myself as among this number. Not that I care for all his poems, but some of them thrill me as deeply and enthrall me as completely as any poetical writings that I know.

I turn now to Arnold as a prose writer. I cannot think that he is so sure of immortality here as he is in the field of verse. And yet there is no denying that he won very bright laurels as a writer of prose. His writings in prose are of three kinds :—those on education, those on literary criticism (literary criticism including the general subject of "culture"), and those on religion and the Bible.

His educational work has already been mentioned. Nothing more need be added here, except to emphasize, the importance of his educational reports in which he gave accounts of his extensive investigations and studies made in Germany and France.

His writings on literary criticism and culture are mainly in the form of essays, which constitute his three books entitled *Culture and Anarchy* and *Essays in Criticism,* two volumes. These attracted much attention not only in England but also on the continent of Europe and in America. And with good reason Literary criticism in his hands rose into something far larger, nobler and better than it had generally been in the past. With him, as with Sainte Beuve in France, with Edward Scherer in Germany, and with James Russell Lowell in America, it became large-minded, many-sided illuminating, primarily constructive not destructive. The object of true criticism, he insisted, should be not to pull down or to set up this or that author, but to turn literary men and literature away from conventionalities, and artificialities, and mere fashions in writing, to truth, to nature, to simplicity, to purity, to strength, to high ideals. It is often urged that criticism is not creative. But Arnold replies that true criticism will at least prepare the way for creation—make noble creation possible where otherwise it would not be. For there can be no noble creation so long as writers are blinded and fooled by shams and artificialities, and are narrow and provincial in their literary aims and ideas. They must have their eyes opened to truth and nature and reality, and their horizons of literary conception must become enlarged. This is the indispe condition of nobly creative work.

To the question, What is cult Mr. Arnold gives this wonderfully sing wonderfully illuminating answer, which become famous:—"*Culture is knowing the that has been thought and said in the* wo

Every reader of Arnold knows w fight he carried on for years with what he "Philistinism" in England. This nickna German origin, Arnold took up and exceedingly effective in his battle for c Here is his definition of Philistinism:

"We in England have come to that point w continued advance and greatness of our m threatened by one cause, above all. Far more th helplessness of an aristocracy whose day is fa to an end, far more than by the rawness of a b whose day is only just beginning, we are imp what I call the 'Philistinism' of our middle cl the side of beauty and taste, vulgarity; on the morals and feeling, coarseness; on the side of m spirit, unintelligence,—this is Philistinism."

As a remedy for this intellectual m ness and coarseness, thus happily hit off biblical name Philistine, Arnold urges cul culture, which is not a new god of li creation, as some seemed to think, but acquaintance with the best that has thought and said in the world. To use a of Arnold's famous expressions, cultu "sweetness and light." Nor is the cultu sweetness and light) for the few alone for all alike.

Thus we see that it is no narrow end that Mr. Arnold has in mind, in his long plea for culture; for while

"culture looks beyond machinery, hates hatred, one great passion, the passion for sweetness and has one even yet greater :—namely, the pas making them prevail. It is not satisfied until we to a perfect man : it knows that the sweetness and the few must be imperfect until the raw and u masses of humanity are touched with sweetness we must have a broad basis, must have sweetn light for as many as possible. True culture is dem it seeks to do away with classes and sects; to m best that has been thought and known in the current everywhere; to enable all men to live atmosphere of sweetness and light."

Such was Mr. Arnold's much misun and often misrepresented and even ridicul really very noble and everywhere "gospel of culture."

We come now to Mr. Arnold's writing Religion and the Bible, or perhaps more perly theology and the Bible. These produced late in his life. Nothing else wrote attracted so much immediate and nothing else stirred up so much contr

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—attacks on the one hand and defense on the other.

The most important of his books that made trouble were his *Literature and Dogma, God and the Bible*, and *Saint Paul and Protestantism*, particularly the first named. These books will not live as long as some of his poetry; indeed they are already superceded, as are his writings on education, by other works which take up the thought and carry it on to greater completeness. But, at the time, they filled a niche, they were opportune, they said a strong word that needed to be said then. The great object which he had in view in all these books was to give to the people what he regarded a true understanding of the Bible and its teachings.

The Christian Church throughout all its history had separated the Bible from all other books, as the one and only sacred book, as the one and only inspired book, as God's one and only revelation, given to men to teach them a certain theology, a certain "plan of salvation," whereby they could escape the doom of eternal perdition hanging over the human race because of the sin of the first man, Adam. Mr. Arnold declared that this is wholly a misconception of the Bible. It teaches no such theological scheme; it has no such purpose; it possesses great value, very great, but not that artificial and unreal kind. It is not primarily a book of theology at all, but a book of religion, in other words, a book of *religious literature*. To use his own suggestive and clear-cut expression, it is "literature, not dogma." He recognized no line separating sacred from profane—secular from religious—the domain of the theological or ecclesiastical thinker or teacher from the domain of the lay thinker and teacher. To him all life is or ought to be religious; all truth is sacred; and all error is profane, however hoary with age or consecrated by a thousand theological sanctions.

Mr. Arnold's merit as a writer upon the Bible and upon theology lay in the fact that he came to his task without the bias, without the narrowness of the man trained all his life to see things from the dogmatic, the theological, the ecclesiastical, the priestly standpoint. Instead of that, he came with the unfettered judgment, the wide outlook, the sanity, the literary mastery of a great free scholar. When such a man sits down in the prime of life, as Mr. Arnold did, to the serious task of giving some years of time to the study of the Bible, as he would study Homer or Plato, and to telling his fellowmen in carefully written volumes the mature results of his studies and his life-long thinking, it is no wonder that many thoughtful persons regard it worth while to listen to what he says.

Mr. Arnold saw plainly that the time had gone by when any form of religious belief was to be taken as of course true simply because it had been believed by preceding generations. He saw that every doctrine and belief must come forth into the light of today, to be tested by present knowledge. In brief, he saw that in our age of science and free inquiry, neither the Bible, nor any other so-called sacred book, nor religion itself, can any longer stand on the old basis of miracle and supernaturalism. That basis is crumbling away, and must more and more crumble away, with the growth of modern science and knowledge. But he maintained with unfaltering voice and powerful emphasis that the crumbling away of that ficticious basis only reveals another and deeper foundation, that can never crumble. Religion is not a thing of special revelation confined to this or that man, or this or that age or land. It is as large as the whole ethical and spiritual life of humanity. God's revelation is as large and as rich as all truth.

What then is the Bible? Is it all of God's revelation? How can it be? But it is a precious part. It is a great and venerable collection of literature which gathers up into itself the best religious thought and feeling and inspiration and aspiration and life of a particular people of ancient times who had a peculiarly rich genius for religion; a people who seem to have had some such extraordinary genius for religion as Greece had for art, and Rome for government.

The Bible therefore does not need any artificial props of miracle or supernaturalism to stand on. Much in it is outgrown—and is to be quietly passed over by the reader, just as we pass over the legend of Romulus and Remus in reading the History of Rome. But much of the Old Testament and especially of the New is not outgrown and never can be. The Bible contains so much rich treasure of thought and feeling—of precept and warning, of trust and hope and aspiration and worship, that its value will always be regarded by right thinking men as very great.

As the result of his prolonged and thorough study of the Bible, Mr. Arnold gives us as the central teaching of the Old Testament, not any word about any Adam, or any fall of the race, or any miraculous messiah, or any miracle, but these great words :

"*O ye that love the Eternal, see that ye hate the*

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thing that is evil! to him that ordereth his conversation aright shall be shown the salvation of God."

And as the central teaching and the summing up of the New Testament, he gives us, not anything about any atonement scheme, or a man transformed into a god, or any divine trinity, or any eternal hell, but, instead, these words of living uplift and moral power:

"*Let every one who names the name of Christ, depart from iniqtity.*"

Surely a book whose central messages to the world are such as these, and whose power to impress them upon the hearts and consciences of men is so great as is shown in the history of the Bible, shines with its own splendid and undying light, and needs no artificial and false light of supernaturalism and miracle.

Our sketch of the Life, Writings and Influence of Matthew Arnold need not be further extended, although much is left unsaid.

I close with a brief word about one feature of Mr. Arnold that has not been suffi emphasized. He was a strong character. T was in him a fine spirit of courage, of pe tual and moral heroism. He dared to thi own thought, and to express it in his own He dared to be on the unpopular side, con ing what he believed ought to be conde and approving what he believed ought to approved. He warmly appreciated re when, they seemed to him substantial and He gloried in the prophet souls of all the and the martyrs who had lived and died great causes; all this finds frequent expres sometimes ringing expression, in his poe give a single illustration:

"They out-talked thee, hissed thee, tore thee?
Better men fared thus before thee;
Fired their ringing shot and passed,
Hotly charged—and sunk at last.
Charge once more then, and be dumb!
Let the victors, when they come,
When the forts of folly fall,
Find thy body near the wall."

RAMESVARAM, THE FAMOUS CENTRE OF PILGRIMAGE OF ALL-INDIA FAME

By P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR

Ramesvaram (Devanagaram, the city of the celestials), is a small island in the Bay of Bengal, south-east of India, separated from the mainland by Pamban Canal. It is about a mile and a half in length from north to south and nearly half a mile in width from east to west. The main line of the South Indian Railway from Madras to Dhanushkodi takes us to this place.

The place derives its name from its connection with Sri Rama of the Ramayana fame. The land here is considered too holy to be ploughed for purposes of cultivation. The Linga in the central shrine is said to have been installed by Sri Rama himself and so its sacredness has been recognized by all sects of Hindu community. To wipe off the sin of having slain Ravana, Sri Rama was advised by the sages to worship a Linga. The waters at the confluence of oceans and rivers are said to possess beneficial effects on the bathers and so the junction of Mahodhadi (the Bay of Bengal) and *Rethnakara* (the Indian Ocean) was selected. Sculptural representation of both these o gods exists by the side of the big bull in f of the sanctum. There is also a human fig half-buried in the ground, near this bull this is pointed out as of a non-Hindu t who while attempting to rob the temple tre got stuck up to the place stone-blind!

Hanuman, the faithful devotee of Sri Ra was sent out to Mount Kailas to fetch a Li for installation at a particular auspicious (*Ani* bright fortnight, tenth day) and as did not return at the appointed time Sitadevi, the consort of Sri Rama, prepared locally out of sea-sand and it was insta with all sanctity. Hanuman, on arrival, enraged at this and made attempts to pull the sand-Linga but all his attempts pro futile. Sri Rama pacified him by placing one brought by him on the immediate nor the central shrine, and directing the worship it being done first.

Dhanushkodi, about fifteen miles on south of Ramesvaram, is the chief bathing-

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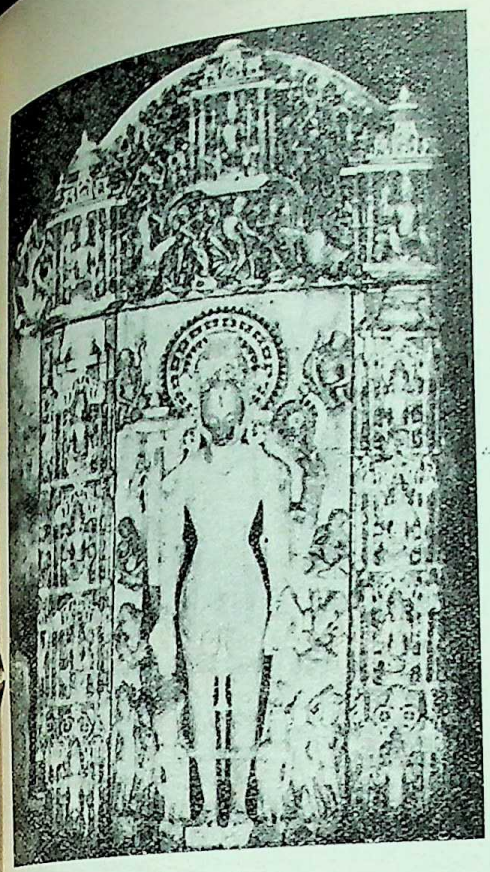
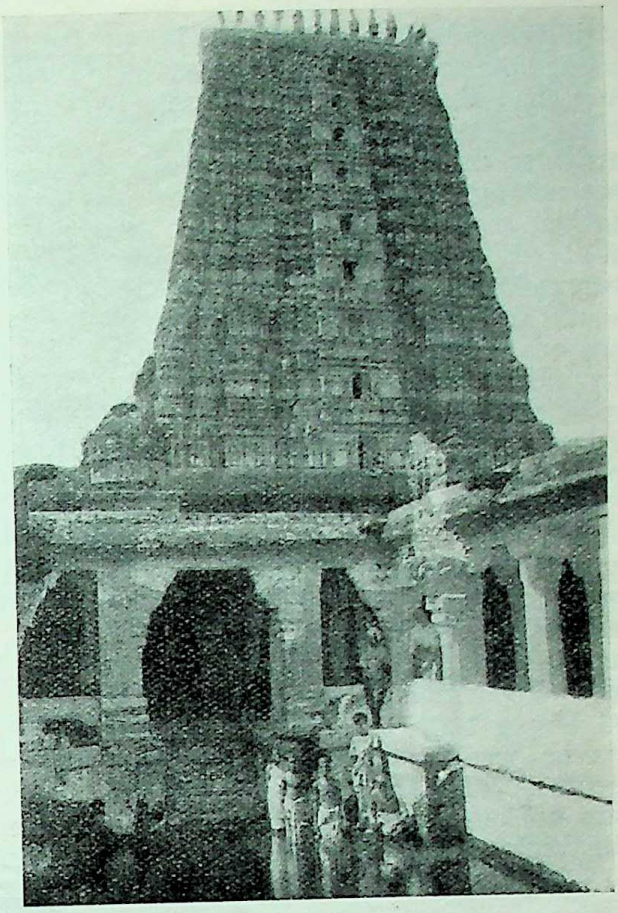
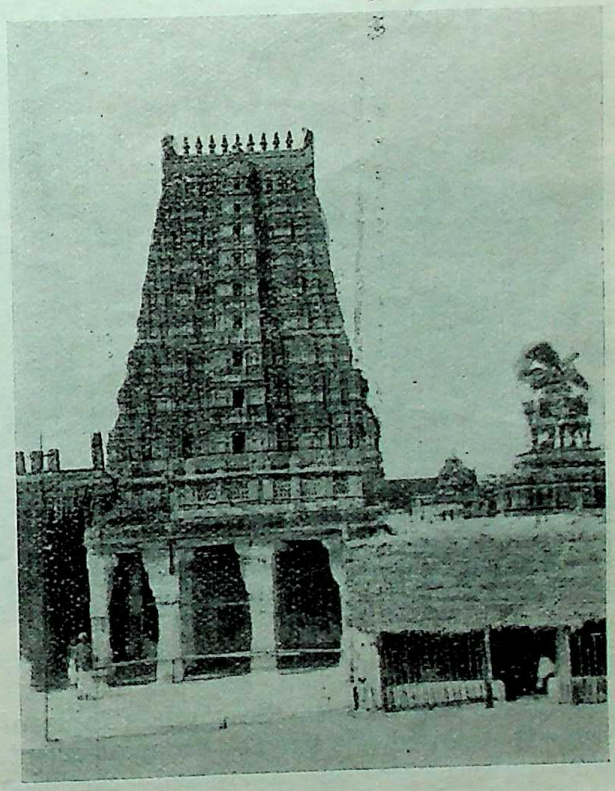


Setu-Madhava—Ramesvaram



East *Gopura* with tank by its side—Ramesvaram

Shrine of Setu-Madhava—Ramesvaram



Gopura: Ramesvaram

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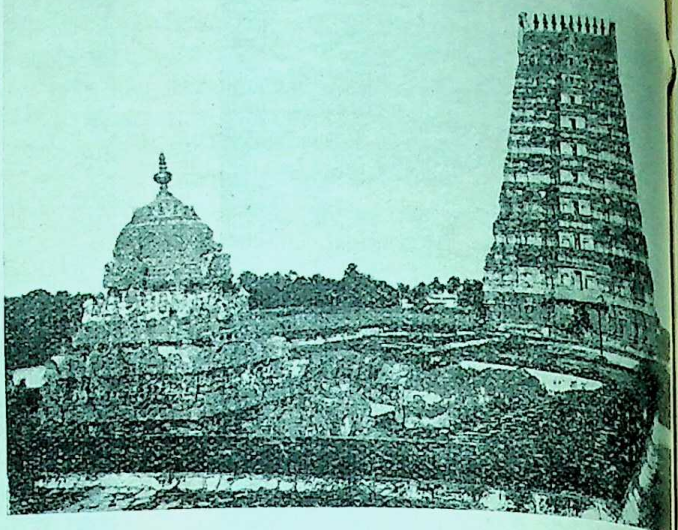
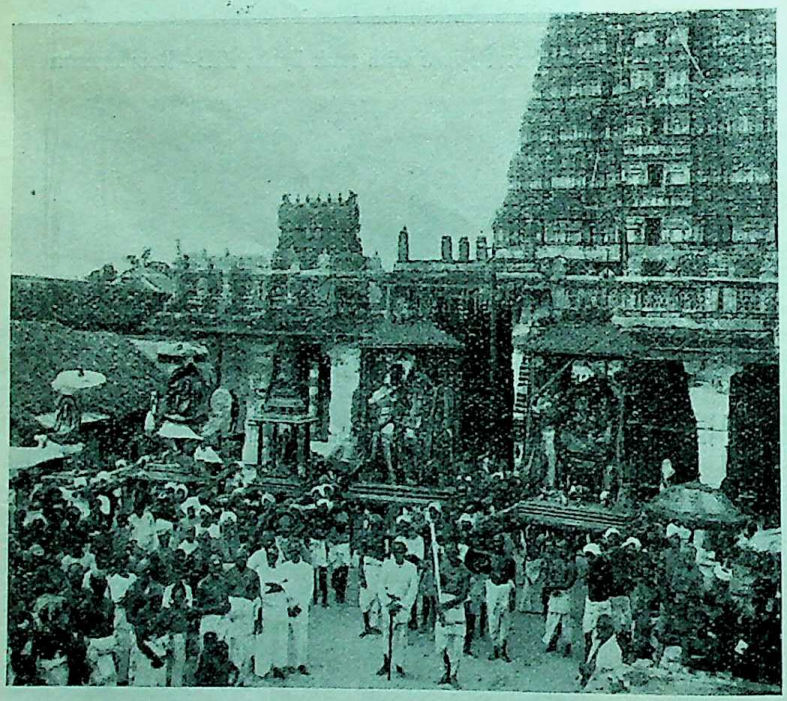
to this sacred place. Special efficacy is attributed to a bath at this place, and the general restriction of having recourse to sea-bath on particular days of the year only does not apply to this holy spot. Further, sea baths in general are said to straighten out some of the abnormal and twisting deformities as well as cure cases of infantile paralysis, sleeping sickness, syphilitic meningitis, tuberculosis meningitis and loco-motor ataxia. Besides Dhanushkodi, there are several other holy waters existing in the form of tanks and wells, situate within and around the temple, the important ones numbering twenty-four. These contain fresh water, possessing miraculous properties of curing several diseases. The temple measures nearly 900 feet by 700 feet, and has three courts with *gopuras* over the outer court on all the four directions. The colonnades within the outer court are of a very high imposing appearance, with sculptural representation of Setupatis in some of its piers. These Setupatis (Rajas of Ramnad) endowed this temple to a great extent. Their palaces lie in a ruined condition near the Gandamadhana sand-hill, at a distance of about a mile on the north of the tem The shrine to the Vishnu-god named S Madava (*Sveta* white Madavar probab is made in white marble and it is enjoined the visit to this place must end with the wo to this deity, as He is consi the warden of the place.



The Central Shrine with one of the outer *Gopuras*—Ramesvaram



Gods in procession around the temple—Ramesvaram

Three chief festivals are annually— *Pratishtanga* in (June-July), Marriage of R nadaswami and Parvatavardhi *Adi* (July-August) and *Mah ratri* (February-March). E night the goddess is decorate the *Navasakti* or *Sukra Mandapa* in front of the shrin the goddess and taken in pr sion in a golden-plated palan thereafter round the shrine of god, when the silver image of god is also placed in that pa quin and continued through third court. When brought to portal of the Amman shrine silver vinayaka is given bless and the idols placed over the s in the *palli-arai* (bed-chamber the hall within the shrine of goddess. Daily worship in temple is conducted six times, at 4-30 A.M. with the comm ment of a bath in milk to the *sphatika* (crys image of the god from the *palli-arai*, the second 6 A.M., the third at 9 A.M., the fourth at 12 n and with the interval of some hours the

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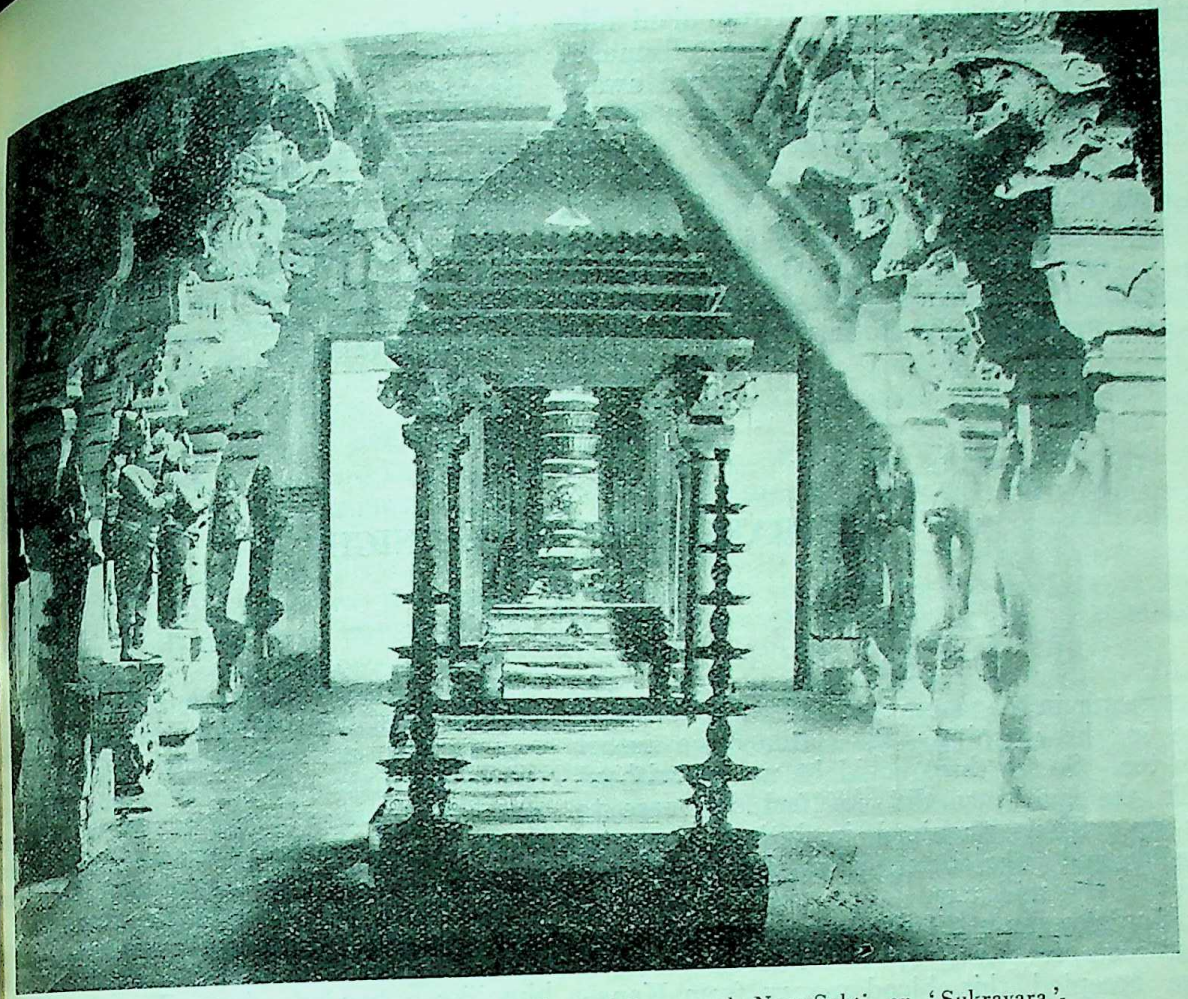

Corridor in front of Amman Shrine with a dais named Nava-Sakti or 'Sukravara'-Mandapa, in which the Goddess holds a darbar on Friday nights. Statues of Setupatis (Rajas of Ramnad) and various forms of *Saktis* exist on the stone piers

Danushkodi where pilgrims arrive by country cart and walk to bathe in the sea—Ramesvaram

at 4-30 P.M., and the last at 9 P.M., terminating with the *palli-arai* procession.

The other places connected with a pilgrimage to Ramesvaram are Uppter (about 20 miles north-east of Ramnad) where the Vinayaka said to have been installed by Sri Rama has to be worshipped, Devipattanam or Navapashanam (10 miles north-east of Ramnad) where the nine planets installed in the calm sea by Sri Rama have to be worshipped as also the

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goddess Mahishasuramardini, Tiruppulani alias Darbaisayanam (6 miles south of Ramnad) where Sri Rama lay on Kusa-grass bed awaiting the ocean-god, whose figure is also by the side of the lying figure of the lord.

Muhammadans also visit Ramesvaram on account of the tombs believed to be of Cain and his brother Abel, that lie in close proximity in a mosque near the Railway station. Muhammadan pilgrims resort in large numbers to this mosque, to perform vows of various kinds. Cain is said to have been comm[illegible] by his lord to carry the corpse of his bro[illegible] Abel all round the earth till he meets wi[illegible] particular omen. While so wandering, he [illegible] rest under the shade of a Palmyra tree [illegible] when he observed that omen in the fig[illegible] two crows, in which one died. He dug a [illegible] at that site, buried Abel's body and ordered [illegible] his corpse also being interred close to it [illegible] death. This accounts for both the tombs [illegible] ing side by side in this mosque.

TRAVELLERS IN THE NIGHT

By SITA DEBI

(5)

The people in the 'mess' generally got up rather late in the morning. The milk came rather late too. So, as there could be no tea without milk, the gentlemen did not feel any urge to get up. They remained in bed as long as possible and only got up when they heard the voice of the milkman.

So Satyasaran sat like one petrified, in the silent room, for nearly one hour. He should not have accepted this blood money from Kanakamma, he should not have allowed her to go away like this. These two thoughts hammered at his brain continually. Was he such a worthless wretch then, that he must live on this money? Why then was he born a man? What need was there to make such a show of rescuing the poor girl, if he had to sell her again for his own maintenance? Would not everyone cry shame on him, when they heard this tale?

But that was a minor matter; he did not fear slander for himself. But this sacrifice on the part of the girl weighed heavy on his heart and soul and obliterated every other consideration. He remembered how she used to look at him, her large eyes full of pain and gratitude at the same time. Her look expressed the utmost confidence in him. Her whole face would become transfigured with delight, whenever she caught sight of him. And what a cruel return for so much love and trust!

The terrible agony of his heart made Satyasaran run out into the street again. It had already become full of traffic. The rickshaw pullers were out on the streets, looking for fares. The shops on both sides of the road were being opened. But where was he to go? From wh[illegible] would he get news of Kanakamma? Throu[illegible] strange turn of fate, the girl had come to [illegible] out of the unknown, and through another [illegible] she had again disappeared in that region [illegible] mystery. If she had gone in some usual w[illegible] it would not have mattered; but she had [illegible] a memory which rankled like a poisoned wo[illegible] The packet of currency notes, which he [illegible] carrying in his coat pocket, seemed to strike [illegible] him like a hooded cobra. What was he g[illegible] to do with the money? He could not th[illegible] it away, as it was the price of an innocent [illegible] young life. And he could not think of spend[illegible] it on himself, it made him feel too low. If [illegible] did, life would become unbearable to him.

After wandering about aimlessly for a wh[illegible] he proceeded to that gentleman's house wh[illegible] Kanakamma had been working as an Ay[illegible] He found the eldest boy of the family return[illegible] from the shop, where he had gone to buy bre[illegible] and butter. "Is your Ayah within?", [illegible] asked the boy.

"Which Ayah?" replied the boy. "D[illegible] you mean Kanakamma?"

From the reply, Satyasaran understo[illegible] that there was not much hope. Still he sa[illegible] "Yes, Kanakamma."

"But she had gone away yesterday w[illegible] her clothes," said the boy. "She had left [illegible] service."

"Do you know where she has gone?" as[illegible] Satyasaran, his face turning gray.

"I don't know," replied the boy. "Sh[illegible] I ask mother?"

"Please do," said Satyasaran.

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The boy went in and returned almost at once. "Mother does not know where she has gone," he said. "But as she left without proper notice, mother has not paid her this month's salary. If ever she returns for it, mother will inform you at once."

Satyasaran had no such hope that the girl would ever return for her salary. She did not need money any longer. She had sacrificed herself to pay her only debt in full, she would not require money again perhaps in this life.

Still hoping against hope, he began to trudge along the road to Kalabasti. When he felt too tired to walk, he called a rickshaw and got into it. It took him nearly one hour to reach that lane where Kanakamma's aunt lived.

The lane looked still more dirty and ugly in the clear light of early morning. Satyasaran had not felt so utterly disgusted, when he came here for the first time, as the shadows of evening had hidden much of its ugliness from his eyes. But today the very thought of setting foot in it seemed unbearable to him. But he had not come here to indulge in fastidiousness. So telling the rickshawpuller to wait for him at the entrance to the lane, he walked on. He was seeking the old aunt, but she sought him out first, and waving her skeleton like arms began a long harangue in her unintelligible dialect. Satyasaran did not understand a single word, but from her attitude and tone, he was sure that she was not thanking him. He tried to enquire after the whereabouts of the girl, in his broken Hindi, but the old hag would hardly listen to him. Satyasaran had to desist, after several futile attempts. The old woman went on shrieking as before.

Fortunately the old woman's husband too arrived on the spot at this juncture. The shrill notes of his better half's voice had probably drawn him there. He could understand a little Hindi. He explained to Satyasaran what his wife was saying. They did not know where Kanakamma was. They had heard from neighbours that the Bengali Babu had sold her again to that fat Madrassi. The old woman wanted to tell Satyasaran, that she could have secured a far better purchaser for the girl, had Satyasaran only told her of his designs. Only the other day, one man had offered her three hundred rupees for the girl; there had been several other good offers. Why had the Babu sold her for one hundred and fifty, like a fool? What was the hurry? He could have consulted her. The girl had gone out of their power now, and for good. That fat Madrassi was not a resident of Rangoon. He lived in Bassein and had probably started for that town already. He was not a good man. He would make Kanakamma work like a slave and would probably beat her.

Satyasaran felt like strangling himself or strangling the old woman. Would he never really find Kanakamma again? Could such a disaster overtake one, through a few moment's carelessness? The poor girl did not know perhaps what a terrible fate she had chosen for herself. She was little more than a child; her knowledge of the world and its doings were limited.

However, from the attitude of the old people, Satyasaran understood that they were not wholly ignorant about Kanakamma's whereabouts. But both of them were very much offended because they had been cheated of their share of the blood money. They held Satyasaran accountable for it. So both of them were unwilling to help him. Still he tried his best to wrest some information from them through judicious cross-examination. But the old pair were more cunning than the fox. Satyasaran had to desist. He walked off rapidly and got into his rickshaw again.

"Where shall I go, Babu?" asked the coolie.

Satyasaran did not know where he wanted to go. Why should he return to the mess? The manager's gibes only awaited him there. But where else could he go? He did not know anybody in Rangoon. He knew Gopal Chowdhuri of course, but was not intimate enough with him to be a guest at his house. He had made that gentleman's acquaintance on that fateful day, when he rescued poor Kanakamma. The thought of facing him again caused Satyasaran to wince.

The coolie thought that the Babu had not heard him. So he began to walk along the road to the town, of his own accord. As he approached the railway station, Satyasaran cried out, "Stop, stop!"

The rickshaw stopped.

Satyasaran told the man to wait at the gate and ran inside. Perhaps he might meet Kanakamma or the fat Madrassi amongst the passengers. The platforms were crowded, but though he traversed them twice, he met no one he knew. He had not enquired whether there was any train for Bassein at that time, before he entered.

Most unwillingly, he had at last to return to the mess. Everyone was up and had finished their morning toilette. They were waiting

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for their tea. "Had you been invited to tea somewhere, so early?" asked one of them, trying to be humorous.

Another gentleman appeared to feel rather ashamed at this display of needless rudeness. "You are just in time," he said to Satyasaran. "Shall I pour out a cup of tea for you?"

"Thank you," said Satyasaran and went in to wash his face.

"You are very hospitable," said the manager rather unpleasantly. "Who is going to pay for that tea?"

"If you become bankrupt on account of that cup of tea, I shall pay for it most certainly," said the gentleman who had offered the tea to Satyasaran.

As Satyasaran was coming out of the bathroom, he heard all that was said. "Nobody need pay anything for me," he said, "I shall pay for myself."

The manager was about to ask something, but thought better of it. If he got his bills paid, that was enough for him. He need not know how and whence Satyasaran had got the money.

Satyasaran sat down and had a good tea. He ate everything offered to him. Then he got up and said to the manager "I am going to pack up, please make out your bill."

"Are you going away this very day?" asked everyone in chorus.

"Yes," said Satyasaran. "If I set out now, I shall be able to catch the English mail boat." Saying this he entered the bedroom and began to pack his trunk. The servant came in and helped him to tie up his dirty bedding.

The manager came in with the bill. Satyasaran took out the packet of currency notes from his pocket and settled his claims. He even tipped the servant and the cook. Then he called a hackney carriage, placed his luggage on its roof and drove off.

"What a strange man!" said the manager. "One never knew whence he came and one never knew where he went."

The carriage rolled along the streets of Rangoon. So Satyasaran had to spend that money, after all. But he was helpless. In order to be able to expiate the sin of accepting it, he had to spend that money. This land had become insufferable to him, and he felt sure that he would never succeed in anything here. Would he not be able to get some kind of employment in his own land? He was an able bodied man and had received proper education—he ought to be able to do something. His father Shakar came to Calcutta as a penniless boy. through his own striving he had succ in becoming a millionaire. It was that he had not been able to keep money. But he had proved to the full, man can become a millionaire only his own efforts. So why should not succeed? He had got to succeed. He not die before he had paid back his debt full.

He must rescue Kanakamma again. could make some money, that old cou Kalabasti would rush forward to help him.

A large crowd had collected on the The English mail boat usually drew a number of passengers than the other because it reached Calcutta on the third Satyasaran had to fight hard in order his ticket and he had to jostle and push the others to get on board. He felt about be suffocated. With the help of the coolie secured a place for himself in a corner of deck and spread his bed there. He could breathe with relief. For two days at least was going to enjoy unbroken peace. He not move if he did not want to. He not even eat if he did not feel like it. T was nobody to object to it. These two he was going to think and think only. would try to find out whether there was way of saving his life from utter shipwreck.

He had no relatives now in Calcutta. only living sister Saroja was away in Swi land, suffering from a fell disease. He did know even if she was alive or dead. But had many friends and distant relations Calcutta; would none of them help him? whole human race could not be cruel ungrateful. Satyasaran had been so whelmed with grief when death snatched his father, brother and sister at the same that he had not been able to approach any for help. Those who came voluntarily sympathise with him, had to go away with seeing him. If Saroja and Akhil had not him away by force, he would have starved death in that deserted house. But now must give up this luxury of grief. He go from door to door now, begging for He must win in this struggle for existence must make a place himself amongst this crowd. He must be rich. He must be so as to make everything possible. Then would come once again to this land of Bu Here he would expiate every sin that he committed. He would have to expiate the

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the full. After that, he need not think of anything else. But was it not too late, would it not be too late? Could he wait so long?

To what depths of misfortune would the poor girl be dragged down, before Satyasaran returned to rescue her again? The hideous life she had accepted of her own accord, held out very little hope for her.

He paid off the coolie, who went away. The din around him was enough to render everyone deaf. It would continue unabated until the steamer started. Everyone was busy taking farewell from friends and relatives. The women passengers looked after the children and also after the luggage. Only Satyasaran had nothing to do, he sat in his corner like a lump of clay. He had no words to say to anyone and he had nobody and nothing to look after.

The steamer started at last. The uproar grew fainter and fainter, till it died out completely. Now he could only hear the sound of the mighty waters and the noise of the steamer propellers. The passengers spoke in low voices, all around him. Many of them were still silent, their hearts too full to speak. But they would get over this sadness very soon and their voices would again become loud and strident. They would establish a home here for two days and perform all their duties, proudly and loudly.

(6)

The two days in the steamer passed off like one long continuous dream. Satyasaran had not even looked at the sea once. He did not move from his place, unless he was absolutely compelled to do so. He had eaten once only and the rest of the time he drank water. He was grateful to his fellow passengers because they did not approach him, taking him to be sick or bereaved.

As he set foot on the soil of Calcutta, he wondered where he could go with his luggage. He must have a bath, and a square meal was urgently needed. He had about twenty rupees in his pocket; that was too little to allow him to put up at a hotel. If he could find a place for his trunk and bedding, he could go to a cheap place and have some food. However he called a carriage and placed his things on its roof. He then paid off the coolie. "Where do you want to go?" the coachman asked him.

Satyasaran gave out his sister's address, before being fully conscious of what he was doing. He did not know who lived there now. Perhaps nobody lived there at all. If any old servants were left, they would know him. He would at least be able to keep his box and bedding there.

Akhil and his brother Nikhil lived in the same house, but they had separate establishments. A wall of partition had been set up through the middle of the house, dividing it into two parts. The house was large enough to hold two families, though this wall made it look rather ugly. Both the brothers were in affluent circumstances. So there was no straining of relations as yet. As Akhil and Saroja were away in Switzerland, Nikhil and his wife Sarojini were having things very much their own way.

Satyasaran's carriage drove up to Nikhil's gate as the other gate was closed. A durwan was in charge of Akhil's apartments. The fellow did not believe in unnecessary work. The opening of the gate meant sitting before it. So, as he preferred sleeping inside the house, he never opened the gate, if he could help it.

At the sound of the carriage stopping a boy servant came out and asked, "Whom do you want, Babu?"

Satyasaran had taken a vow never to feel ashamed about anything again. So he said, "Is Nikhil Babu at home?"

"Yes, sir," replied the boy, "he is sitting upstairs."

"Then go and tell him that Satyasaran Babu has returned from Rangoon and wants to see him," said Satyasaran.

The servant went in. Satyasaran had once been very intimate with Nikhil. But then Satyasaran was the son of a millionaire and now he was a penniless beggar. There was a good deal of difference between these two positions. He would not feel surprised now if Nikhil treated him with scant courtesy.

But Nikhil was seen descending the stairs in the wake of the boy servant, his slippers making a flopping noise. He pulled open the door of the carriage and cried, "Why are you sitting here like a clown? Could you not have gone straight up?"

"How could I? I did not know who might be there," replied Satyasaran, trying to laugh.

Nikhil called the servant and said, "Carry the luggage upstairs and tell them to serve tea again."

Satyasaran got down from the carriage now and looked up. He could see Sarojini peeping from behind one of the curtains, that screened the windows. He lowered his eyes again and began to take out some money for paying the coachman. Nikhil was about to

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pay the man but checked himself in time, thinking Satyasaran might take it as an insult.

However the man was paid off, and Satyasaran followed Nikhil upstairs. This house, the furniture and all these people were familiar to him, but he was seeing everything from a new angle of vision today. He was seeing them with a poor man's eyes, a beggar's eyes.

As he entered the drawing room, Sarojini approached him with a trill of laughter and asked, "Do you recognise me, sir?"

Satyasaran had mixed with these people on equal terms, in the good old days. She was related to him by marriage and as such she had often indulged in humorous sallies, while speaking to him and he too had replied in the same vein. But today he did not know how to speak to her. He was not sure of his ground. But he must speak to her. So he said, "Why should I not recognise you? You look just the same."

Sarojini laughed again and cried, "Is that so? Do I look just the same? Am I not any prettier?"

"Now then, let him have a cup of tea at least to refresh himself," said Nikhil. "Then you can indulge in witticism to your heart's content."

"But I must have the hot water, before I can give him tea," said Sarojini, "I do not possess Draupadi's pot, that I can serve tea *ad infinitum*."

"See, what a modest lady she is!" said Nikhil. "She desires to become like Draupadi."

Sarojini protested in mock anger. But Satyasaran was not in a mood to enjoy these witticisms. He was now a permanent exile from this world of laughter and light conversation. He had no longer the right to join in these things.

In order to change the conversation, he said, "May I have a bath now? I am so dirty, that I don't feel like taking anything at all."

"You are right," said Sarojini. "Whenever I get down from a train or a steamer, I never eat anything without having a bath first. The trains and steamers here are so dirty!"

Nikhil led off Satyasaran to the bathroom without more words. Sarojini brought out fresh towels, soap and hair oil for him. She even enquired what kind of oil he used. Satyasaran felt as if a cooling balm was being administered over the wound in his heart; though Sarojini had meant these simply as ordinary courtesy to a guest.

Satyasaran returned after his bath and sat down to have tea. Sarojini had got some food ready for him. She heaped up his plate and said, "You must finish these, please. You won't get anything more, before one o'clock in the afternoon."

"These would be enough to carry me through the day," said Satyasaran. "I won't require anything more."

"Good God! Why?" asked his hostess. "You are not a Brahmin's widow, that you must remain satisfied with one meal a day. I shall cook the breakfast myself today. You must eat it."

Sarojini used rather to like Satyasaran. It was not because he was the brother of her sister-in-law. Sarojini disliked every one else of Shaktisaran's family. She herself belonged to a middle class family and an excess of style and a show of wealth always got on her nerves. But Satyasaran had been singularly free from this vice. His father's wealth had not been able to spoil him or to make a snob of him. Sarojini had never felt ill at ease, while talking to him. There had been another reason for liking Satyasaran. She had received rich presents from Shaktisaran at her marriage, but over and above that, Satyasaran had given her a good cottage piano, which he had bought with his own pocket money.

Satyasaran began to eat. "How did you like Burma?" asked Nikhil.

Satyasaran munched away as he answered, "I did not like it at all, no body can cook such fine food there."

Sarojini's laughter rang out again. "A Bengali would never like a place where the food is bad," she said. "They are a race of gluttons, truly."

"To which race you also belong, my dear," said her husband. "You can never eat one mouthful, unless there is the head of a fish in it."

"Everyone is a creature of habits," said Sarojini. "We are not Hindusthanis like you. We like our fish."

After Satyasaran had finished, Sarojini got up and left for the kitchen. Nikhil then drew up his chair close to Satyasaran's and asked, "Did you have any luck, over there?"

"Not a bit of it," replied Satyasaran.

"You cannot have success thrown into your lap within such a short time and in a strange land too," said Nikhil. "Of course if you are exceptionally lucky it might happen. You must try for a job here."

"Where am I to get it?" asked Satyasaran. "Hundreds of people, as qualified as myself are loafing about day and night here."

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"Other things besides qualifications, also count," said Nikhil. "You made no use of them before you shook the dust of Calcutta off your feet. But I cannot blame you, your mind must have been in an awful state then. If your sister had kept you here forcibly for some more time, you would have found something to do in Calcutta."

"By the way, how is sister?" asked Satyasaran, "I have not yet asked after her."

"She is much better, but not yet fit to return," replied Nikhil. "My brother wrote the other day, that they might stay on at the Leysin for another year."

"I am glad to hear that she is better," said Satyasaran. "I was afraid of becoming the last of my family. Now my only ambition at present is, that I may not have to abuse your hospitality too long."

"Well, you may have a better ambition very soon," said Nikhil. "You are not a Sanyasi. Once you found a home, the ambitions will crowd into your mind of themselves. So you must not waste any more time, but make good use of it."

Satyasaran remained silent. Was he ever going to found a home? He did not think so. Fate had placed him in such a predicament, that the very thought of home and family was anathema to him. His heart bled whenever such thoughts assailed him. He was little short of a destroyer of woman; had he the right to link his life to that of a fresh young girl? He had not made love to Kanakamma, indeed he had not thought of her in that way, but for all that, he could never offer his love to any other woman, before he had paid off his debt to the full. Her debt was not to be repaid with money alone. He could not think how exactly it was to be done. Was there any way of making a life blossom forth that had become cankered in the bud? But first of all, he must rescue her from her living tomb.

Nikhil was looking at him with a penetrating glance. There must be something wrong, he thought, "Have you left your heart in bondage to some Ma Pan or Ma Than?" he asked.

"Nothing of the kind," replied Satyasaran, trying to laugh. "I was hardly in a mood for it."

"You don't need to be," said Nikhil. "The thing is as insidious as influenza and attacks you unawares."

"However, it has not attacked me," said Satyasaran.

A servant came in and informed Nikhil that a gentleman was waiting for him downstairs. "I shall be back very soon," said Nikhil, getting up to go. "What will you do in the meantime? Shall I ask my wife to come in?

"No please, don't," cried Satyasaran hastily. "She is busy, you must not disturb her?"

"Busy indeed," said Nikhil. "She is busy spoiling some first class mutton. My cook knows his business quite well, and needs no supervision, but I have never dared to say so, for fear of domestic dissension."

Satyasaran was still feeling very much depressed and was in no mood for the gay conversation of Sarojini. He collected some magazines and sat down with these. "I shall look them over," he said to Nikhil. "I have long been denied this recreation."

Nikhil went down, leaving him alone. Satyasaran was a regular bookworm. In Rangoon, he had not only been denied nourishment for the body but for the mind as well. Now he wanted to devour everything at one gulp. But he was too tired, and drowsiness overcome him now and then. He would have dropped asleep probably, but the voice of Sarojini, speaking in the next room, woke him up with a start.

Sarojini came in the next moment and cried out, "Just what I thought. So he has gone down, leaving you all alone? The man has no manners at all."

"No, no, something very important has called him away," said Satyasaran. "So you have finished your cooking?"

"I have not finished, but the rest of the work will be done by the cook," said Sarojini. "My husband is always late, he never has his lunch before one o'clock. That would be very inconvenient for you."

"Not at all," said Satyasaran. "It will be very convenient, on the other hand. I shall have time to digest all that I had taken in the morning. I think I shall go out for a stroll and come back in time for the lunch."

"Very well," said Sarojini, "but you must be back by half past twelve."

Satyasaran went out. But he did not know where to go at first. He had friends enough in Calcutta once, but were they still his friends? Nikhil was the same as ever, but everyone might not be as generous as he was. Satyasaran need not go out of his way to court insult. It would not kill him, but it might make him lose all his self-confidence.

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He got into a tram at last. It was bound for Harrison Road. In the good old days, he had been in the habit of wandering about the book shops. He was very welcome in quarter in those days. He might not be treated with scant courtesy there even now.

(*To be continued*)

ECONOMIC PLANNING IN BENGAL

By RADHA KAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

The present agricultural crisis in Bengal demands that economists in the province must look long ahead and plan boldly. Agricultural decadence, increase of jungle and malaria have not only been stabilized for over two-fifths of Bengal, but have been rapidly extending to two-thirds. The extent and uninterrupted character of the agricultural decay ought to engender serious apprehensions. During a period of only forty years, 1891-1931, the net cultivated area declined by as much as about 60 per cent in Hooghly, 50 per cent in Burdwan and 32 per cent in Jessore. Such districts were at the beginning of the 19th century full of prosperous villages, orchards adding to the agricultural wealth of the region testified to by several European travellers. The percentage of the cultivated to cultivable area declined in the district of Jessore by as much as about one-fourth in one decade, 1921-1931. The new fallow land in Jessore is estimated at about four times that of the neighbouring district of Faridpur.

The loss of overflow irrigation and silt, the decline of fertility and crop out-turn, the increase of jungle and fallow land and spread of malaria, all have stabilized themselves in the dead river zones of Central and Western Bengal. From the standpoint of area and population implicated in such agricultural decline, the phenomenon must be regarded as a disaster unprecedented in the agricultural history of the modern world.

Such agricultural decay is to be attributed to several factors, some of which are mutually dependant. A north-eastward pressure of the Ganges was discernible since the 16th century, due to the western detour of the Kosi and the reversal of drainage it caused in north-west Bengal. This led to the sudden emergence of the Padma, which collected the pent-up waters and in her first north-eastward swing cut through the districts of Malda, Rajshahi and Pabna in Akbar's days. The flow of the Bhagirathi was interrupted on account of the decline of her western tributaries, such as the Damodar, and Ajai whose regime was also due to reckless deforestation in the uplands of Birbhum, Burdwan and Sonthal Parganas and in the Chota Nagpur plateau. This accelerated the eastward march of the Ganges which brought about the premature decadence first of the Nadia and then of the Jessore rivers. Canalisation in the United Provinces and Bihar lowered the normal discharge of the Ganges and the spring level to such an extent as to interrupt her connections with the Bhagirathi and other spill channels for a considerable period of the year. The construction of bridges and embankments, and of roads and railways without adequate culverts and often cutting right across the natural lines of drainage, the premature reclamation of swamps, the complete destruction of the mantle of forests and groves in the entire tract, have also affected the natural drainage and reduced the areas of free river spill and discharge, flush and scour. A subsidence towards the north-eastern quadrant of the joint delta is indicated by the existence of a long chain of marshes and lagoons from the east of the city of Calcutta to Bakarganj and the proximity of the 200-fathom contour, probably associated with the seismic line of Assam, to the Meghna estuary. This has also contributed to aggravate the effects of human mismanagement for over a century and a half. Associated with the decay of the river systems in Central, Southern and Western Bengal is the congestion of waters and erosion of the Jamuna, Padma and Meghna.

Such evils, which have been cumulatively on the increase making more and more difficult the problem of reconstruction, could only be successfully combated by long-sighted and systematic measures of afforestation, irrigation, river control and hydro-electric development.

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A forward policy of afforestation in the catchment basins of the western tributaries of the Bhagirathi in the uplands of Bengal and the Chota Nagpur plateau and of the Himalayan streams in mountain slopes would regulate floods and make the construction of storage reservoirs possible. Plantations of rural forests and groves in such districts as Birbhum and Bankura could check soil erosion which is spending fertility and in Murshidabad and Nadia could mitigate chronic fuel famine that leads to the burning of cow-dung, the only manure available for the poor peasant. Such rural afforestation will also help towards the conservation of moisture, and improvement of agriculture and animal keeping through the supply of humus and fuel.

Appropriate sites for storage reservoirs for the purpose of irrigation have been found by the engineers in the cases of the Tiesta, Damodar, Darakeswar, Bansoli, Ajai and Kunakshi.

The cheapness of irrigation in Bengal due to the short interval between impounding and use of water in the fields, the possibility of expansion of sugar-cane, the neglect of old tanks and the risks to agriculture in Western Bengal due to the precarious distribution of rainfall, all justify schemes of irrigation on a large scale from the rivers, which have their sources in the Chota Nagpur and Sonthal Parganas hills and which now bring devastating floods.

The association of a hydro-electric establishment with a Tiesta barrage scheme could open up great industrial possibilities in Northern Bengal as the combination of irrigation and hydro-electricity have done for the Upper Ganges Doab. In the latter region electricity is also used for pumping water from rivers into canals. Electricity is energising state-owned tube-wells in a planned programme of cane development in the United Provinces. Tube-wells owned by government and run by electricity or by oil and steam-engines in Birbhum, Bankura or Midnapore might solve the present problem of scarcity of agricultural water-supply.

Similarly electricity could be harnessed in Bengal for pumping the silt-laden water of the active rivers into dead rivers and water courses. This has obvious advantages in those zones where any interference with the river channels is to be avoided.

The surplus red waters of the Ganges and the Tiesta could be diverted into the Baral, Atrai, Karotoya, and Punarvabha and those of the Ganges for resuscitating the Jalanghi, Mathabhanga, the Bhairab, the Kumar and other minor rivers in the central delta.

Small and stray measures like the Ghaznavi and Bijoy cuts are but palliatives. They could confer benefits on the decadent deltaic area only when these are co-ordinated with bigger schemes of regional river planning.

Coupled with schemes of flushing the dead or dying rivers there should be launched carefully planned reclamation and bonification measures which, as experiences in Italy, Holland and Palestine, have clearly shown, are more successful in stamping out malaria than direct compaigns of mass quininisation and destruction of anopheles which the Government have now stressed.

In the lower delta face planned drainage and reclamation on the lines of reclamation of sea, moor and fen in Holland and Normandy should supersede the present irresponsible and premature colonisation, encroachment of swamps and construction of marginal embankments which are leading everywhere, from Tamluk to the Haringhata estuary, to water logging, decay of rivers even in their tidal reaches and sudden ruin of cultivation by the impenetration of saline water when embankments are broken. The raising of dykes which will mitigate the intensity of storm-waves from the Bay of Bengal, the plantation of defensive vegetation against the attack of sand dunes, the enlargement of swamps or basins into which the rivers may empty, and the construction of ditches, ring-canals and sluice gates for the passage of saline water would represent some of the features which may be introducted from Holland into a plan of land reconstruction in the tidal areas of Bengal.

The reclamation of vast waste spaces and misasmatic jungles in the tidal areas will add materially to Bengal's food supply for her multiplying numbers; while the utilisation of extensive stretches of grass-lands between the mangrove forests and the sea from the Twenty-four Parganas to Bakarganj for grazing grounds, like those of Holland and Normandy may revive cattle-breeding and animal husbandry in Bengal, where the condition of the live-stock is the most deplorable in India. Similarly, the development of the estuarine and marine fisheries of the Sunderbans by utilisation of scientific methods of capture, storage and conveyance will, as the Settlement Officer of Khulna pointed out, provide new employment for the educated middle class and promise better pros-

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pects of success than the Eldorados of Port Canning, and Frazergunge.

Canalisation in the U. P. and Bihar and deforestation in Chota Nagpur and Assam have contributed a great deal to alter the regime of the Bengal rivers, reduce their normal discharge or cause floods. The up and down river areas on the bigger rivers should no longer be permitted to pursue provincial schemes of irrigation and colonisation without reference to the integrity of the entire river system as a unified whole.

It is necessary to establish a Ganges River Commission, acting on behalf of the Federal Government, which could coordinate the divergent interests of the U. P., Bihar, Assam and Bengal as regards schemes of canalisation, reclamation and river control. Problems of more than provincial significance are implicated in the steady agricultural decline and recurrent floods in Bengal, and only a federal body, similar to the Mississipi River Commission, could effectively adjudicate on the conflicting claims of different provinces and press for expenditure on public works on an inter-provincial scale.

Bengal must now have to think of economic planning in terms not of lakhs but of [illegible] raised as provincial development loans like [illegible] of the U. P., the Punjab and Bombay. [illegible] a 2 to 3 per cent interest return like [illegible] now expected of the U. P. hydro-electric [illegible] would be enough to justify such planned [illegible] culturally productive undertakings. The [illegible] land revenue is inelastic due to the perm[illegible] settlement should not deter us from such [illegible] which may be made revenue yielding [illegible] the imposition of improvement levies or [illegible] of agricultural incomes, both carefully [illegible] and wisely graded and distributed. [illegible] afforestation, river control and hydro-[illegible] development should be devised for [illegible] periods of five, ten to twenty-five years. [illegible] these would merely follow the large [illegible] undertakings for rural development in the [illegible] and the Punjab, their further delay would [illegible] a much larger expenditure in the long run [illegible] yet the possibility of Nature's forces let [illegible] by man's improvidence and selfishness, [illegible] ultimately too strong for his skill and [illegible] ment. In some parts of decadent Bengal [illegible] the mosquito appears to have conquered [illegible] and the marsh and jungle superseded his [illegible] tion permanently.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU'S REPORT ON UNEMPLOYMENT

By Prof. HIRA LAL CHATTERJI

By universal consent the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's report on unemployment and his oration in the Legislative Council at Lucknow on the 2nd of March last are magnificent, which is the only and the proper word to characterise them.

Facts and figures are as a rule sacrosanct offerings to Dry-as-Dust, but those which Sir Tej Bahadur has marshalled have been hewn out of the rock of life—have been dug up from the travailing heart of humanity in its most pusissant stage. The diction is elevated but not florid, the tone is in a heightened emotional state but has avoided being caught up into foggy rhapsody.

I wonder why arrangements were not made to broadcast his speech to the other councils and to all the universities to give a distinct ply to their future programmes. The petrified ministers and the vice-chancellors entrenched in customary routine would have been *outlifted* from narrow grooves of thought, would have been *uplifted* from the dead level of commonplace. They would have been brought into contact with a new world where evils, und[illegible] of by the fabled designer of Pandora's Box [illegible] as severe job famine, violent class-[illegible] bitter communal bias and blank despair, [illegible] paralysing the hand which should hold the [illegible] tive pen and freezing the tongue which [illegible] use prophetic words. Jupiter, when invent[illegible] box as a bridal gift and packing it with all [illegible] that are at enmity with joy, had a soft [illegible] in his heart and left Hope at the bottom; [illegible] the modern architects of the State in [illegible] perverse ingenuity and unrivalled energy [illegible] malice have wiped it out, so that the [illegible] in front is utterly denuded of all roseate [illegible] As soon as the ceremony at the convocation [illegible] over and the chief head has exhorted him [illegible] worthy of the diploma inflicted on him [illegible] young graduate finds himself grotesquely [illegible] tune with the culture imparted to him to [illegible] forth on life's uneven way. He is at [illegible] plunged into a quandary which makes [illegible] utterly ridiculous. He is forced to play a [illegible] with a mocking fiend pitted against him [illegible] remorseless adversary. How harrowing [illegible]

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sition when *shifarish* has become the only ...ehword! Looking round him and realising disproportion between merit and its recogni- how bitterly does he echo Shakespeare's ...ds:

> that states, dignities, and offices
> ...not deriv'd corruptly, and that clear honour
> ...purchas'd by the merit of the wearer. . .
> ...much pleasantry would then be gleaned
> ...the true seed of honour; and how much honour
> ...d from the chaff and ruin of the times
> ...e new varnish'd!

And yet the young man has such splendid ...pose in his eyes, such glorious energy in his ...s, such divine flutterings in his breast! He ...ther sealed amid the iron hills of economic ...blings and sophistries or is helplessly blown ...t like the desert dust. The spirit of ...llenge to envisage circumstance is crushed by ...ing care for the daily bread, and whichever ...he turns, he dashes his head against the ...circum-vallation of race, religion, sect.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru did not, like a reck- ...agitator, blaze letters of doom on the walls ...the Council Chamber, "*Mene, mene, Tickel ...harsin*: Thou art weighed in the balance ...found wanting:" For there is still time ...a considered plan—but all the same he did ...mince matters and in plain language he ...rned the legislators at Lucknow and outside ...t thousands of graduates were brooding on ...deep wrong done to them, and their inward ...e might get beyond control and usher in a ...ter social order by smashing the present struc- ...e which in their opinion has been built up by ...-seeking businessmen. One of the brightliest ...ed among University students, Sir Tej ...adur Sapru was perhaps never a candidate ...a temporary munsiffship or the post of sub- ...strar on probation or an officiating vacancy ...r a village dominie. Perhaps he has perso- ...y never known how rude refusals blast the ...r nature of youthful aspirants after office, ...d yet his heartbeats are in rhythmic harmony ...those who are daily spurned from better ...itations to chew the unsavoury cud of ...ppointment.

With mingled wrath and sorrow, more in ...ness than in anger, he said,

> "I can say that I am very much in touch with the ...ent population. They come to me with piteous ...eals. I have kept a record of many of the applications ...t I have received and I do feel that there is nothing ...e demoralizing to a young man than that he should ...to go from door to door asking for help and asking ...recommendations for this job or that job and then ...mately finding that there is nothing for him to do. ...ankly, Sir, I am not at all surprised that there should ...so much discontent and bitterness among the young ...en of these provinces. If I was not 60 but only 20 and I found that the society of which I was a member and that the Government of which I was a subject made it impossible for me to earn a decent living and to get two square meals a day, why my thoughts would also be running on the lines which the thoughts of the young men are running now."

It is not yet too late for the other legislatures and educational authorities to invite him to deliver his inspring message. He will stamp his foot and the hidden mines will send up a jet of gold to clothe the dry skeletons and help them to grow into an exceeding mighty army to subdue anarchy and chaos which are extending their remorseless tentacles everywhere.

Listening to Sir Tej Bahadur's words of wisdom, the audience will be touched to finer issues. The Councils may not heedlessly launch insane schemes involving huge expenditure—the universities may prudently hold up their wasteful programmes of constructing unions and halls and hostels, the political leaders may for the time being postpone their assemblage under costly pandals for the purpose of devising administrative formulas which can be more effectively done in the columns of their organs, and the aristocracy and the upper classes may abandon their pleasure cruise round the globe, which for aught we know to the contrary is not going to shrink in its dimensions, in the near future.

The destiny of a nation is at stake. The progressive deterioration of young men through perpetual unemployment is a challenge to civilisation and, what is worse, it is like taking the spring with all its hoarded fragrance and colour out of the rolling year.

A cynic may scoffingly belittle the value of the document prepared by the Sapru Committee and remark that facts and figures in prodigal abundance are each season worked out and arranged neatly by the subordinate staff of the secretariat. May we remind him of the lines addressed to the mythical ruler of Ithaca

> The things, Ulysses,
> The wise bards also,
> Behold and sing,
> But O, what labour,
> O prince, what pain!

Then to the sceptical arm-chair politician who may find fault with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for his super-serviceable zeal to pare away with a delicately fashioned safety-razor the giant mass of granite piled up by injustice and greed and self-interest, we may say that he belongs to the band of the invincible optimists of an earlier age and appropriately recall the language of Tennyson used in another context:

> Who rowing hard against the stream,
> Saw distant gates of Eden gleam,
> And did not dream it was a dream!

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MANIACAL RAVINGS

By the late Rao Bahadur Pandit
K. VEERESALINGAM PANTULU,
Rajahmundry

Scene—Lunatic Asylum, Madras.

Enter—Acharyulu the Sane, while Pantulu the Crazy and Sastri the Mad are in conference.

Pantu. Sastri! There comes Acharyulu. Scalded be his face! Turned be his dwelling into a burning-ground!

Sastri. (In a whisper) Acharyulu is coming up all alone. We are two here; shall we belabour him?

Achar. Well, Pantulu! Without any ground, you are abusing one who is going his own way. Madness waxes high each new-moon and each full-moon day! Is it due to this being a full-moon day that you keep raving like that?

Pantu. To the misfortune of worthies like my good self, the rule of the *mlechchas* is come upon this land, and absolute *varna-sankaram* * is going on. Wherever we look, it is only pariah-meal.† If only this had been in the olden days, oh wouldn't we have broken the heads of blackguards like you to death at one blow for perpetrating things like this so reprehensible to Aryas?

Achar. You are indulging in praise of self and dispraise of others excellently well. Rail on for as many days as you may, you will hold your peace as soon as your tongue aches. I don't mind at all the utterances of mad folks like you. Seeing that you are a mad-cap, I just pity you instead of being angered, whatever names you call me.

Pantu. If you go on like this, I'll turn mad, get beside myself and do anything against you. So, do clear out. If I became really mad, would I not by now break your head in twain and wreak my vengeance outright?

Achar. Countless, they say, are the ways of the crack-brained. You needn't become specially mad: you have enough of it already. Those whose madness goes to extremes beat everybody they behold; and those in the ordinary degree of madness like you stop short with abuse. As madness grows on *parva** you take to calling all people names every moon day once in the month. I always for the time when you shall be cured of insanity and be classed with the sane.

Pantu. Rather, so you lament. toward times are up now. One can't open mouth! Nothing but restraints all round account of pariah government! Every muffin of a fellow coming to be educated getting into the services, too! And then on abusing anybody in the least; likewise beating anybody! Oh when will this *Kaliyuga* pass away?

Sastri. Education—how strange!—not to males alone, but to females also! standing-ground owing to the education damned widows! It seems she has been cated in a Girls' School—may her edu turn into a hard block of stone! A three-y old widow†—my wife defies me and says loathsome to touch dung! What a pure is cowdung! For the life of me, I couldn't her swallow three dung-pills, the other day new-moon!

Achar. Oh, senseless Brahmin! Do get mad on new-moon days? What, demand swallowing of dung-pills without aversion?

Sastri. As new-moon day is a day to the manes and as it won't do to give propitiatory treat to a Brahmin unless ourselves purified, I just wanted her to her body with a little of cowdung and, for sake of the *sastra*, to take in small co pillets and then have a full bath. A ten-y old widow†—isn't she to act up to her husb word for his having sold away field and stead and purchased her for a thousand flung away into the flames? A ten-year widow—whose word is she going to obey, that of myself aged sixty?

Pantu. Oh, the womenfolk of these are not such as to heed their husbands'

* Intermixture of castes.
† Forbidden food at the hands of the pariah.

* Days in the lunar month fraught with influence.
† A term of abuse signifying 'a perverse little

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or anything of the kind! As the saying goes that the festival of the storms is yet in store, your trials are still to come. After your wife grows of age and comes to live with you, you will then recall that my astrological forecast has been fulfilled. Once they have received education, will wretched widows* remain amenable to direction? This education is simply drowning our raft. Else, sir, did we ever know, whether through the ear or through the eye, anything about these widow-marriages? All these enormities are cropping up out of *Kalihima*.† '*Kalonpanchasahasrani jayathe varnasankarah*'‡—so runs the adage. Some more days and everything will go to the dogs through *varnasankaram*.

SASTRI. As you mention 'widow-marriage,' my body begins to shiver. Out of ignorance, in this decrepit old age, I have tied an educated widow** on to myself. I wonder where she is going to remarry as soon as she becomes widowed! Oh heavens, pray, avert from my eyes the sight of her taking to widow-marriage.

ACHAR. Well, Sastri! How, I ask, will your wife become a widow while you remain alive? You seem to be a mad-cap. After sixty years of age, to what end has this marriage been contracted by freely selling away lands and fields? With one foot in the grave, have you married quite in the hope of living together and enjoying happiness with a child-wife? If your wife remarries as you say, it will, once for all, bring to their senses all over-aged "widows' sons"†† like you so that they shall no longer marry little girls and wreck the homes of those girls.

SASTRI. I married only for the sake of duty as a householder lest *karma* should be undone. Did I marry for happiness' sake? Even while my third wife was alive, I had no need of conjugal happiness. Now that I am grown old, I have married just in order not to remain wifeless and be disqualified for the performance of a sacrifice—the source of heavenly bliss.

ACHAR. It is doubtful whether or not you will perform a sacrifice before you die. But after your death, in case she does not remarry, your wife, at least, will perform a number of human sacrifices. Then, you will come in for the fruits of sacrifice in full.

PANTU. Those who remarry will become outcastes and incur ruin as good for nothing. A certain gentleman had a lightning-stroke upon his abode the other day, merely on account of having dined with a remarried party. Also, an old dame in the house of the man who had married breathed her last. What, will it all go for nothing, if one launches out on such iniquitous acts? The outcry of the virtuous cannot but have its harmful effect.

ACHAR. Bravo! Your utterances are praiseworthy, indeed! Should Government come to know of them, they would amply reward you. If Her Majesty comes to hear of this, they will adorn your feet with anklets and chains of hard metal, lodge you in grand palaces built by Government, give you for your guard servants in the employ of the rulers, provide you with food and clothing and all at State expense only and show you great consideration without your having to step out of the town. Sooner or later, this right royal dignity will fall to your lot without fail. The lightning-flash descending upon the house of those who dined, went off without danger. But, according to public records, forty-nine deaths occurred on account of bolts from the blue this year all over India; and it seems they were all people opposed to widow-marriage. Why all that? In the course of a single week in this very town, some two hundred persons among the opponents of widow-marriage have passed away after suffering from numerous complaints. Do you fancy that womankind's sighs of grievance will fail of their due effect?

PANTU. It will be a sin to talk to you. Even because vicious ideas like this are all springing up in your minds, therefore only it is that short-lived people are being born, one and all, in this generation. But for this wicked Government, I would dig a fathom-deep pit and bury you clean in it. Come along, Sastri; let us go in.

ACHAR. Whatever the restraints and the risks, there is nothing to hinder you from raving at random as the tongue prompts you, seeing that you are mad-caps. I have lost one hour's time in debate with demented folks. Things will come to pass as they must, whatever malicious raillery you may indulge in. I go.

(*Exeunt all*)

[Translated from Telugu by Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A., L.T. Ph.D.]

* A term of abuse for hated women.
† The marvels of the age of Kali.
‡ Intermixture of castes will follow on the lapse of five thousand years in *Kaliyuga*.
** A term of abuse for a hated woman.
†† A general term of abuse.

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FEDERAL FINANCE AND THE CASE FOR BENGAL

By Prof. B. MUKHERJEE

The financial position of Bengal has steadily deteriorated ever since the Montford Reforms were introduced in 1921. In the last 16 years she had six surplus and 10 deficit budgets. The actual position varied as follows from year to year :

1921-22	—215 Lakhs.	1929-30	+2 Lakhs.
1922-23	+126 „	1930-31	—175 „
1923-24	+35 „	1931-32	—199 „
1924-25	+58 „	1932-33	—130 „
1925-26	+40 „	1933-34	—176 „
1926-27	—21 „	1934-35	—5 „
1927-28	—4 „	1935-36	—5 „
1928-29	+8 „	1936-37	—51 „

1936-37 is the seventh year in succession that Bengal has shown a deficit budget but if we ignore the petty surpluses of 1928-29 and 1929-30, the era of deficits really started in 1926-27 and has practically continued for eleven years. The few years of surplus in the above list were due to the imposition of new taxation in order to balance the budget.

The uncovered deficits have averaged about Rs. 2 crores per annum. Bengal has exhausted long ago her balances and reserves and she has now nothing left to fall back upon. She was thus compelled to meet her heavy deficits by taking repeated loans from the Central Government. Her debts are rapidly growing and threaten to become a real menace to her financial solvency. By the end of 1936-37, it will reach over Rs. 8 crores. Bengal has got to pay heavy interest on this huge load of debt and this cripples her resources still further. The charge for interest is increasing year by year.

Inter-Provincial Standards

Bengal is one of the richest and foremost provinces of India, but the scales of her revenue and expenditure are both much lower than those of the other major provinces of India. The latest figures are not available but the Layton Report in the Simon Commission revealed[1] remarkable contrasts as shown below :

Provincial Revenues in Crores of Rupees.

	1921-22	1928-29
Madras	11.4	17.5
Bombay	13.1	15.2
U. P.	10.0	11.4
Punjab	7.1	11.1
Bengal	8.3	10.9

1. Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. II, page 229.

The following figures[2] relating to 1931 are also interesting :

Province	Population in Millions	Revenue Crores of Rs.	Expenditure Crores of Rs.	Per capita expenditure
Madras ..	46.7	16.2	16.2	Rs. 3
Bombay ..	21.9	14.8	15.2	„ 6
U. P. ..	48.4	11.2	11.8	„ 2
Bengal ..	50.1	9.0	11.0	„ 1
Punjab ..	23.5	9.9	10.3	„ 4
Bihar & Orissa ..	37.6	5.1	5.4	„ 1
C. P. ..	15.5	4.1	4.5	„ 3
Assam ..	8.6	2.4	2.4	„ 2

From the latest figures, it will thus be s that while Bengal has the largest popula of all the major provinces in India, her inc stands fifth in the list of provincial resour As far as expenditure per capita is concer she is the seventh in a family of eight, B standing last. Whatever tests may be app Bengal makes a poor show. A major prov —like Bengal—one of the richest in India in rags in spite of her resources. Really, a of the shadow underneath the lamp. T standard of Bengal's expenditure in the nati building services is very much lower than t standard in other provinces. Layton cal lated[3] the per capita expenditure in nati building services in 1930 as follows :

Province	Density per sq. Mile	Education	Medical and Sanitation
Madras ..	297	.6	.33
Bombay ..	156	1.0	.47
U. P. ..	427	.42	.14
Bengal ..	608	.28	.21
Punjab ..	207	.80	.39

The number of beds in the hospitals[4] millions of people varied as below :

Bombay ..	332	Assam	12
Punjab ..	280	U. P.	15
Madras ..	183	C. P.	15
Burma ..	418	Bengal	10

2. Statistical Abstract of British India, 11th is 1934.
3. Simon Commission, Vol. II, page 233.
4. Simon Commission, Vol. XV, page 283.

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The disparity is further revealed by comparing the total expenditure in the Transferred Departments[5] in the major provinces as below :

Provinces.	1922-23	1929-30	Increase	Percentage increase.
	(Figures in lakhs of rupees)			
Madras	.. 411	763	352	86
Punjab	.. 299	542	243	82
U. P.	.. 298	388	90	30
Bombay	.. 453	567	114	25
Bengal	.. 353	404	50	14

The Reason For It—The Meston Award

The figures reveal a deplorable state of affairs and if this state of things is allowed to continue for a long time, the situation will become really dangerous. Bengal is bankrupt today, not because she is poor nor because she is lacking in resources, but because of the monstrous Meston Award, which by a glaring mistake seriously under-estimated her level of expenditure and took no account of her increasing population and higher standard of administration. Sixteen years of the unjust Meston settlement has ruined Bengal. It is the grossly unfair Meston Award that has wrecked the Montford Reforms in Bengal. Her nation-building services have been starved because there was no money to pay for them and the Ministers could do little to justify the Reforms. You cannot get cheese out of stones. There is no magic which will yield a miracle in a vacuum. Should this inequitable settlement be not buried ten fathoms deep, it would most certainly wreck the new Constitution as well. "The revenue of the State is the State," said Edmund Burke and the whole future of constitutional reform in Bengal is now in jeopardy as a result of this iniquitous award. All the development services and functions which will certainly need large expenditure in the future are assigned to the provinces but the revenues assigned to them—*e.g.*, Land Revenue, Irrigation, Excise, Forests, Stamps and Registration are both inadequate and inelastic. Some of them are actually declining while others are either stationary or, at best, show an inadequate expansion. On the other hand, the Central Government, whose expenditure should be stationary or falling, has got the only revenues which are elastic and which in recent years have shown considerable expansion. The inevitable result of such a system is the perpetual scramble for the federal dole, which cannot build a stable system of finance either in the Centre or in the circumference.

5. Simon Commission, Vol. II, page 234.

Reforms must naturally start in the Centre and gradually spread to the circumference. At present our Central finance is in a pretty bad way. The future position of the Customs—which is the main source of Central revenues—is vauge and uncertain with discriminating protection on the one hand and the Ottawa preferences on the other. With more and more discriminating protection our imports of manufactures will decline and the Customs revenue is likely to dwindle. Our revenue tariff is unduly high and seriously retards our trade recovery. Our military expenditure is too high and the defence ratio in the Budget 60% needs drastic reduction. It is indeed too much for the poor tax-payer to hope that our Army Headquarters will ever feel satisfied that they had really enough for their purposes. The tax-payer can never argue an expert out of his position, because he knows he is an expert and the other fellow pays. In the interest of the poor tax-payer a substantial reduction in our military budget is urgently called for. Our railways, for a long time to come, will continue to be a charge instead of an asset to the tax-payer. The uneconomic competition between motors and railways leads to excessive wastes of competition and makes the whole future very uncertain. The generous creation of new provinces in recent years has added enormously to our difficulties. It is really time to cry halt. Apart from the centrifugal tendencies it encourages which create a lot of inter-provincial difficulties and discontent, it also leads to increased financial burdens by the necessity of new administrative equipments and large subventions from the Centre. The Centre must in its own interest and in the interest of the Federation make itself solvent and to ensure this, it must keep itself free from further commitments in the future by refusing to encourage the fissiparous creation of new provinces.

The excessive and increasing dependence on agriculture, the slow growth of industrial development, the heavy decline in agricultural prices since 1929, the successive doses of constitutional reform which at every step has meant increased expenditure all these have led to an unmeasured deterioration of the financial position in Bengal. The rigidity of her revenue resources, the narrow margin of financial safety and vanished reserves—all have now created a first class problem which demands immediate solution. The main heads of her revenue are Land Revenue, Excise, Stamps, Forests and Registration. Due to the Perma-

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nent Settlement her land revenue is fixed and cannot expand. Excise revenue is steadily falling. Forests in Bengal are yet undeveloped. Due to the disastrous fall in the price of jute and other money crops and the general economic depression Bengal's revenue has gone down by about Rs. 2 crores per annum since 1929. On the other hand, she had to meet heavy expenditures due to the political unrest in the province which has considerably added to her financial burdens. Bengal's revenues are lower than those of other provinces, not because her needs are less nor because she is poorer than the rest, but simply because the unfair Meston Settlement robs her of a good part of her legitimate resources.

Bengal's Contribution to the Centre

Bengal's contribution to the total resources of the Central Government are very much greater than that of any other province. A very large part of the total revenue raised within the province and contributed by her own people is ceded to the Centre. It is this considerable leakage of revenue that makes Bengal so poor. She is the biggest consumer of all imported and excisable goods and as such she pays a very large part of the large Customs revenue which the Centre absorbs year after year. Similarly, she pays heavily in Income-tax, Salt-tax, etc., and all these go into the pockets of Sir James Grigg. The Layton Report calculated for 1928-29 the total revenue raised in each province and the portion of it that was ceded to the Centre and the result[6] was revealed as follows :

(Figures In Lakhs of Rupees)

	Bengal	Madras	Bombay	U. P.	Punjab	Bihar
Total Revenue raised in the Province	3774	2520	4006	1567	1216	672
Out of it the share of the Province is	1097	1753	1522	1145	1115	578
Share ceded to the Centre	2677	767	2484	422	101	94
Percentage of Revenue ceded to the total revenue	71	30	62	27	9	14

This shows how 71% of the total revenue raised in Bengal goes to the Centre. She pays the highest contribution of all provinces in India. The rest of India benefit by her legitimate dues owing to the inequitable and unjust financial settlement. For every rupee raised in the Province, His Excellency Sir John Anderson keeps only 5 annas while Sir J. Grigg carries away 11. For every r... raised in other provinces, Madras keeps ... annas, Bombay 6, U. P. 12, Punjab 14, ... Bihar 14. After this, it is hardly necessary ... argue why Bengal is so poor. She gets ... 30% of her own revenues to meet the ... of the most populous province in India. ... is idle to expect the Government of Beng... work miracles on this basis. One plus ... will always make two and not eleven. I... futile to expect magic with such poor reso... The Meston Calculus was hopelessly wr... and it has worked grave injustice to Bengal ... that explains Bengal's recurring deficits ... after year.

Retrenchment

Inspite of this unfair settlement, Ben... has, however, done her best to balance ... budget. On the one hand, she has pur... steadily a policy of drastic retrenchment ... since the Montford Reforms were introd... in 1921. The activities of the Govern... have been very heavily restricted and ... biggest sufferers were the nation-building de... ments in the province. The figures we ... given above will show how, on every test, ... richest province in India stands lowest in ... list of the major provinces. In a co... where social services have never been ... important feature of the national budget, ... tic retrenchment is always possible wi... serious effect on social welfare. It may ... argued however that there is considerable ... for retrenchment still left. Its possibi... have not yet been fully explored in ... directions. We will just refer to one item o... the Bengal Cabinet of seven members. I... needlessly large and may easily be red... without any serious loss in efficiency. For... the whole of modern Bengal, Bihar and Or... were administered by only one Lieuten... Governor without the aid of any Co... While conceding that administration since ... days has become far more complex and di... and the population has grown rapidly, it ... be pointed out, at the same time firstly, ... Bihar and Orissa have been separated ... Bengal—thereby very greatly reducing the ... and burden of the charge—and secondly, there ... a cabinet to assist the Governor in his ... duties. Do we need as many as seven ... to assist him? Cannot we do with ... Bengal's unwieldy cabinet excites unple... criticism from other provinces; *e.g.*, ... Mehta openly complained (Council of S...

6. Simon Commission Vol. II, page 230.

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March 5, 1934) that while Bombay has reduced Cabinet from 7 to 4 to square her budget, Bengal has done nothing of the kind yet.

Fresh Taxation

Simultaneously with retrenchment, Bengal, the other hand, has done her best to balance budget by increased taxation. The Montford Reforms came in 1921 and in 1922 Bengal was the first province to impose new taxation to cover her deficits. From 1922-24 more than half a dozen of new taxes were imposed. Only last year (1935) five new taxes, expected to yield about Rs. 25 lakhs a year were imposed on the province. When the Central Government in 1934 ceded half the Jute duty to Bengal it was granted on the express condition that the Government of Bengal must satisfy the Central Government that she had done all that was possible to help herself and restore equilibrium in her budget. That test Bengal has met in full. Sir James Grigg was satisfied[7] that Bengal could not reasonably be expected further to retrench even below the present scale of her expenditure, which was easily the lowest amongst all the major provinces of India. "Indeed," he said, "in some respects retrenchment had been carried to the point where it was unremunerative." The field for fresh taxation is rather limited in Bengal. Land Revenue is inelastic and due to the Permanent Settlement it cannot expand. Successive increases in Stamp duties have already put them high enough and any further rise would bring them under the Law of Diminishing Returns. Excise Revenue is dwindling. Any attempt to levy fresh taxes may well defeat its own purpose. As Sir Malcolm Hailey warned[8] the Imperial Legislative Assembly :

"We have examined the case both narrowly and critically and it appears certain that with every economy, Bengal must have a deficit of Rs. 1.2 crores even if we make no allowance for any extra expenditure on improvements which are necessary if the system of reforms is to be a success."

His Excellency Sir John Anderson therefore did not exaggerate in the least when he recently remarked :[9]

"We ask not for help but for nothing less than a just settlement of our own rights from others . . . Were this Federation an engagement into which each of the units would enter of its own volition, no doubt, each one would have a great deal to say about the terms on which it would pool a portion of its resources. Upon a satisfactory adjustment of those terms, specially in matters of finance, the future harmony and stability of the Federation would largely depend. The equity of the financial arrangements will be an inevitable condition of its harmonious working . . . We should be assured of a total revenue sufficient to enable the Government of the future to maintain a standard of administration reasonably adequate both in itself and in relation to the standards attainable in other provinces."

The Jute Duty

As a partial recognition of the justice of her case the Central Government ceded to Bengal in 1934 one-half of the jute export duty. Half the Jute duty (Rs. 4/8/- per bale of 400 lbs.). was assigned[10] to the Jute provinces in proportion to the average rate of production over the last five years. Naturally, the largest part of it came to Bengal and the sums actually alloted in 1934-35 came to 149 lakhs in Bengal against 11 lakhs to Bihar and Orissa and 8.5 lakhs to Assam[11]. Bengal's claim to the Jute duty was conceded by the Third Round Table Conference, which recognised the serious difficulties of Bengal and recommended that at least half the duty should go to the province. The Joint Select Committee of Parliament was also convinced that Bengal had a very good case. Accordingly, Section 140, Clause (2) of the Government of India Act, 1935, lays down that one-half or more of the export duty on jute shall be assigned to the jute provinces.

Inter-Provincial Jealousy

Yet, in spite of so much equity and justice on her side the small concession to Bengal raised an outcry in most other parts of India. Sir Cowasji Jehangir[12] complained that Bombay had been left in the lurch. The budget of the Government of India, he said, was really a Bengal budget, and that while God helped those who helped themselves, the Government of India helped those who didn't. Mr. Mody[12] bitterly complained that the province which put its own house in order—he meant Bombay—got no help from the Centre. D. B. Chetti[13] protested against taxing the poor man's matches in order to relive Bengal. Mr. Miller[13] condemned the imposition of an all-India tax to help a particular province. Sir Venkata Reddi[13] felt sore that the concession to Bengal was really putting a premium on extravagance. It

7. *Vide* Legislative Assembly, February 28, 1935. Page 1595.
8. Legislative Assembly, September 30, 1921. Page 1315.
9. St. Andrews' Dinner, Novr. 30, 1935.
10. See Legislative Assembly, Feb. 27, 1934.
11. *Ibid.* Feb. 18, 1935. Page 1594.
12. *Ibid.* March 2, 1934.
13. Council of State, March 13, 1134.

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was, he said, actually inviting other provinces to show deficits so that they might send an S. O. S. to the Centre for help.

That other provinces will feel sore, we can understand. But it is difficult to follow their logic. Bengal can point out that the grant of half the duty does not meet either the whole or the immediate demand of the province. Bengal can quite legitimately claim the whole of the jute duty. Jute is her monopoly and the entire duty belongs to her by right and equity. Bengal is not asking for charity. It is not a dole or a favour that Bengal is looking for. She is claiming bare financial equity and justice—nothing more and nothing less. The duty was imposed in 1916 as a purely war measure to balance the Central budget. When the Bengal Government protested, they were told that the duty was temporary—for the period of the War. But once a tax, always a tax, and the Government forgot all about its assurances. Had the duty been imposed now instead of in 1916, it would have been legitimately regarded as a source of provincial revenue and Bengal would certainly have got the entire proceeds of the duty.

On principle, export duties are bad and they are open to serious objections. The Jute duty is a direct tax on a staple agricultural product of the province. It is a tax upon the produce of land and in effect it is akin to land revenue. It is, in the nature of a land tax and has a parallel incidence. Up to 1929, when jute sold at peak prices and there was a keen demand for it in the foreign markets, the incidence of the duty was on the foreigner and it operated as a tax on the consumers. Our monopoly helped us to shift a large part of the duty on the foreign consumer. But jute is gradually losing its position as an absolute monopoly for Bengal. Other competitive commodities like cotton, hemp, etc., are gradually dislodging jute from its position and the demand for jute depends to a large extent on the competitive prices of its possible substitutes. Under these circumstances and in the present economic depression when our jute cannot find good markets abroad, when the Government has been compelled, in the interest of the grower to restrict the cultivation of jute in order to raise prices above the bare cost of production, the duty falls largely on the jute-grower himself. In 1916 jute sold at Rs. 60 per bale. Today it is selling at about Rs. 25. The heavy decline in price has increased the weight and incidence of the tax on the poor cultivator. Thus it is the poor cultivator in Bengal who pays the tax and hence it is grossly unfair to d Bengal of it. It looks like discriminating tion against Bengal. Why should the C Government usurp Bengal's legitimate re rob her of her dues and keep her perpetu rags? Bengal can rightly point out that years of this duty she has paid from Rs. Rs. 70 crores to the Centre while her own expenditures and services have been lit starved. This is a small thing which no should forget. Bengal can point out the import duty on salt, which helps the all- revenues and helps the producer of salt in is levied largely at the expense of the cons in Bengal. Sir James Grigg himself admit that this duty was fundamentally unfa Bengal. While Bengal pays the duty the benefit of all-India, her own po alities for developing an indigenous industry in the province remain ne ed and unexplored. There was a t when Bengal not merely produced her salt but even exported salt outside her bo We have lost our old industry, but with a l assistance it might be possible to revive i as to make Bengal self-supporting in salt. pay the salt duty while the rest of India pa by it and lays down the new code of finan equity. The revenue earmarked for the velopment of salt resources has done litt far for us.

Similarly, the import duty on sugar materially benefitted the cane-growing vinces of India at the expense of Bengal. W Bombay asks for protective duties for co Bengal pays and Bombay thrives. W Bombay asks for protective duties on iron steel—Jamshedpur, after all, is a Bombay dustry—Bengal pays, while Bombay pleasant. Bombay asks Bengal to stand on own legs and not look to the Centre for h How would Bombay appreciate it if Ben pays back the compliment and asks her to st on her own legs and not ask for 50% ta from the Central Government for her co iron and steel industries? It is easy to be and generous at the expense of others. W should consumers in Bengal perpetually f the inefficient cotton lords in Bombay? Ben has gained the least, so far, from the policy discriminating protection which other provin —chiefly Bombay—has exploited in full. It really been a gold mine for her and she is jealous of other provinces. These are pleasant facts for her but it is necessary

14. Legislative Assembly, February 28, 1935.

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forget them. Sir Leslie Hudson of Bombay complained[15] that every time people in other parts of India strike a match they will have the grim satisfaction of remembering that they are helping Bengal. On the same basis, let us remind him that every time people in Bengal buy a piece of cloth or fix a nail on the wall to hang a picture, they are helping Bombay. While some other provinces get large subventions from the Centre, Bengal pays and looks pleasant. The N.-W. Frontier Provinces gets a crore. Sind gets one crore and 8 lakhs, while Orissa gets 50 lakhs. These are the burdens we partly pay for the luxury of their precocious manhood. Bihar got the most liberal assistance from the Centre[16] to repair the heavy damages caused by the great earthquake in January, 1934. This saved her from a huge load of unproductive debt. It came to about 5 crores of rupees, which the Central Government paid to Bihar, and then it was further assured that if more were needed, it would be paid. Did Bengal fret? Did she grumble like Bombay? The terrible tragedy at Quetta in May 1935 has cost the Central Government Rs. 1 crore in preliminary relief only—up to the stage of beginning reconstruction work. The actual reconstruction work will cost over 7 crores to be spread over 7 or 8 years and all this will be paid by the Centre.[17] Why should other provinces cavil at Bengal when almost every other province is pressing its demands on the Centre? In the grand melee, who is standing aside? Only 4 out of 11 provinces in India were solvent till the last year. If all are sailing in the same boat, why throw stones at each other? The figures we have quoted above show how Bengal makes the greatest contribution to the Central Government in customs, salt, income-tax, and other heads. Further, Bengal —as the Supreme Government under the East India Company—had to finance and pay for all military operations in different parts of India, a charge which the other provinces escaped. In these circumstances, it is neither logic nor common sense for other provinces to forget all about them. Bengal can legitimately claim a considerable share of the income-tax raised within the province but all of which goes to the Centre. The Peel Committee on Federal Finance recommended that, subject to provincial contributions to the Centre, the income-tax should be distributed among the Provinces.[18] The Percy Committee had also proposed that the personal super-tax and the tax on personal incomes should be provincialized. The White Paper similarly recommended that a certain percentage of the income-tax between 50 and 75% should go to the units.[19] The principle—universally conceded—is now legalized in Sec. 138 of the Government of India Act, which however does not lay down any actual percentage which should be ceded.

Such being the case, it is time the Central Government recognized and provided for the special and urgent difficulties of Bengal. Bengal's debt to the Central Government—due solely to the unfair Meston Award—should be immediately cancelled. Sir George Schuster admitted that Bengal's case was special and needed a special and urgent help. Bengal, he said, could not be expected by her own efforts to restore financial equilibrium.[20] He went further and said that Bengal's case had really no parallel in India[21] and that her level of revenue and expenditure was considerably lower than the other major provinces of India. All talk of an extravagant local administration under such circumstances was pure moon-shine.

Consideration of Other Remedies Suggested

So much for Bengal's claim on the Central Government. We will now consider certain other remedies that have been suggested from time to time to improve the financial position of Bengal. The first suggestion refers, of course, to the Permanent Settlement. The pet children of Lord Cornwallis have for 150 years enjoyed an enormous and unfair advantage. The tremendous leakage of unearned increments that for 150 years have lined the pockets of our landlords has brought Bengal to her present position of penury and poverty without giving her any compensating advantage elsewhere. Lord Cornwallis had hoped that the irrevocable land revenue would lead to the landlords—as social leaders of the country-side—to invest more and more capital in land. How far the landlords have financed the agricultural industry in Bengal, we know too well to forget. The province lies blighted under the shadows of the *mahajan*. Takavi and co-operative credit fill

15. Legislative Assembly, March 3, 1934.
16. For details regarding the help given, *vide* Sir George Schuster's Speech, Legislative Assembly, Feb. 27, 1934, pp. 1517-18.
17. Sir James Grigg, February 28, 1935.
18. See Round Table Conference, 2nd Session. Sub. Comm. Reports, p. 31.
19. See Round Table Conference, 2nd Session Sub. Comm. Reports, p. 62.
20. Legislative Assembly, Feb. 24, 1934, pp. 1512-13, and March 3, 1934.
21. Council of State, March 5, 1934, page 351.

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a small part of the cultivator's needs, but the landlord's share in agricultural finance is almost nil. The only result of the Permanent Settlement has been the uneconomic and parasitic *patni* system which has enormously added to the burdens of the actual cultivators. If the Permanent Settlement is abolished, it will certainly bring back the lost crores to the Government though in size, it will certainly not be so big as some people fondly imagine. Sir Provash Mitter calculated that at the most it might yield an additional crore of rupees. Even this is not bad, provided we could get it without difficulty. If the Permanent Settlement cannot be touched, Bengal herself is not responsible for it. She has to thank the Government of India for it. It is their predecessor in title and interest who was responsible for this fatal mistake. If the Central Government would permit the Government of Bengal to abrogate it, a bill for the purpose can, we believe, pass through the Bengal Council without much difficulty. But the Government of India—out of political consideration will not permit it. They wanted to be generous while we pay for their generosity. Further, the abrogation of a measure that has lasted for 150 years cannot be undertaken lightly. The benefits of Permanent Settlement have in 150 years, spread far beyond the limits of the small privileged class for whom it was originally meant. It is now so widely distributed throughout the province and amongst all sections of the people, so many varied and divergent interests have been built and re-built on the basis of the Settlement, that any revolutionary attempt to pull it down, now, might bring about the most serious repercussions on the economic life and prosperity of the entire province. It might easily lead to a serious economic disaster of which few can foresee the consequences. As Sir John Anderson pointed out recently,[22]

"with negligible exceptions, it is not a boon granted to specified individuals who can now be identified. The incomes that it created or that grew up in consequence of it, have for nearly a century and a half, been bought and sold. That income has been diffused among all classes of the community or has been absorbed by increased population. In so far as this has resulted in a greater volume of trade and industry in the province the benefit has gone to Central and not to Provincial revenues . . . It has brought a large population into existence and it has now become an integral part of the economic life of the country."

Further, it may be pointed out that the possibilities of land, after all, are not unlimited. In other provinces, where land is not permanently settled, the limits of land [illegible] are rapidly being reached and any fur[illegible] crease in the burden of land would be a [illegible] difficult proposition.

A tax on agricultural incomes above a [illegible] tain level has long been suggested. [illegible] Taxation Committee considered the [illegible] fully and held that there was nothing [illegible] history of the case to justify the [illegible] exemption of this class of income from in[illegible] tax. Layton also agreed with the same [illegible] The Percy Committee did not decide [illegible] merits of the question but not only sug[illegible] that if it is taxed it should be made over [illegible] Provinces. The Government of India Act [illegible] has definitely made it a source of pro[illegible] revenue, and it is certainly time that [illegible] looked to it. It will bring in a consi[illegible] amount of revenue and there is no justi[illegible] for postponing it indefinitely. Particula[illegible] the Permanent Settlement is not to be to[illegible] then a tax on agricultural incomes will cer[illegible] do something to remove a glaring inequa[illegible] taxation.

A Death Duty or Succession Duty has been suggested and it is now a regular important feature of the system of [illegible] tion in the Western countries; but the Taxation Committee found, its [illegible] culties are great in India—specially on ac[illegible] of the Hindu Law of Mitakshara and the [illegible] plexities of the various laws of inheri[illegible] The Hindu joint-family is a corporation [illegible] never dies, so that practically no pro[illegible] passes by death. When a man dies, the [illegible] family continues, as before, to be the own[illegible] the joint property. Until the joint-fa[illegible] breaks up, no share of the property ca[illegible] legally taxed. But a joint-family—like a [illegible] poration—never dies. Besides, in a [illegible] country it is not very desirable to waste [illegible] national capital and use it as income. It [illegible] suit richer countries but not India. H[illegible] the practical difficulties rule out of imme[illegible] possibility the prospects of a substantial [illegible] duty. Lord Meston has recently sugg[illegible] the taxation of luxuries and wastes in I[illegible] Luxuries are already being heavily taxed [illegible] as regards waste, it would be difficult to [illegible] one uniform standard to judge what is [illegible] and what is not. What is waste to one [illegible] might be a necessity to another. Lord Me[illegible] suggested a tax on unproductive social expe[illegible] ture—like dowries, marriage festivities, [illegible] The Taxation Committee could not recom[illegible] a tax on dowries as it would be very [illegible] popular, and further, it would be very di[illegible]

22. St. Andrews' Dinner. November 30, 1935.

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o assess and collect. The dowry may not be rrectly known. A part of it may be given cash and part in kind. If the tax is put the cash dowry, it will be settled in kind. it is put on the dowry in kind it will require host of trained valuers, it will involve irritat- and very unpopular interference with ial and religious ceremonies and it will ate serious discontent. The tax will be ided by dowries being deferred and paid in ual instalments. Besides, the tax may be sed on the bride's father and the uneconoshifting of the tax might actually increase cost of the marriage. Hence it is very unain if it will bring about any actual improvent of the vicious social system of dowries.[23]

tax on polygamy has been suggested in some arters as an aid to social reform, but its culties are so great that it would be almost racticable to enforce it. Polygamy is rapidly ing away as a result of Western ideas education on the one hand and the increas- struggle for existence on the other, and efore a tax on polygamy as an aid to ial reform is now no longer of much real lue to us. A tax on the registration of arriages is bound to excite irritation and ill- ill. Its only advantage will be to afford a perior probative value of the fact of marriage t many might easily misunderstand it as an erference with the custom and usage of the ople. The Taxation Committee recomended that a cautious experiment along the e might be tried in local areas.

A tax on the profits of jute manufactures Bengal might easily bring in a large revenue. e Jute Mills in Bengal derive an enormous ount of profit every year. During the War, e was a gold mine and in some mills even 00 to 1800% dividends were declared. The al profits came up to several crores of pees. If a consumption cess of, say, eight nas a maund is levied on the jute consumed the mills in Bengal it will easily bring about crore of rupees to the Bengal Exchequer. e total output of raw jute in 1934 was imated at 8,525,000 bales. The total antity exported in 1934-35 was 4,214,000 les.[24] That left 4,311,000 bales for local nsumption in India. If we put local consumption in Bengal at roughly 4,000,000 bales, a consumption cess of 8 annas per maund would yield Rs. 1 crore. The tax will fall on the 70 jute mills in Bengal and the actual shareholders of such jute mills are people who are quite well-to-do and who therefore can be expected to bear the burden without serious hardship. As it will fall on the local consumption only, it will not prejudice our jute exports in the foreign markets of India. Jute is a monopoly of Bengal and though our position is threatened, there is still chance of making something out of it for some time to come. If such a cess is imposed, it might be necessary to fix a minimum price for jute—as in the case of sugar-cane—because otherwise it will be shifted on the growers.

The real remedy for Bengal lies in a greater and more vigorous development of her agricultural and industrial resources. Throughout India, the burdens on land are already heavy enough and all hopes of future improvement in revenue must rest on a greater development of industry, trade and economic resources of the country. Economic planning must repair the breakdown of purchasing power in the people. The finances of the Central and Provincial Governments have combined to place extremely heavy burdens on the poor taxpayers. Taxation of the bare necessaries of life is now going on at an increasing pace ever since the Great War. Salt, food, bread, sugar, cloth, kerosine and matches—everything is taxed and taxed heavily. The phenomenal increase in population and the rapid growth of unemployment can only be met by a vigorous policy of industrial development. Indeed, such policy is long overdue and cannot be further delayed without grave risks to Bengal and her people. With money so cheap now, the Bengal Government would do well to launch on a big industrial offensive to recover lost ground. We must plan to create more wealth and thereby expand the taxable capacity of the people to meet the cost of a higher form of administration. An increase of national dividend will react favourably on the public revenues and *vice versa*. The recent enactment of the Bengal Development Act is the first welcome evidence of a planned policy. The Bengal Relief of Indebtedness Act (1935) comes next. It sought to control usury and provided for the conciliation of debts. It sought to substitute a good debt for a bad debt, but there are grave doubts that the veiled attempt in the Act to expropriate the creditors might recoil on the debtors themselves and

23. The recent tragedy in a Calcutta family when four unmarried girls, aged 17, 19, 21 and 24, entered into a suicide pact to save their old father Kishori Mohan Majumdar from the impossible demands of heavy dowries for their marriage, lends poignant interest to the need for reform. Except one, the other three girls died.

24. Review of the Trade of India, 1934-35, pages 83 and 235.

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ultimately make credit more costly for them. It is too early to judge of its ultimate result, but let us hope that the Government of Bengal will steadily pursue a policy of economic reform in the province. Such a policy provide the best cure for financial ba on the one hand and political discontent other.

BRATACHARIS IN BARODA

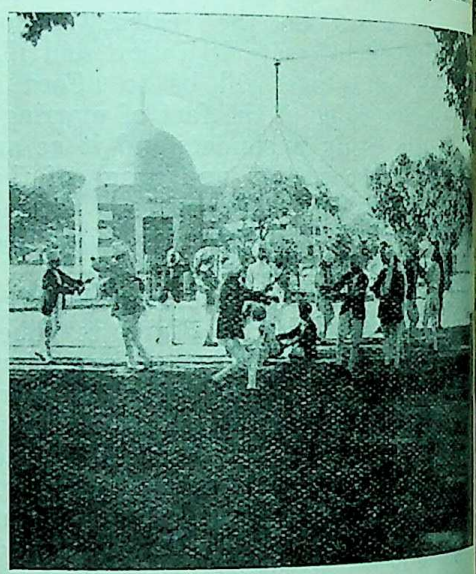
By B. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A. Ph.D., Baroda

An agreeable surprise was in store for me, when suddenly I received an order from the Government of Baroda to have the *Bratachari Sakha* of Mr. G. S. Dutt translated into Gujarati and Marathi. This was ordered to be done in light verse within eight days. A brilliant Gujarati author who knew Bengali fairly well, was immediately summoned, and was entrusted with the work of translating it into Gujarati. As only one copy of the book was available, the translation could be done only in one language. The task was rather difficult and the Gujarati translation had to be read several times and compared with the original Bengali before the translation could be finally approved. This is my first acquaintance with the doctrines of the Bratachari movement.

When the time limit of eight days was over, one fine morning comes a guest to my house at Alakapuri on the outskirts of the city accompanied by Mr. B. S. Dave, the Scout Commissioner of the State, who happened to be a of mine. I was introduced to him by Mr. This stranger is no other than the Mr. Guru Sadaya Dutt, I.C.S., the founder Bratachari Movement.

Mr. Dutt had arranged to bring a of Bratachari boys from Calcutta before to Baroda, and these boys were stay State guests at the Sitaram Bungalow, was just a stone's throw from my ho

The *Rayabense* dance



The *Ras* Dance of the Kathiawari Sepoys

had thus an opportunity of watching them I found that they were as gay as larks, all time singing and dancing. They were healthy, strong, jovial and extremely behaved.

Soon after, I attended a demonstrati Bratachari songs and dances headed by founder himself at the New Era High S in Baroda. There many distinguished pe witnessed the demonstration. The su included Mrs. and Miss Weir, wife and da

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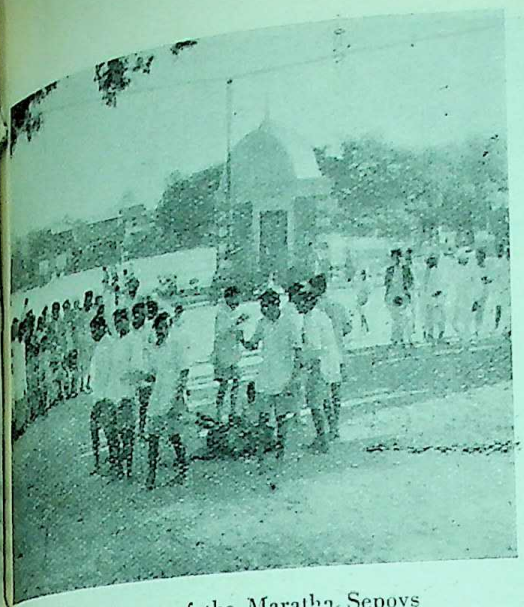
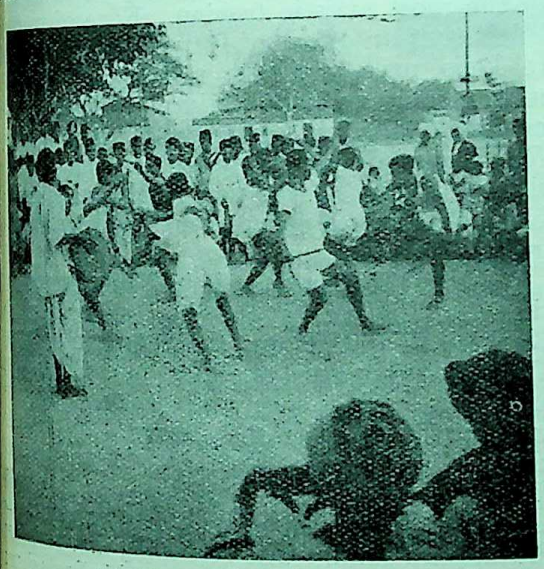


The Dance of the Maratha Sepoys

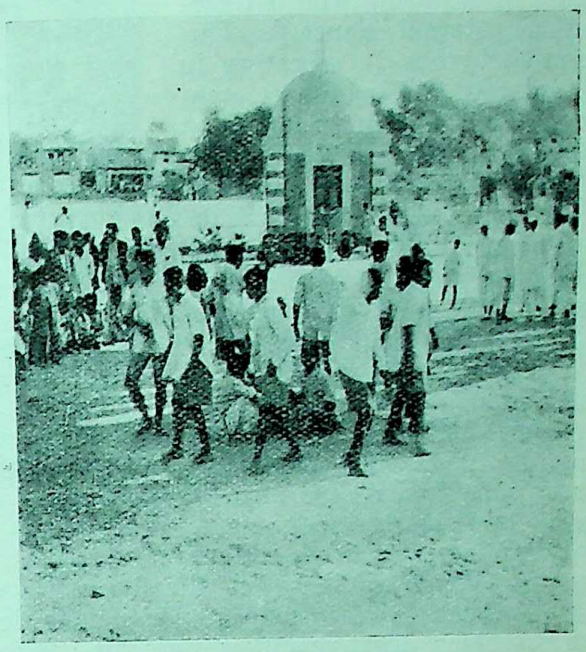
Col. Weir, the Resident of Baroda, Sir and Lady Krishnamachariar, General N. S. Shinde, the Senapati, Mr. B. K. Bhate the Vidyadhikari, Prince Farid of Persia. Mrs. Weir presided on the occasion. Amongst the Bengalees in Baroda who were present mention may be made of Mr. and Mrs. Satyavrata Mukerjee, and Mr. Gurubandhu Bhattacharyya. The grand



The *Kathi* Dance

old man of Baroda, Mr. Abbas Tyabji, with his wife and daughter, also attended. Besides, there were ladies and gentlemen, boys and girls numbering nearly two thousands.

At this meeting Mr. Dutt first explained the doctrines of the movement, gave an outline of its aims and objects and mentioned the results so far achieved. He also gave a glowing account of the reception his movement received from the distinguished educationists and politicians of England, particularly from Sir Francis



The *Veni* Dance of Baroda

A group of Bratacharis by the Statue of Shivaji

Younghusband and Sir Michael Sadler. He told the story of how a branch of the Society could be opened in London under the presidency of Lady Carmichael, who entered into the Bratachari fold by reciting the three vows in original Bengali. He then explained the significance of the songs and dances that every Bratachari has to learn and make a part and

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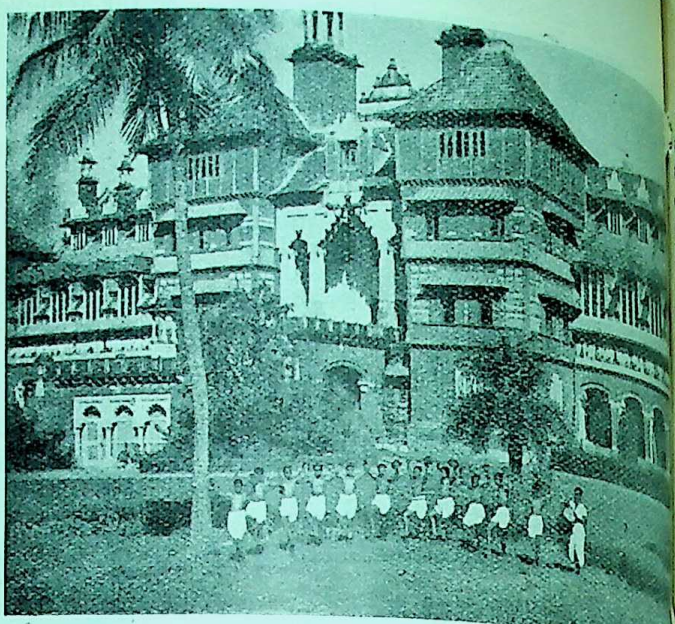
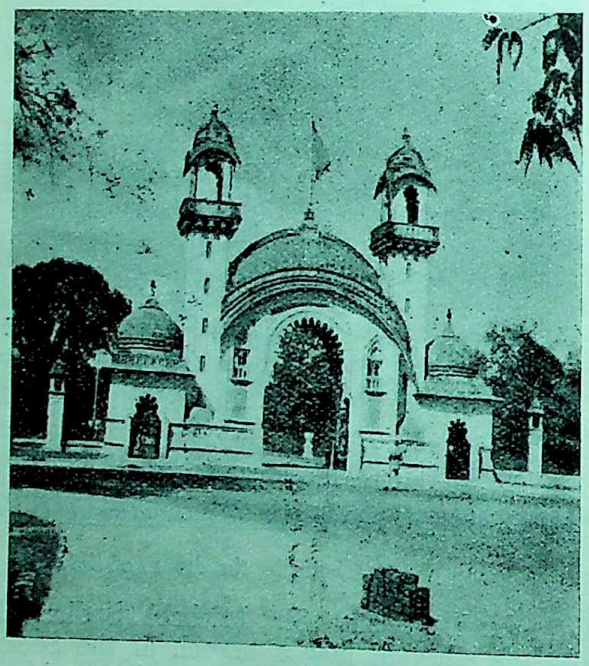
parcel of his life. "The whole cosmos," he said, "is animated with a rhythmic movement and this rhythm is expressed in the figure of Nataraja who is dancing an eternal dance." This cosmic rhythm is vibrating in all animate and inanimate creation. This rhythm must find expression in life and that is represented in the Bratachari movement. The dance of the Bratachari is not an effiminate, erotic, delicate and lifeless thing, but a rhythmic, vigorous and manly dance such as befits a son of Bengal, the land of sacrifice.



The Shield Dance of Baroda

As Mr. Dutt was explaining the vows, the Bratachari party came and recited formule with appropriate movements, gestures and dances. Thus the three vows for inclusion, the five vows of the Bratacharis, the sixteen positive duties, the seventeen negative duties were all demonstrated one after another, the Bengali formula being simultaneously translated and explained to the audience in Gujarati.



The gate of the Lakshmibilash Palace

The dance were at first simple movements; later on, as they became complicated the movements became surprisingly rapid and also complicated, and at last with the *Rayabense* dance the complication and rapidity reach very climax, and evoked great applause appreciation from the audience. Mr. D not only directing the movements of boy their dances but actually joined them, with them, sang with them shoulder to sh in the most artistic fashion. None of us think that an officer of fifty-three would to keep pace with the rapidity of the movements without injuring himself. nothing of the sort happened; he came out *Rayabense* dance uninjured without the sign of fatigue, all the time laughing and s Now, that was a sight no one is likely to in his life.

Next, the Bratacharis in Baroda spent time in witnessing the local dances Konkani Marathas and the Sepoys in the They also witnessed the local folk dance as *Garba*. They then visited places of in in Baroda, such as the Library, the Zo khana, the Palaces, Gold and Silver gu Hathi Khana, the Kalabhavan, some near the town, the Sayaji Sarovar, and Pratappura tank. The last thing that rem to be done both for Mr. Dutt and his Brat was to arrange demonstration before Highnesses. As ill luck would have it Highness was then ill for nearly a month, his engagements were cancelled. It great disappointment for Mr. Dutt who Baroda at the personal invitation of His ness, but could not even see him nor bring to a demonstration. For a time it seem

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that His Highness would not be able to witness the Bratachari demonstration. Subsequently, at the request of Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the distinguished Minister of the Gaekwad who was taking a keen interest in the movement, His Highness expressed a desire to witness the demonstration, though he was then in an extremely weak state of health.

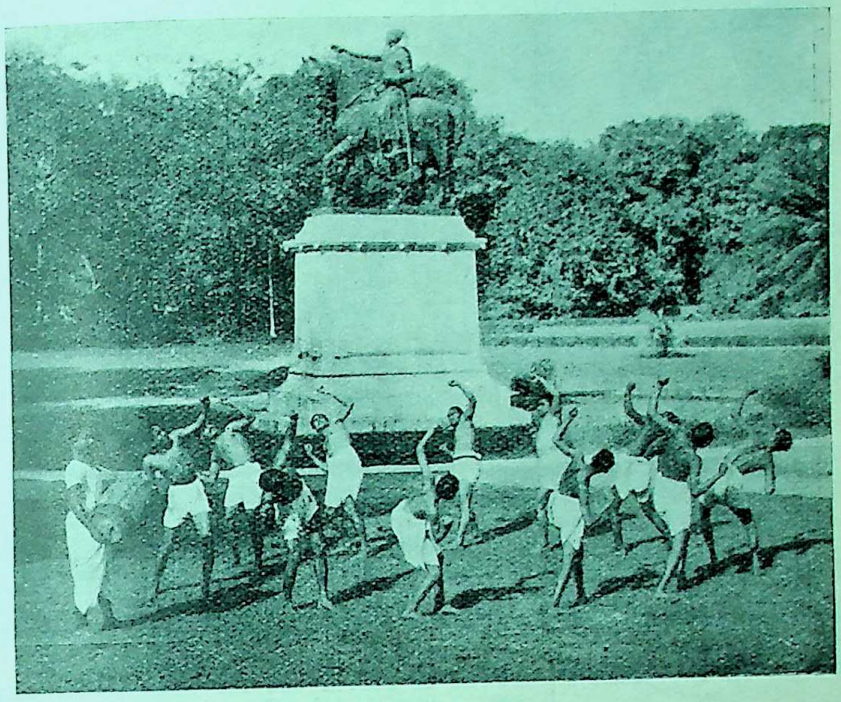
A demonstration, however, was arranged on the Motibag Palace grounds where usually garden parties are given in honour of distinguished visitors. This place was ideal for a Bratachari demonstration. There was no bustle, surroundings being all quiet. The tall trees, with singing birds, in a garden full of flowers and plants of all shapes added an element of fascination to the scene. There were present on the occasion only distinguished officers of the State, including Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar the Minister, members of the Executive Council and Heads of Departments. Their Highnesses came in a car from which His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad had to be literally lifted and carried to his seat, so weak he was. For more than an hour this little assembly witnessed the demonstration and listened with rapt attention to the speech delivered by Mr. G. S. Dutt on the occasion.

Mr. Dutt here gave a history of his connections with the Maharaja and told the audience how His Highness took a personal interest in the movement when he was preaching his Bratachari doctrines in London, how the Maharaja was pleased and sent a letter giving his views on the movement, and how kindly he invited the lecturer to come to Borada with a view to introduce the movement in Baroda. Regarding this movement he was pleased to observe;

'You are doing work of the greatest national importance to India. The Bratachari movement should be taken up by our people as a great national movement. I am confident that even if our people may not appreciate its importance now, they will fully appreciate it fifty years hence. I shall keep in touch with you with a view to introduce the movement in Baroda.'

Mr. Dutt further referred in touching terms to the kindness and honour shown to him by His Highness in condescending to be present at the demonstration in spite of very bad health.

Mr. Dutt's lecture here also was accompanied with recitations, songs and appropriate dances. The Bratacharis showed wonderful skill in dancing and singing, and the music which sometimes followed the tune of devotional Kirtana, sometimes of the Muhammadan



The *Rayabense* Dance at the foot of the Shivaji Statue

lascars and boatmen, and sometimes of Western military tunes added a peculiar charm to the occasion. The dance was sometimes quiet, sometimes slow, sometimes rapid, sometimes exciting with appropriate singing and beating of drums. Every one present was impressed by manly vigorous dance, rhythmic movements and the dignified music. Mr Dutt here also joined the boys at every step and behaved exactly like a boy without any sign of fatigue; on the contrary he was throughout cheerful and there was an expression of satisfaction in his face.

His Highness expressed pleasure and thanked the Bratacharis and orally asked his officers to consider the question of introducing the movement in the State. Her Highness the Maharani did not conceal her surprise at the enthusiasm of Mr. Dutt and said that she was impressed more by Mr. Dutt's enthusiasm than the movement itself. Thus the pleasant function ended, and the Bratacharis left Baroda the next day.

The Bratachari movement, as I could

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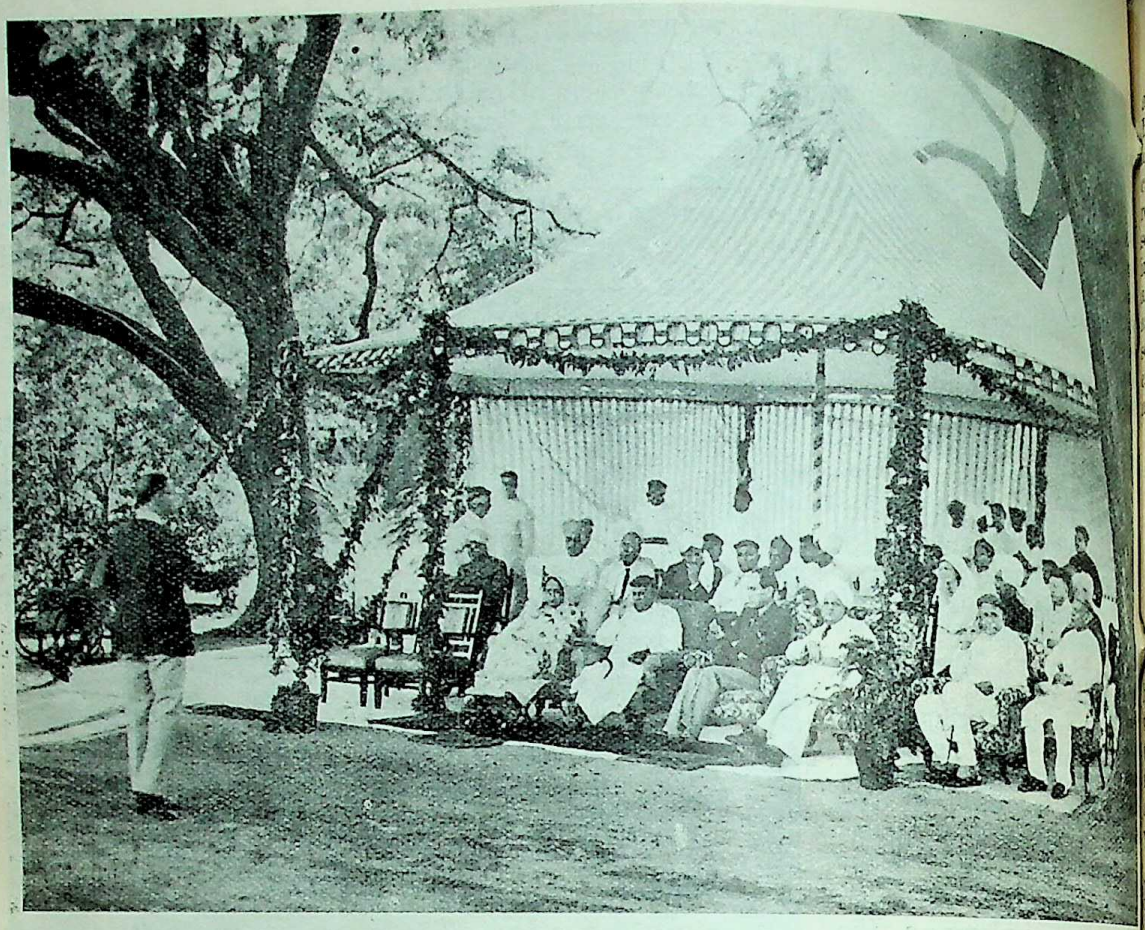

H. H. Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda and the Maharani listening to Mr. G. S. Dutt's discourse on the Bratachari movement

gather from the Bratacharis who came to Baroda, is spreading very fast, and as many as one lakh and fifty thousand have already entered into the Bratachari fold. The Universities of Calcutta and Dacca, and the schools and colleges all over the province are taking a keen interest in the movement and actively backing it. The authorities have given support to a movement which is a product of great refinement. Bengal welcomes new ideas and movements. When, for instance, a new sect or new idea springs into existence, she immediately assimilates it, if the new idea is found to be worth assimilating. In the domain of religion examples are to be found in Vaisnavism and Brahmoism; in the sphere of medicine Bengal recognized the new system of Homoeopathy and appreciated the mysteries of the dynamic medicine; in the field of education, Bengal took to Engish education, and Bengal also took to all kinds of political activities. The Bratachari movement is new to Bengal, inaugurated by a person who comes from Sylhet, and yet Bengal assimilates it as rapidly as can be conceived; it is because the movement possesses excep-

tional value in the moral, physical, educati and economic spheres of Bengal life, as in everywhere else in India. The mover spreads rapidly because of its intrinsic m and because it promises to bring a social, m and intellectual regeneration in our nati life.

Anyone can become a Bratachari by re a simple formula which is equivalent to say ' I love the Motherland, I shall serve the Mot land and I shall be a Bratachari of the Mot land.'

Much has been written on this new m ment, which I do not wish to repeat here. should like, however, to point out that th who have studied the movement carefully h praised it most sincerely. Many great men educationi England and India, many merchants, zamindars and administrators h entered the Bratachari fold by reciting the th vows. Besides Bengalis, many non-Bengalis cluding Europeans, Biharis, Madrasis, Gujar Marathis, Punjabis have become Bratach As the Bratacharis do not recognize caste difference in religion, there are to be fo

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amongst them followers of all religions, namely, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Brahmos, and of all castes, Brahmins, Sudras and even the so-called untouchables. The Bratacharis do not recognize difference in social status or age or sex and do not recognize greatness or smallness in man. Thus there are amongst them men of all stations of life, of all professions and of all ages, small boys, boys, youths, old men of both sexes. They are all becoming Bratacharis and experiencing the joys of a new life the movement holds before them.

The five ideals of life to a Bratachari are: knowledge, industry, truth, unity and joy. In fact, these five are exactly those that are not found today in the life of an average Bengali. Today in Bengal knowledge has given place to book learning, industry to idleness, truth to half-truth or untruth and joy to depression, apathy and sorrow. Under the circumstances how very essential it is today to preach the new gospel of Mr. Dutt and to pursue relentlessly these five vows or virtues in order that life may prove worth living.

POPULATION PROBLEM AND POLICY IN INDIA

The first Indian Population Conference was held at Lucknow, on February 3 and 4, under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Population Research. A large number of delegates from the Universities, provincial governments and States attended. The conference was convened by Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee.

In his address of welcome to the delegates, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University emphasized the importance of the question of population in India in its quantitative, economic and biological aspects as underlying all sound progress.

What the country wants, he observed, is a healthy vigorous population, every member of which should have a reasonable chance of living to a healthy old age and contribute to the general happiness of the people. For this an adequate supply of nutritive food and other conditions of healthy life should be available to all, and the optimum population of a country should be determined by reference to these conditions.

In his inaugural address, the Hon'ble Mr. J. M. Clay, Finance Member, U. P. Government, traced how the pressure of population had been the motive power behind the innumerable migration and incursions of the human race from pre-historic times.

In Europe we have Italy and Germany claiming the right to expand with their overflowing populations into Africa. In Asia, we find Japan following a similar policy towards China. In India itself the rapid growth of population presents a problem serious enough to demand the earnest thought of her public men. At the last census of 1931 the population of the sub-continent was 352 million souls. It has now increased to at least 370 millions; and unless some retarding factor impedes its natural progress, it will probably exceed 400 millions at the next enumeration in 1941. Indeed, it is not impossible that India may, before the 20th century is much more than half way through, have to support a population equal to that of China. These are staggering figures; they connote problems of the first magnitude for Government and for every thinking man.

Prof. Radha Kamal Mukerjee in the course of his address as convener discussed at length the problem of India's population capacity.

Prof. Mukerjee estimated that India's present food shortage was 48.4 billion calories and the present number of average men estimated without food in India assuming that others obtained their normal daily ration, was 6.6 millions. India had 162 acres of waste lands which might grow food under an unremitting population pressure, but this could not increase the country's population capacity beyond 441 millions of persons.

Reviewing the growth of population in the country during the last 64 years Prof. Mukerjee stated that from 1871 to 1935 it increased from 206 millions to 373 millions and threatened to number 400 millions by the next census.

By 1931, India's present population capacity was overstepped and just before the end of a quarter of a century, assuming that the present real increase continued, India would overstep 441 millions—the ultimate population capacity under the existing farming and living standards and industrial conditions of the people.

Recent movement of prices, especially of agricultural produce, had compelled and would compel more and more of even the well-to-do peasants to reduce their standard of living.

Modern education, medicine and public hygiene have reached the Indian village, and as these spread more birth-control will shock people less and an "adaptive fertility" will relieve the present heavy population pressure.

It is only when the fertility of India's work-a-day millions becomes somehow adapted to the present situation of definite and increasing food shortage through their fore-thought and new attitude in the matter of the family, that India can look for a fresh advance of improved agriculture, education and mass sanitation in her villages. These will be followed up as in the West by a reduction of mortality and increase of average longevity, and thus as more and more of human fertility is left to lie fallow, there will be an enrichment of life, its equipment and experience from all sides.

In his presidential address before the vital

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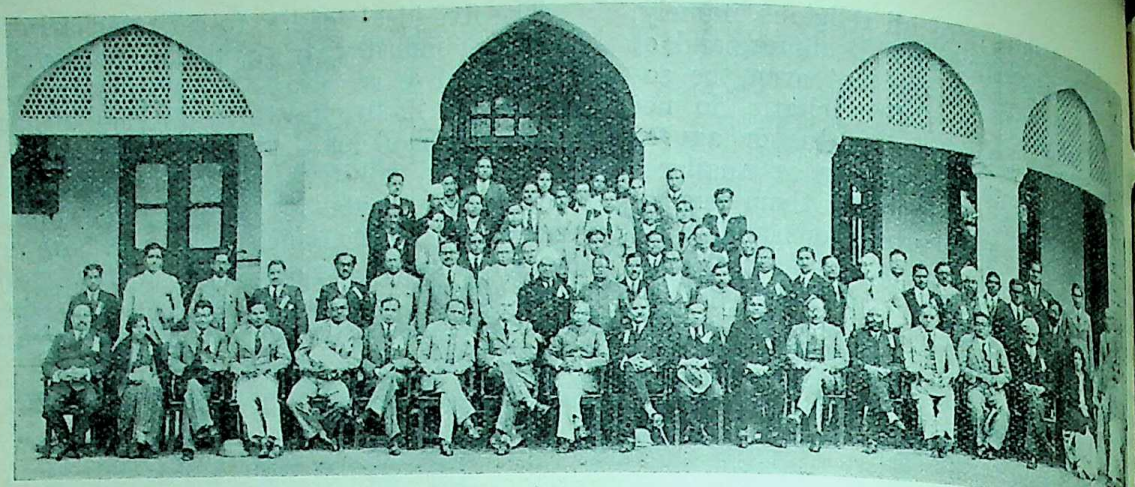

Delegates to the First Indian Population Conference.

statistics section of the first Indian Population Conference Prof. K. B. Madhava of Mysore University pointed out the defects and absence of registration of various aspects of demography, such as birth and death, sickness, marriage, fertility dependency, etc.

He advocated that small areas may be selected and the registration of statistics may be arranged in these by the labour department, by municipalities or universities. Without adequate data we cannot get correct pictures of society and the changing conditions in these. Anthropomatric measurements might also be undertaken by medical colleges and public health programmes might be formulated in lines with their finding. Insurance companies in India may as in some countries of the West carry on researches into disease and co-operate with public health agencies.

In an important paper on the forecasting of population growth in India Prof. K. K. E. Raja estimated that unless some untoward event such as a large scale famine or epidemic occurred the population of British India will likely be approximately 400 millions in 1941.

The favourable age composition of the married female population in India and the increase of their reproductive period, the decline of the death rate, and other biological factors indicate that we are fast moving towards the 400 millions.

A paper by Mr. Murli Dhar Joshi of Allahabad University showed cyclical variations of birth and death rates indicating periods of 3.6, 5.6 and 11 years.

Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee added that this entirely agreed with his findings of a correspondence of droughts and famines in Northern India with sun-spot occurrence which therefore initiated in some measure rainfall, vital and economic cycles in India.

Dr. Cristopher Tietze, a physician of Vienna, submitted a paper which showed the inaccuracy of registration of births and deaths and the resulting underestimate of birth-rate and death-rate by a large margin.

Dr. H. D. Mathur showed by means of some interesting diagrams the relation between over-crowding and chronic house shortage in Lucknow with tuberculosis and respiratory diseases.

Prof. Adarker's paper on the trend of population elicited a lively discussion towards the conclusion of the sitting of this session.

The dangers to the rice consuming people of India from eating polished and parboiled rice were stressed by Dr. Nilratan Dhar, speaking on "Food and National Efficiency" in his presidential address before the Diet and Nutrition Section of the Indian Population Conference.

He emphasized the need of State intervention in the matter and urged for the rationalization of agriculture to ensure the supply of food for the poor being up to the standards required for health.

Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee in a paper observed that industrial workers in India were accustomed to more varied and more adequate dietary in the cities than the peasants in the villages. On the other hand the calories at which the Indian working man's dietetic position ordinarily stood were much less than the British working man's dietary level. This was responsible not only for lower weight, less stamina and more apathy, but also for the less strenuous work which could be done.

The results, he added, of investigations of the special effects of nitrogenous foods on hard work might contribute materially to the increase of industrial efficiency. The co-operation of physiology, psychology and economics was essential in order to analyse and control all the factors which govern both the speed and volume of production in the country.

Dr. W. Burridge, discussing the calorie requirements in India, stressed the differences due to climatic factors. No workman can work without enough nourishment. Over the greater part of the year, however, manual work in India is done in great heat, and to do work in relative comfort under such circumstances the build of body required is the build which he possesses. There is no evidence that the Indian labourer was ever better off than he is today. He is just a man with thousands of years of adaptation behind him.

Presiding over the Economic Section of the All-India Population Conference, Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee spoke on "Food Standards and Agricultural Practices" and stressed the needs of analysing food consumption and food values in India which was quite inadequate.

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There was also, he regretted, lack of precise information relating to weights of individuals taken in the fields, calories and workshops per individual.

On the basis of investigations of the basal metabolism he proposed the following standards of calorie requirements in India, for Bengal and Southern India (rice and legume-eaters) 2,000 calories (proteins 50, fats 50 and carbo-hydrates 475 grammes) and for Northern India (wheat and legume-eaters) 2,400 calories (proteins 60, fats 60 and carbo-hydrates 475 grammes).

Throughout India, he proceeded, the food materials were determined by what the fields yielded under different conditions of climates and soil and irrigation as well as under heavy population pressure. In fact the physical characteristics of the Indian peoples, their dietary and cropping were all goverened by regional conditions.

A heavy burden of population causes a large and wholesale substitution of wheat by barley and the cheaper millets as foods and a complete omission of animal products, fruits and vegetables. This causes unbalance in diets which is particularly characteristic of the poorer sections and communities in India. On the other hand, agricultural progress is measured by the use of more esteemed cereals such as wheat and rice and absolute increase in cereal consumption. However greater may be the food-value of animal products, the consumption of these cannot be easily increased as that of soy-beans, peas, etc. which may form a valuable addition to the dietary of the Indian cultivator under the existing farming organization, adjusted as it is to a heavy population pressure.

Diseases due to mal-nutrition are quite well-known in India. Apart from diarrhœa, dysentery, beri-beri, epidemic dropsy, etc., the higher incidence of leprosy in the South, West and East of India has probably a nutritional basis. The increase of leprosy in the rice tracts of Northern Orissa, South-Western Bengal, Deccan and Madras is perhaps connected with the exhaustion of soil and deficiency of food-values of rice grains. With an increase of population pressure on the soil, deforestation has gone on for decades and this has also contributed in a small measure towards the lowering of housing conditions in villages by making the supply of timber and bamboos scarcer and scarcer.

Such is the low standard of living that family budgets of peasants and industrial workers, collected from different parts of India, do not show the expected increase of percentage expenditure on clothing, bedding and utensils with an increase in income. Mal-nutrition, illiteracy, sickness and high mortality all create a vicious circle while slow industrialization and absence of opportunities for emigration make an escape impossible.

Mr. D. P. Mukerji discussed the logical validity of the concept of Optimum as representing a standard towards which present economic conditions are ideally related.

Mr. B. N. Ganguly of Delhi University pointed out that in an area of congested population, there is a great need of agricultural planning and of a balanced development of industry and agriculture based both on food and commercial cropping.

In a paper based on intensive investigation on the cost of living of the industrial labourers of the U. P., Mr. S. P. Saksena found that the average quantity consumed was less than the jail diet by at least 1 chattack, and that it was also inferior in quality.

Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar in his presidential address to the Sociological Section of the Conference pointed out that India's output in the sciences of sociology and population as developed in modern times was very modest.

In neither field was it possible for anybody to make a debut today on the foundation of settled facts and universally accepted generalizations. The situation was on the contrary rather that of powerful controversies. One might speak of a virtual crisis in both these disciplines. Never was the necessity for avoiding any unstinted and unthinking alliance with one or other of the warring schools of systems of sociology and demographic thought more profound than today. At the threshold of the first Indian Population Conference which happened also to be the first Indian Sociological Conference it should be reasonable, he said, to maintain a thoroughly objective and critical attitude in regard to the prevailing "isms" and policies. In conclusion he put forward a strong plea for rationalization of demographic distribution.

Speaking on the Dysgenic Trends of the Indian Population, Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee stressed that in India for several decades the intellectual social groups on account of such dysgenic customs like rigid hypergamy and endogamy as well as of a natural paucity of females, are showing either smaller natural increase or actual diminutions, as in the United Provinces. On the other hand, the less literate and backward social groups are more progressive demologically and these threaten to swamp the cultured stocks, especially in the prosperous areas in the Ganges plain. As in the West, the most fertile social strata in India are inferior but nowhere is the disparity between fecundity and culture greater than in Northern India.

Problems of Marriage and Birth Control were discussed before the Section on Family Hygiene and Eugenics. Dr. Khanolkar, in his presidential address, spoke on the biological evolution of marriage and the light it throws on contemporary Hindu marital life.

He discussed particularly the inhibitions which are such outstanding characteristics of the Hindu marriage, now being looked upon as tyrannies, as an investigation regarding the views on marriage of contemporary Hindu youths has indicated in Bombay. The new spirit of individualism will act on the mass of old ideas. It is the duty of scholars as well as leaders of social thought to give their serious consideration to the problem of marital adjustment in order that the features of an ancient institution that do not fit in with the new social outlook may be reconciled with the essential demands of stable marital relationship.

Prof. G. H. Ghurye read an interesting paper giving the results of his enquiry regarding 3,400 marriages amongst the Brahmin community from Kathiawar. He drew attention to the fact, by means of statistical analysis, that only about 12 per cent of the marriages studied were completed families, *i.e.*, families in which the husband and the wife lived till the wife attained her 45th year. On an average, the duration of the marriages that were broken as a result of the death of one of the partners was five years longer than the average duration of the continuing marriages. The average fertility of a complete family was found to be a little over six, while the number of children surviving till the break of marriages per broken marriage was not even three. It was seen that of the males who lost their first wives, more than 70 per cent did not remarry and that those who remarried were generally young and had no children. The conclusion was clear that Hindu males did not remarry light-heartedly.

In an interesting paper on marital adjustment in the

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changing social order, Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta emphasized that a programme of marriage reform must be based on a reconciliation of the ideal of romanticism, which is easily apt to mingle with a bare physical desire and the ideal of marriage as a sacrament. No doubt the practice of birth-control, which has come in vogue among the middle and richer classes of the society, prevents strain on the family income and the health of the mothers, but it also has encouraged casual sexual intercourse unmitigated by durable love or high ideal as well as an experimental attitude towards the partner.

This was followed by an interesting discussion on birth-control in which it was stressed by Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee that, while the practice of birth-control is associated with the risks of an easy romanticism and loose sex life, which may themselves prevent the maturation of the sex sentiment representing as it does, not an isolated drive in but a wide variety of blended attitudes and interests, it is calculated, on the other hand, to re-integrate the diverse impulses which bind the partners when poverty, economic strain or the health of the mother threaten to sunder them. Thus birth-control may contribute towards both marital stability and unstability, according to the attitude, education and culture of the partners.

In a comparative survey of the vital and economic conditions of the primitive races in India, in his presidential address before the Anthropological section of the Indian Population Conference, Dr. Panchanan Mitra of the Calcutta University showed the dangers arising from the primitives being taught by missionaries and others to despise themselves and their own religion and tribal system while their economic transformation had not been commensurate to meet their newly acquired needs.

He pleaded for the following "safeguards" when the primitives under the new constitution would be dissociated and taken out from the midst of a system in which they have survived :

(1) A competent anthropologist should be in charge of the primitive areas. Missionary zeal should be carefully watched and kept under control. (2) The economic cycle of the primitive area should also be carefully observed and economic development fostered and guided in keeping with this cycle. (3) The tribes should be protected against the unscrupulous money-lender and the landlord by special legislation, while the socio-economic relations between them and the surrounding civilized people should be regulated to promote assimilation in gradual stages of the tribal system to the politico-economic system of the rest of India.

Dr. D. N. Mazumdar of Lucknow University mentioned cases of a large number of tribes who were dying out. The Korwas for instance were preparing for an exit like the Andamanese. Similarly, the Gonds and Bhils had enormously declined. Among the causes of decline or extinction of primitive tribes, Dr. Mazumdar mentioned the operation of stringent forest laws, the decline of charcoal making and the administration of inappropriate excise laws and regulations.

In his concluding address before the Indian Population Conference Prof. Radha Kamal Mukerjee stressed the urgent need of a same population policy in India.

The population problem was not one of mere supply—for a programme of removal of illiteracy and sanitation was deferred or baffled, because population outran the capacity of education and sanitation.

On the other hand, proceeded Prof. Mukerjee, increase of production could not solve the problem inherent in the situation, such as too low a standard living, too high a proportionate cost of labour and yields which should be increased. Unless some was placed on population growth, any other tended to be only temporary. For population rapidly rise again to the maximum numbers of people land could support.

Prof. Mukerjee held that the days of large irrigation projects, expanding cultivated areas, over in India. Industries, again, had progressed at a pace, while planned colonization and inter-provincial migration had drawn little attention. He, emphasized the need of systematic crop and food ning, which should be undertaken by Government. minimal requirements for the congested population he thought, be covered by an increase of the production of peas, grams, pulses and oil seeds, which would expand in substitution of grain. It was in this that India's subsistence farming could be adapted, China and Japan, to meet her chronic food deficiency distribute the labour of the peasant family to advantage throughout the year. Without a judicious bination of food and money crops and a balanced of agriculture and industries, Dr. Mukerjee population pressure would continually tend to chronic mal-nutrition, and lower the standard of the masses.

It was a strange paradox in India that as the scale was descended, the fertility increased survival value diminished. The survival value of agricultural castes was exceedingly low in India poverty, illiteracy and low survival value went

"The problems of Indian population," Prof. Mukerjee, "are thus not merely economic. are problems also of social reform, education, eugenic and even of religion. Economics, ethics, and scientific humanitarianism all should co-operate evolving the various problems of over-population population in the country."

The work of the Indian Institute of Population Research, whose headquarters will be Lucknow, has been divided among a number standing committees working in various namely, on population biology at the University under Dr. Ghurye, hygiene under Prof. Raja at the School of Tropical Hygiene, problems under Dr. Panchanan Mitra at Calcutta University, population statistics Prof. Mohalanabis at the Indian Institute, and population economics Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee at the University.

The next session of the Population ference would be held in Bombay after years.

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DR. ROLLIER'S SUN SCHOOL

By SUDHINDRA NATH SINHA, M.B.

Dr. Rollier established in 1910 his Sun School—a preventorium—at Cergnat, near Leysin. The readers of the article I contributed in the Agrahayan, 1341, *Prabasi*, know that Rollier became a wrold figure, especially in the medical world, by his method of curing surgical tuberculosis with the help of sun and air combined with rational orthopaedy, as practised in his cliniques at Leysin. The doctor did not, however, remain content with curing only. He realised the very great importance of preventing tubercular infection by strengthening the human system, of course with the aid of sun and air. This realization was followed by the establishment of the Sun School at Les Noisetiers. I shall in this article describe in detail the School at work. *It is possible, I believe, to start similar institutions in India not necessarily boarding schools, with necessary additions and alterations to suit purse and conditions of the country.*

The great factor in prevention of tuberculosis is that the human system must be turned into, as it were, a solid rock against this infection, as Sergeant says, "one cannot grow corn upon the rock." It is today an established fact that childhood being the most favourable period for the tubercular infection to thrive, most of this infection actually takes place at this period. A very high percentage of children have to face this terrible infection. It is thus very simple to understand that incidence of tuberculosis will be considerably less if the children are protected by helping them to make their system like a rock where this organism will be unable to make any impression. But how is that possible?

The chief channel of tubercular infection is the respiratory passage. Infection through the digestive tract is also not uncommon. We know that the lymphatic system carry the infection. The invading bacilli at first are held up by the lymphatic glands where they lodge. Further progress of the invasion depends on the resistance the system can offer against the same. That is, the progress of the infection is in inverse ratio to the body resistance. "Experience has shown us," says Rollier, "that there does not exist a better means of obtaining the maximum of resistance from the child than the sun and air bath methodically combined with physical exercises and rational nourishment." Yes, Dr. Rollier has every right to refer to his great experience extending well over thirty years, devoted exclusively to Heliotherapy. I dare say, I shall not be exaggerating when I say that there is not perhaps today any one more competent than this great Sun Doctor to speak of experience on the subject. Coming to the question of sun and air bath as a preventive measure for the child, I cannot and do not check my temptation to refer to an age-old custom in India. I mean the custom of putting the new-born baby well smeared with oil and bereft of any clothing in the sun and air every day. The practice, though still in vogue in some remote villages, is disappearing quickly. The influence of modern civilization has been proving too strong for this simple, but quite scientific Indian custom. One other line from the same doctor and I shall be busy describing the Sun School. The doctor says, ". . . . . we have always recommended, from the beginning of our practice, the application of preventive heliotherapy for the child, from the time of its appearance in the world, throughout the course of its growth, in the private home, in the nurseries, the creches, the orphanages, the holiday colonies and even in public and private schools." Does not this wonderful statement of the great doctor remind one of the Indian custom just referred to?

The Sun School of Dr. Rollier, Les Noisetiers is mainly meant for the weak children and also those having a predisposition towards tuberculosis. To start with, this was not a school as today. This was a small agricultural colony for convalescent children run by Dr. Rollier. But agriculture is not possible at this altitude throughout the year, especially during the snowy winter months. This drawback led Dr. Rollier in 1910 to convert the agricultural colony into the present institution more aptly a preventorium,—for weak and predisposed children. Here they strengthen their weak bodies and at the same time continue their studies. So far by way of history of the institution. Now I shall take my readers to the school itself.

We start from Leysin. Nearly thirty

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minutes' continuous downhill walk takes us to the school. As we arrive there, we see little children quite brown and very picture of health with nothing but a *jangia* on and sandal at the feet, scattered all over the place, everyone busy about something or other,—apparently, quite happy. A charming sight, indeed! And we exclaim with sincere delight, 'How lovely children!' Now let us see what charm is there to make these children so lovely. And that leads us to the working system of the institution. Here I would warn my readers not really to expect any magic or charm, practised by the authorities, that works out such lovely and pleasing sight! It is the old, old sun . . . . , but no, I am going away from my point.

On admission the child is kept confined to bed for the first three days. This helps the child to get acclimatized to the altitude and atmosphere and also to the new surroundings. During this period of rest different medical examinations are carried out to ascertain that the child is not suffering from any active disease, tubercular or otherwise. The examination of blood, urine and stool of every new-comer is compulsory. Children with tuberculosis or, for the matter of that, any active disease, are not admitted here. The preliminary period of rest is extended if the subject is very weak. This is followed by a methodical application, in very graduated doses, of the sun's rays to the bare skin. *This process must be conducted with utmost caution in strict accordance with scientific heliotherapy.* I shall not tax my readers with the technical details of heliotherapy—at least not in this article. In the course of seven to ten days the skin of the child gets sufficiently pigmented to allow him to join the more acclimatized groups and follow the general routine—though little by little.

Just a little pause here to draw attention of the readers to the very simple, inexpensive and scientific clothing prescribed for the children here during insolation and outdoor life. Will you please think of the great fuss made in India by the powers that be, over this dress question, even in primary schools? Proper dress! Proper dress!—is the slogan. Poor little children who hardly have enough nourishment in the shape of food are also denied the free and natural nourishment provided by God in sun and air. They must cover their skin with dress enough to shut out sun and air! Ignorance is not a bliss here, but positive crime. But, of this later. Here at the Sun School, all the children have minimum clothing—sort of a very short white *jangia*. The elderly girls are, however, given a simple combi[illegible] They have all of them sandal at the fe[illegible] the sun is very strong they put on very [illegible] cap made of white linen on the head. [illegible] now to the routine:

Morning—All get up at 6-30 A.M. [illegible] 7 A.M. they are all ready after their [illegible] bath, etc.

7-30 a.m.—Breakfast,—consisting of [illegible] butter, jam, porridge with milk and over[illegible] Cooked fruit for those suffering from co[illegible] pation. Sometimes they get honey. A[illegible] breakfast respiratory gymnastic.

8 to 10 a.m.—Lessons. All lie in the [illegible] on a long chair, beginning with fifteen mi[illegible] to as long as possible. In inclement we[illegible] the classes are held on covered terraces, [illegible] never inside rooms.

10 a.m.—They get fruits to eat. Mi[illegible] given to thin ones.

10 to 11 a.m.—Regular gymnastic to [illegible] accompaniment of music. The accompa[illegible] photos will give a clear idea of these gym[illegible] exercises. My attempts at explanation [illegible] create confusion. The gymnastic over, [illegible] have their sports, games under supervision [illegible] rather a little relaxation, *i.e.*, have-it-your-[illegible] way sort of business.

11 to 12 a.m.—Rest and sun and air b[illegible]

12 Noon—Lunch, after a little wash, [illegible] sists of soup, very little meat, cooked vegeta[illegible] potatoes, salad and fruits. In winter all [illegible] children get Codliver oil.

1 to 3 p.m.—Compulsory rest and sl[illegible] in the open air in the solarium, in the exte[illegible] position, either ventral or dorsal—brought [illegible] close by a cup of milk and one or two s[illegible] of brown bread given to each.

3-30 to 4-30 p.m.—Walk, excursions, sp[illegible] and various games—under supervision [illegible] out of doors, that goes without saying).

5 p.m.—Lie down on bed in the ve[illegible] position, usually inside the room and stay [illegible] about half an hour.

5-45 p.m.—Exercise with plance—a wo[illegible] board shaped like heart with two handles.

6 p.m.—Dinner consisting of soup, b[illegible] rice, macaroni, milk and boiled fruit. Ov[illegible] week egg is given. At dinner boiled fruit [illegible] constant dish. Meat is not given at night.

Before retiring to bed they have [illegible] toilette. By 8-30 P.M. they must be in [illegible] They have another respiratory gymnastic [illegible] few minutes, after they retire to bed, but be[illegible] sleeping.

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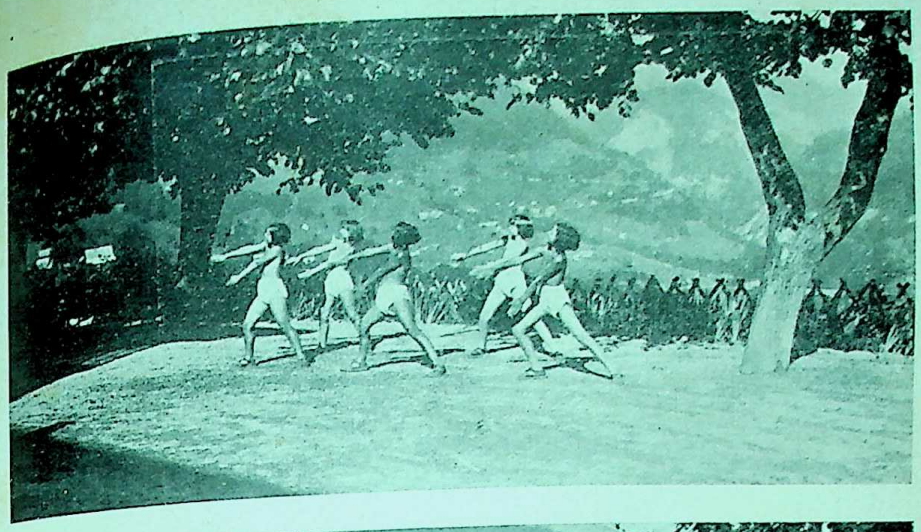

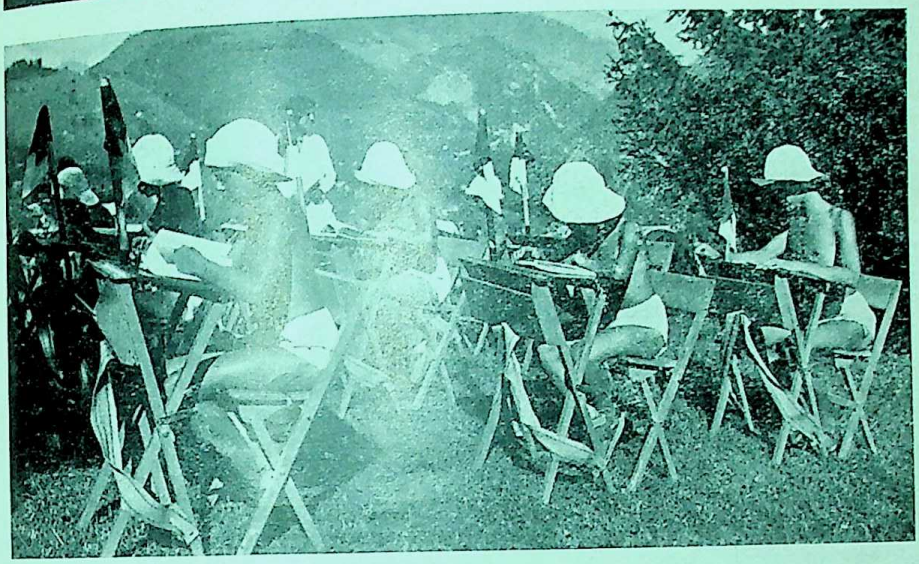

Rhythmic Exercise
Wandering Class
Gymnastic

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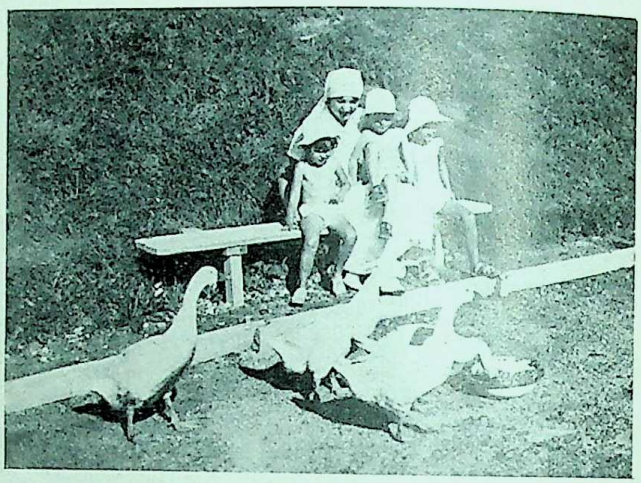

Gymnastic
The Tiny ones
Combined Desk and Chair carried

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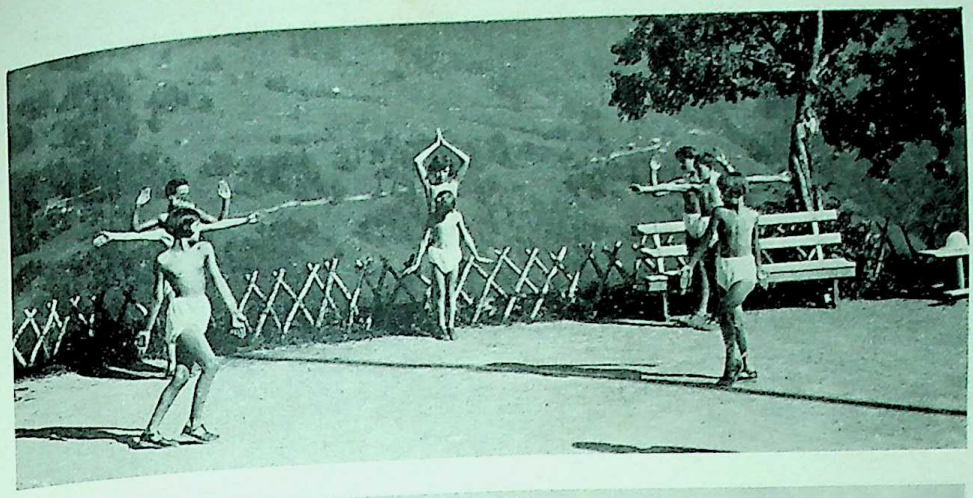

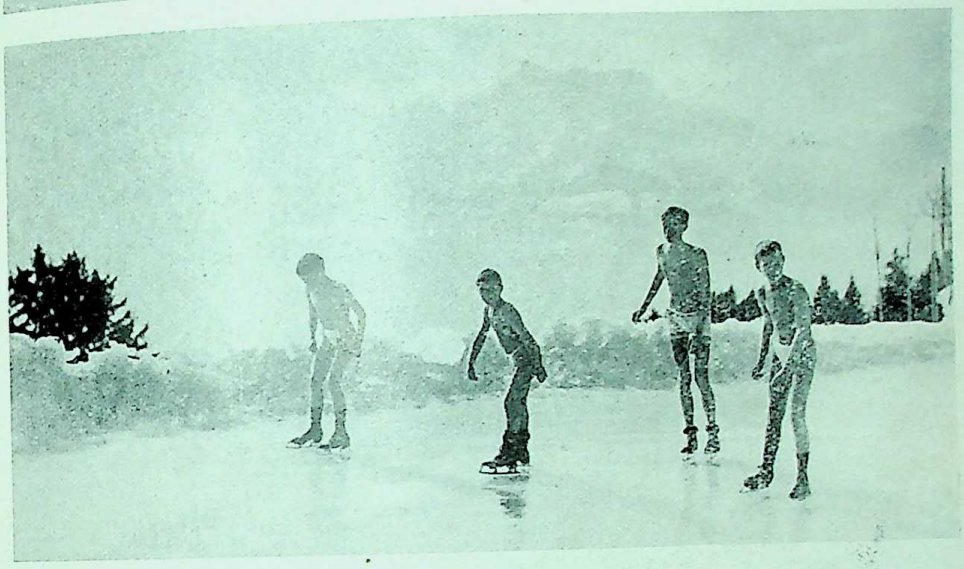

Rhythmic Exercise
Sports on Snow
Winter Sports on Snow

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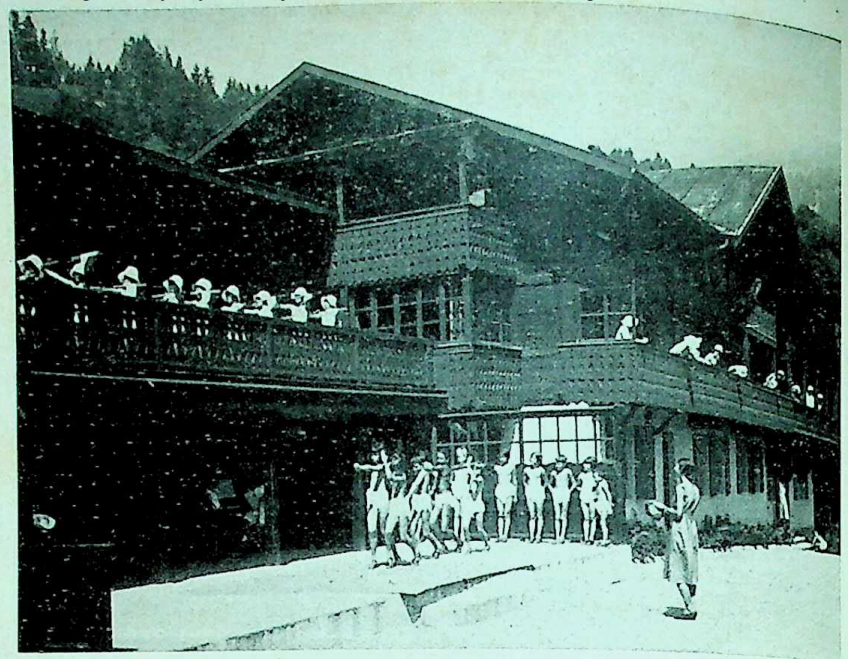

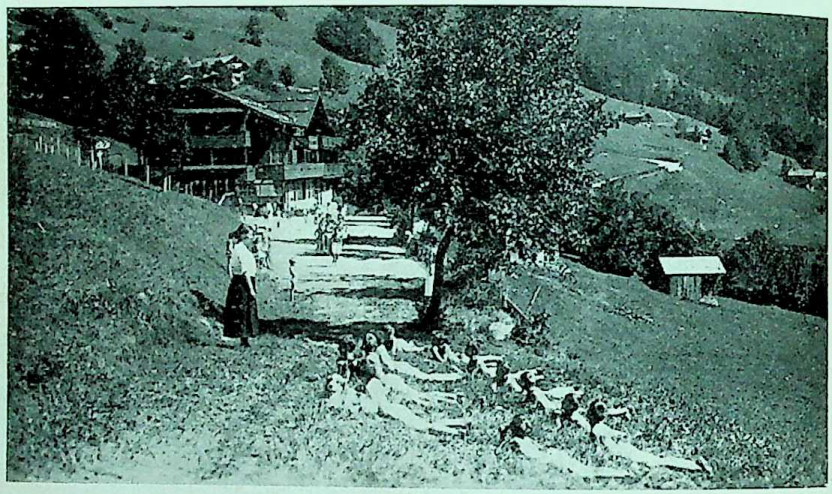

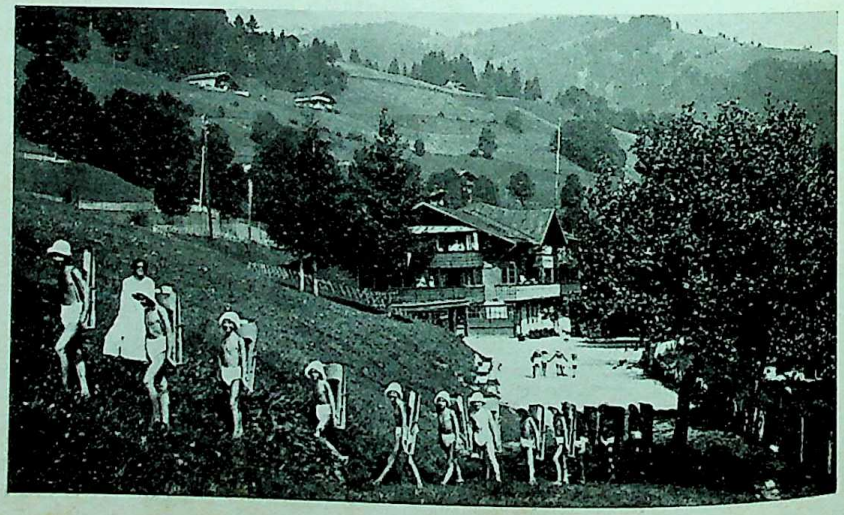

Exercise to the accompaniment of music
General view of the school with the pupils scattered about
Wandering class leaving the school

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Boys and girls are accommodated in separate rooms. Each room usually have two beds, very rarely three. Sometimes classes are held away from the school,—but not at any fixed site. These 'wandering' or 'mobile' classes, as they are called, afford great pleasure to the children. Each pupil has a folding and portable combination of chair and desk. It is quite light and is easily carried on shoulders, as shown in the picture. These classes ensure some exercise and great amusement to the children who are ever so fond of being in the open. Further, being a break in the monotony of daily routine it is much appreciated and enjoyed by the children.

The staff of the institute consists entirely of ladies.

Just a little about the medical care of the institute and I have almost done with the working of the school. I have already stated about the compulsory examination of blood, urine and stool. Stool examination is, however, repeated from time to time to look for intestinal parasites. Bodyweight and height are recorded every fortnight and every month respectively. One of the doctors attached to the Leysin Heliotherapy centre is entrusted with the medical supervision of the school. She visits the school twice a week, unless specially requisitioned by phone to attend urgent cases. Parents and guardians are furnished with bi-weekly reports. Children generally have to stay here from three months to one year according to individual need.

Usually children from four years to thirteen years are admitted here.

It is, I think, necessary to add a few words regarding posture prescribed by Dr. Rollier for the pupils at his Sun School. This position, it may be mentioned, is par excellence the best position for young children, as he claims. In his Sun School the children maintain a ventral and not a sitting position during rest and studies. Only during the 'wandering' classes they sit on the chair; but that is only for a short time. He maintains that the sitting posture is liable to lead to various physical deformities, more especially round shoulders and scoliosis which are perhaps inevitable unless constantly supervised and corrected. Well, there is lot of truth in it. But let us hear what the doctor says regarding the posture advocated by him. The quotation though a bit lengthy very clearly draws the picture. He says,

"The pupil, stretched upon a mat or a mattress on a couch, raised slightly under the thorax, is supported upon his elbows. He thus throws the shoulders backwards and his head in raised to follow the demonstration of the teacher. He thus straightens the back without any effort, deepens the thorax and thus fortifies both with a strong musculature by virtue of these natural movements, together with the Sun bath."

This position, as I have always noticed at the Sun School, does not interfere with writing exercises of the pupil. We know from our experience that this is indeed a very comfortable position we have also seen that children invariably desire and appreciate this position. But, I am afraid, my readers may lose patience; so, I shall quote a few lines from great Rollier and bring the actual description of the School to a close :

"We prefer to the seated posture the ventral position which is an especially physiological posture. This attitude is selected and followed by the little child so long as his instinct has not been disturbed by an irrational education. This is the attitude preferred by the field labourer remaining faithful to nature when he takes some moments of rest."

Why have I described the School in detail? The School at work shews that with minimum expense of money maximum benefit may be derived from nature in the form of health and that it is within easy reach of every human being irrespective of any distinction whatsoever. All that we have to do is to grasp the spirit and start in earnest. Once started there is no set back, no failure, no disappointment only if we apply commonsense and rational judgment. But my readers have no first-hand knowledge of the School. So, I must dilate a bit.

The speedy improvement wrought by the system at Noistiers is wonderful and very encouraging. Within a short period the child, who was admitted here pale, weak and listless, tiring out at very slight exertion, is transformed into a bright and vigorous child with a fresh complexion, strikingly well-developed musculature. His general health is far better, his appetite and sleep are greatly improved. His body weight is considerably increased. His respiration is improved. Thus he presents a lovely picture of a bright and brillant child full of health and vibrating with life. This picture is not an imagination; but the most authentic representation of what I have watched during my prolonged stay at Leysin. Now what about the mind?—Equally encouraging, as is evident from the following lines :

Constant touch with nature afforded by the life here ensures a healthy mind in a healthy body. Baneful and devitalising habits cannot creep into the child's life. The very natural

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and uncomplicated life these children lead here is sufficiently strong protection against evil habits and evil thoughts. None of these children harbour narrow selfishness. A very charming sense of fellow feeling develops. I have also observed how surely these children learn self-help. In the course of my repeated visits to the School I have never noticed any one crying or creating any trouble. It is really very striking. That shows that there is something in the system which makes the children very healthy, happy and contended, both physically and mentally. Dr. Rollier attributes this to rational sun and air bath making the nervous system of the child along with other systems very healthy and sound. On enquiry I was informed by the Lady Superintendent that any mischievousness was hardly to be noticed in the children there. She never had, she added with a proud smile any occassion to punish any of them for misconduct or breach of discipline or for the matter of that any unworthy act. There was hardly any case of disobedience. Talking of punishment, she declared that nothing severer than short confinement to the room would be necessary. "But," she added, "I have hardly any need to punish them They are all so nice and sweet." Indeed, no exaggeration! Will you please my dear reader, compare with our systems, and effects thereof and then ponder over this difference?

It is a well established fact that habits rooted in during early childhood not only persist but form the basis of subsequent development of the mind and all activities in life are the practical reflection of the mind.

How can the Sun School of Rollier help milllions and millions of starving, diseased and dying children of India?

It is an experimentally proved fact that with right kind of food supplying sufficient vitamin required for human body, men can live for long periods without sun light without any very great disturbance of the normal functions of the body. On the other hand, when diet lacks in nutritive value human beings consuming that deficient diet suffer from ailments. But these ailments can be warded off or, at least, delayed by exposure to the sun. Very well. We Indians, at least the vast majority, cannot afford right kind of food and so we suffer. But we have plenty of Sun full of nutrition for we can only utilise that vast and inexhaustible store. Something must be done we have long, too long perhaps. But if we really want to be looked upon as a race of imbeciles, we must save our children. We no food? Does not matter; we shall supply the deficiency from the inexhaustible And Rollier, the great Sun worshiper of modern world, has demonstrated how weak devitalised children will be strong and full vitality by systematic and rational Sun and bath. That is how Sun School helps Indian children.

This article would be incomplete if I did draw my readers' attention to utter neglect or indifference to elementary rules of hygiene displayed in all schools in our country although that is a well established notorious fact. It is hard to anticipate when, if ever, education authorities, public or private, will realise the importance of the question. But the meantime, something must be done. Do you think it will be 'something better than nothing' if the guardians of education could be induced to arrange for the pupils—especially the young ones—to have one or two hours of air and sun bath every day, not of course with a covered body, and also to arrange frequent open air classes? That will be a redeeming feature in the sad and tragic picture brought to life by the following lines of Rollier,

> "Massed together in places where too often air and sunshine do not enter, inactive for long hours together everyday at their desk, with backs curved and chests contracted, the scholars breathe an atmosphere vitiated in proportion to their number."

Will you be deaf to the cry of millions of children in India for protection against the horrible and tragic system that exists today? Do you not hear their piteous appeal to you to stop their premature exit from the world? They want to live, they love to lead a long healthy life. And who are these children? They are the blood, bone and very life of the future nation. What is your reply to them? What will you do for them? They await your reply. And always remember what the poet Michelet says, "The human flower is of all flowers that which has most need of Sunshine."

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JAPAN SHATTERS PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE HOPE

By JAMES G. WINGO

Most likely it was not the intention of Eiji Amau, Japan's Foreign Office spokesman, to do so, but when he said the other day to foreign correspondents that his country would be averse to any pact guaranteeing the neutrality of the Philippines, he shattered one of the strongest hopes of an independent Philippines.

Significantly the spokesman said, "The Japanese government renounces the idea of great powers concluding agreements guaranteeing the freedom, integrity or neutrality of another nation."

Upon Japan's willingness to a pact among Pacific powers guaranteeing the independence of the Philippines have liberty-loving Filipinos long relied unquestioningly. Upon it have banked also the United States senators and congressmen who voted for the Philippine Independence Act, including those who did so with inferior and entirely selfish motives.

To help insure the independence of the Philippines and to allay apprehensions of a dark future, Congress inserted in the McDuffie-Tydings Act, a provision requesting the President of the United States, "at the earliest practicable date, to enter into negotiations with foreign powers with a view to the conclusion of a treaty for the perpetual neutralization of the Philippine Islands, if and when Philippine independence shall have been attained."

Under the McDuffie-Tydings Act the Commonwealth of the Philippines will not be allowed to be completely on its own before July 4, 1946. The Japan foreign office's declaration forestalled any effort President Roosevelt might have had in mind toward entering into negotiations with Japan on Philippine neutrality.

However, it is barely possible that the President may make agreements with other Pacific powers, like Great Britain, France and the Netherlands, regarding Philippine independence, the conditional granting of which last year Franklin D. Roosevelt considers as one of his administration's greatest achievements. In fact, in December when he accepted an honorary doctor of laws degree from Notre Dame University in a special convocation commemorating the establishment of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, he said :

"I consider it one of the happiest events of my office as President of the United States to have signed in the name of the United States the instrument which will give national freedom to the Philippine people."

The Japanese would consider the granting of Philippine independence also among the happiest events in the Far East. Japanese imperialists consider the Philippines a part of that great Japanese empire they dream of and fight for all the time. Even the administrations of American Governors-General were unable to prevent the establishment of a Japanes colony in Mindanao, which dominates the hemp industry in the Philippines, and the falling of practically the entire Philippine fishing industry into the hands of the Japanese. They are also steadily replacing the Chinese as the islands' leading retail merchants.

Types of dependencies are divided into spheres of influence, protectorates, colonies self-governing dominions and mandates. The Commonwealth of the Philippines is a self-governing dominion of the United States; Japan considers the islands within her sphere of influence.

When the congressional party, invited to attend the inauguration of President Manuel L. Quezon, was passing through Japan, the local newspapers published statements considering the Philippines already independent. Typical was the statement of Baron Sakatani, who gave this gratuitous advice :

"In order to safeguard the future welfare of the new republic, two things should be observed. First, the United States should consistently abide by the high motives which led to the grant of independence. It should no longer act in a motherly fashion toward the Filipinos, meddling in their affairs and causing trouble. Second, the Philippines should always be grateful toward the United States. In their foreign relations they should adhere to the policy of the open door and equal opportunity, scrupulously avoiding any behavior which might create international trouble and they should keep internal peace giving no room for a rise in internal discontent."

A great Japanese excuse for breaking the Nine-Power Treaty, concluded in Washington in

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1922, to guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of China, is the extermination of bandits. To perform similar service for the islands, Japan would not hesitate to break any Philippine neutrality treaty. However, such treaties sometimes do cramp Japan's style. With unusual frankness, Japan's spokesman said the other day, "Such agreements are humiliating to the nation they are supposed to benefit."

To Filipinos long eager for independence the Japanese spokesman's frank words were a mighty blow. Only a fortnight before the spokesman's pronouncement Senator Key Pittman, who was one of the strongest advocates of Philippine independence in Congress, declared that Japan now plans to seize the Philippines. "What are we to do if they grab the Philippines —which is almost sure to come?" Senator Pittman asked rhetorically.

"The League of Nations has turned out a terrible failure, particularly in dealing with Japan," added the senator who had long supported that international body. The Filipinos had long since given up hope in the League of Nations for their future security, but they were unprepared to learn that Japan was avowing any neutrality pact.

The Japanese spokesman's statement added much weight to the grave fears of many observers that Japan will move into the Philippines as soon as the United States pulls out. In Manila Pedro Guevara, former resident commissioner in Washington, leader of the faction in favor of the perpetuation of the territory commonwealth arrangement, felt that his was being vindicated. President Quezon's failure to reappoint his friend Guevara as resident commissioner was attributed to Guevara's anti-independence activity.

Guevara and the many who think as he does believe that Japan, in great need of Philippine-produced key commodities, such as chromium, hemp, rubber, sugar, cocoanuts and lumber, advocates Asia for the Asiatics in order that the Philippines will be for the Japanese.

March 6, 1936.

COMMENT & CRITICISM

Sir,

In the February number of the Modern Review on page 236 under the heading, "Is inter-caste marriage un-Hindu", it is said "Hindu inter-caste *marriages with orthodox rites* can be *registered* as *valid marriages* under the law of British India." This statement appears to be incorrect and against the provisions of law. When the marriage is once celebrated according to orthodox rites the same marriage cannot be registered under the special marriage act. According to the provisions of that act the bride has to make a declaration in the following words, "I hereby declare as follows: I am at the present time unmarried" (*vide* second schedule to the act and section 15). The same kind of declarations is to be made by the bridegroom also. If the couple is already married according to orthodox rites and if they want to get the marriage again registered under the special marriage act certainly they cannot do it as they cannot then say that they are unmarried.

In this part of India many people now-a-days get their marriage *registered first* and then either to please their orthodox relation or their own self perhaps they again undergo the orthodox rites of marriage.

In their case, of course, they are married on the date on which their marriage is registered. The orthodox rites are a mere farce. In any case the couple cannot get their marriage performed with orthodox rites and then get it registered under the law of British India.

Yours truly,
K. B. Gajendragadkar

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SJ. SUBHAS C. BOSE—UNDER REGULATION III OF 1818

By SATYENDRA CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

The moment Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose touched the Indian soil on the 8th of March, he was arrested under Regulation No. III of 1818. We would like to discuss here primarily the legal and constitutional aspect of his detention.

The Home Member of the Government of India has declared in the Legislative Assembly that Sj. Bose was involved in terrorist crime. There is clear provision both in the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and in the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act to deal with offenders who are in any way connected with terrorism. The provisions of these enactments are so wide and all-comprehensive that any activities connected with terrorism can be effectively dealt with under the various sections.

If Government seriously maintain that Sj. Subhas Bose is in any way connected with terrorism, it is the bounden duty of the Government to deal with his case under any of those emergency legislations. The only ground for not proceeding against him under the Emergency Laws, as stated by the Hon'ble Home Member, is that the sources of information might be dried up and the life of the witnesses would be endangered. The argument of the Law Member Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar that the reason for not enforcing the Criminal Law Amendment Act was that Government out of kindness was giving him better facilities due to his higher station in life is not only frivolous but also very unkind.

It was demanded by Sj. Bose and all his friends as well as in the public Press that he should be placed under regular trial. We propose to quote some of the sections from the recently enacted Emergency Laws to show conclusively that the apprehensions of the Home Member of the Government of India are also without any foundation.

Under section 31 of Bengal Act XII of 1932 the trying courts have power to exclude persons or the public from the precincts of courts. The section runs thus :

"The Special Magistrate may, if he thinks fit, order at any stage of a trial that the public generally, or any particular person, shall not have access to, or be or remain in, the room or building used by the Special Magistrate as a court.

Provided that where in any case the public prosecutor or Advocate-General, as the case may be, certifies in writing to the Special Magistrate that it is expedient in the interests of the public peace or safety or of the peace or safety of any of the witnesses in the trial that the public generally should not have access to, or be or remain in, the room or building used by the Special Magistrate as a court, the Special Magistrate shall order accordingly."

The same powers of exclusion of the public for safety of witnesses were extended to trials by commissioners by Secs. VIIIA and VIIIB by the Bengal Criminal Law Second Amendment Act, 1932. So it is clear that the plea of the safety of the witnesses and the fear of drying up of the sources of police information are now absolutely groundless.

The court will certainly take the initiative or in any case the Public Prosecutor will not hesitate in the least to have *en camera* trials when there is the least danger to the life of the witnesses. It is a fact that various terrorist offences have been tried in Bengal by Special Commisson under these sections of Emergency legislation and no witnesses to our knowledge during recent years have been murdered or interfered with. The Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act is so drastic that under its provision any officer of Government authorized in this behalf may arrest and detain, have power to take possession of immovable and movable properties and have also the power to prohibit or limit access to any building or place in their occupation and may requisition the assistance of any person and can prohibit the use of any place and can take possession of places used for purposes of certain association and also have the general power of searches, can impose collective fines on inhabitants of a locality, and can make offences cognizable and non-bailable, while under the ordinary law they are not such.

As we have already quoted, special arrangements have been made for the trial of such cases and of special rules of evidence to be adopted, if found necessary, and of trial *en camera*.

We are not contending about the rigour of the law. But we maintain that when the scope of the law is so wide and every safeguard has been provided for the protection of witnesses

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and against the fear of drying up of the sources of police information, it does not lie in the mouth of the Government now further to plead that a person like Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose cannot have a trial.

During recent years there have been several big conspiracy cases connected with terrorist crimes which have been tried under the Emergency laws and convictions have been secured, unattended by any of the evil effects as apprehended by the Home Member. In the eye of the law there should be no distinction between one person and another. If other people can be tried and convicted with impunity under the Emergency Laws, why should Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, who does not pray for any special mercies, be spared the consequences of his alleged action? We know from our long and intimate acquaintance with Sj. Subhas Bose that he is incapable of having any connection with terrorist crime, and that is the reason why we challenge Government to deal with him legally. We shall now show that Regulation No. III of 1818 is inapplicable in his case.

In the preamble to the Regulation it is stated that it would apply :

(*i*) "For the due maintenance of alliances formed by the British Government with foreign powers.

(*ii*) "For the preservation of tranquillity in the territories of Native Princes entitled to the protection of the British Government.

(*iii*) "For the security of the British Dominions from foreign hostility or internal commotion."

It is on one of these three grounds that a person can be arrested and kept under detention under Regulation III.

We shall try to show that none of these provisions are applicable in Sj. Bose's case. When this Regulation was made there were in the country numerous and powerful feudatories of the sovereign recently conquered and several ceded provinces, nominally subjects of His Majesty but from whom danger might at any time be apprehended. So this regulation was not intended for application against political agitators, sedition-mongers or terrorists.

The first application of this regulation was in July, 1869, in connection with the Wahabi movements when Ameer Khan was a victim of Regulation III in Bengal. The next case was in 1897 when the two Natu brothers of Poona were dealt with under the same regulation. In 1907, Lala Lajpat Rai and Sirdar Ajit Singh were deported under the provision of the Regulation and in 1908 the late Aswini Kumar Dutt, Sj. Krishna Kr. Mitra, Raja Subodh Ch. Mallik, the late Shyam Sundar Chakravarty, Sj. Pulin Behary Das, Sj. Satish Ch. Ch[illegible] the late Monoranjan Guha Thakur[illegible] Sachindra Prasad Bose, and Sj. B[illegible] Chandra Nag were deported under the [illegible] regulation.

During the great war numerous [illegible] were dealt with under the same regulation.

So there is no reason why the ordinary [illegible] should be suspended at a time when there [illegible] war in which England is involved or the [illegible] any insecurity of the British Dominions [illegible] foreign hostility and from internal commo[illegible]

We do not know what were the c[illegible] framed against Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose [illegible] arrest and detention. All that we can [illegible] from the speeches of the Home Member [illegible] Government of India is that Mr. B[illegible] guilty of possessing intellectual powers [illegible] organizing capacity and the bold assertio[illegible] he is deeply involved in terrorist crime.

During the recent discussion on the que[illegible] of the repeal of repressive laws in the Le[illegible] tive Assembly both the Home Member a[illegible] Law Member made large promises that [illegible] would substantiate by facts the complic[illegible] Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose with terrorist [illegible] From the scrappy report that appeared [illegible] daily press it appeared that the only point [illegible] of made was about the letter of Sj. Kri[illegible] das, the paid secretary of the All-India [illegible] gress Office, who in one of his intercepted [illegible] to Gandhiji wrote that Sj. Subhas Ch[illegible] Bose was connected with the Jugantar [illegible] Krishnadas himself in a recent sta[illegible] said that his information about several s[illegible] of revolutionaries in Bengal was gathered [illegible] him in prison from all sorts of people inc[illegible] a host of Government emissaries and agent[illegible] vocateurs. He made it clear that he [illegible] no direct knowledge of Sj. Subhas Ch[illegible] Bose's complicity with the Jugantar par[illegible] the revolutionaries and what he wrote [illegible] based on hearsay or gossip.

It is to be regretted that Government s[illegible] times comes to conclusion from such flimsy [illegible] unsubstantial evidence. It is much to be [illegible] gretted that the lives and liberties of [illegible] respected citizens are jeopardized on such [illegible] trustworthy evidence, and that Govern[illegible] could not disclose any better evidence than [illegible] flimsy hearsay evidence contained in the [illegible] of Sj. Krishnadas. All this would appe[illegible] show that their declaration of having [illegible] proof against Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose [illegible] mere myth. They dare not face a trial in [illegible] court when the witnesses may be properly [illegible] by thorough cross-examination.

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With a view to find out if any substantial egation has been made out against Sj. Subhas handra Bose, we have carefully gone through e Note presented by the Secretary of State r India on terrorism in India which he laid fore the Joint Committee on Indian Constitu- onal Reforms.

There are a few references to Sj. Subhas handra Bose in that note and we shall pre- ntly mention them to evaluate their worth. n page 333 of the said report it is said,

"According to the confession of Dr. Narayan Roy, 'his nd had been inflamed' by speeches made by Subhas handra Bose and another well-known political agitator."

If those speeches of Sj. Subhas Bose were ditious which inflamed the mind of Dr. arayan Roy, it was the clear duty of the overnment to prosecute him for sedition. But they have failed to do so, it is no use arguing that he was involved in terrorism.

On page 343 it is stated :

"Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutta (an old terrorist), Kanai al Ganguli, Subhas Bose (detained twice onder Regula- n III), Bankim Chandra Mukherjee and others devoted eir energies, from varying motives, to the development nd growth of organizations based on communist or semi- ommunist ideas."

There was a conspiracy case known as the Meerut Conspiracy case in which alleged com- munist leaders of varying degrees were arraigned nd convicted, but Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose as not one of them. In the same report it is tated :

"At the instance of Subhas Chandra Bose, Pandit awahar Lal Nehru presided over the All-Bengal Students' Conference in 1928 and in his speech advocated com- munism and internationalism for India. Immediately on is departure an Independence League was started by Subhas Bose with a number of ex-detenus and State Prisoners. They drew up a manifesto on Bolshevik lines, which evoked some protest. When later, however, Jawahar Lal himself started the 'Independence for India League,' having for its object the achievement of Swaraj for India, with the help and support of Kanai Ganguli and Bhupendra Dutt, it met with strong opposition from Subhas Chandra Bose and his followers, who now formed a separate 'Independence for India League' in Bengal."

In a later passage it is said :

"During the Jute Mills Strike of 1929 there were indications that the Congress Scheme was to get the intelligentsia to organize a mass upheaval through the youth and students' and volunteer movements with a view to coerce the Government. The scheme did not materialize and the Meerut case has for the time being ended attempts to form organizations on communist lines."

There are other passages as at page 338 as follows :

"To complete the picture it is necessary to say a word about the connection of the Congress Committee and the Calcutta Corporation and the manner in which subversive movements in general and terrorism in particular have received encouragement from the Corporation. The present Calcutta Corporation was the creation of the Act of 1923. In 1929 the Congress under the leadership of late Mr. C. R. Das obtained a large majority in it and since then has dominated it under the leadership successively of late Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and Mr. Subhas Ch. Bose, both ex-presidents of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and of Dr. B. C. Roy. The former two were bitter critics of Government and at various times were incarcerated under Regulation III of 1818 and the latter suffered imprisonment during the Civil Disobedience Movements."

Those are some of the specimens cited by the Secretary of State as indicative of terrorism in Bengal. It has been opined that

"it is true that the Congress formally dissociated itself from terrorism but it was equally clear that, if some of the workers and leaders of Congress were given a free hand, they would not be averse to giving their general support to terrorism."

This is the bold inference of the Secretary of State on Mahatma Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement, which, according to him, "aroused anti-British sentiment and a spirit of lawlessness in the province" and that "seditous literature of the most violent description was being broadcast in the shape of pamphlets and books." It is certainly claimed that the Government saved the situation by passing of ordinances and emergency legislation and the "situation had apparently greatly improved" and we do not see any reason why the law was not applied against Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, if the Government considered him guilty, and why the old Regulation, which was not designed to meet such situations, was misapplied. Sj. Bose has been suffering from serious intestinal troubles for the last four or five years and he was away from India for his treatment. His immediate arrest on his return from the continent of Europe to his native land after a prolonged absence makes it clear that his detention is not due to his activities but to his pronounced views about Swaraj for India. That Government officials are not known for consistency or accuracy of their remarks about Indian leaders will be evident from the following anecdote.

Lord Morley in his letter to Lord Minto wrote :

"You have nine men locked up a year ago by 'letter de cachet' because you believed them to be criminally connected with criminal plots, and because you expected their arrest to check these plots."

But speaking on the 7th January, 1924, on the Ordinance Bill in the Bengal Legislative Council Sir Hugh Stephenson referred to those arrests and said that Sj. Krishna Kumar Mitra and others were deported because of violent

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boycott speeches and not for their connection with terrorist crime. We quote his exact words :

"The first two are those of Babu Aswini Kumar Dutta and Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra. It has been said that no one will believe that they had anything to do with terrorist crime and that therefore the secret information of the police must have been false and Government may equally well be deceived by such false information now. I never knew Babu Aswini Kr. Dutta but I hope Babu Krishna Kumar will not be ashamed if I call him my friend and I whole-heartedly acquit him of sympathy with terrorist crime, but as far as I know no one has ever accused him or Babu Aswini Kumar Dutta of promoting crime still less of taking part in it. The Bengal Government asked for the arrest under the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra in 1908 because of his violent boycott speeches and his activity in organising volunteers involved the danger of internal commotion. In the same way the Eastern Bengal Government asked for the use of the said Regulation in the case of Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt because of his whirlround campaign of anti-Government speeches and of his control of the Brojo Mohan Institution, from which a stream of Swadeshi preachers was constantly pouring".

We believe the time will come when an equally highly placed official from his place in the Government will declare that Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose could not be conceived of being implicated in any terrorist crime, but that his arrest and detention were due to his great love for his country, his high intellectual power and his great organizing abilities, his unbounded influence over the youth of the country and the great love and respect in which he is held by his countrymen at large.

Lord Morley has truly said :

"Excess of severity is not the path to order. On the contrary it is the path to the bomb."

If Government sincerely believe that Subhas Chandra Bose is implicated in any terrorist activities, it is the clear duty of Government to haul him up before a Court of Law. Arbitrary detention for an indefinite period as a regular weapon of Government should now cease. Punishment without trial is abhorrent. Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea rightly said that

"security of life and property are the great foundations upon which rests the vast, the stupendous, the ever-growing fabric of British rule in India. What becomes of these inestimable blessings, if at any moment one's property may be confiscated, you may be arrested, kept in custody for months together without a trial and without a word of explanation? What becomes of the boasted vaunt of the boon of personal liberty and personal security under British rule under the circumstances?"

The Repressive Laws Committee was constituted in compliance with a resolution passed by the Council of State in 1921 with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the then Law Member as President. In their report they said that Regulation III of 1818 should not, in future, be put in operation anywhere, except the North-Western Frontier Province. The Government of India accepted the recommendations of the Committee. But it seems they have receded from their former position and are now making free use of the old Regulation.

All that we want is that there should be rule of law and persons should not suffer merely for their love of their country.

"BAHA," THE SANTHAL SAL-BLOSSOM FESTIVAL

By CHARULAL MUKHERJEA, M.A., B.L.

The Santhals have just now finished the celebration of "Baha," their sal-blossom season, an occasion for wholesale tribal rejoicing with sprinkling of water, its special miracle-plays, songs and dances.

According to *Hapram Reak Katha*, the Traditions and Institutions of the Santhals, the aim of the festival is to celebrate the advent of Spring, which sees the efflorescence of their favourite *sal, palas, mohua* and *iche* flowers. So long 'Baha' is not over, no Santhal will suck the honey of these flowers or eat them, nor will their women wear them in their hair. As distinguished from the 'Sorai,' the Harvest-home, which is a trifle Bacchanal this festival is purer in its observances.

The festival begins with a day of purification called "Um," when the young men of the village assemble at the 'Jahir-than,' the holy grove in the village, and build two huts. One of these huts is reserved for the Santhal deity called "Gossain era," while the other is meant to be jointly shared by "Jaher era," the presiding deity of the grove, the "Fives" meaning the five presiding gods and "Maran Buru," the chief presiding deity. The shrines thus built will be purified with cowdung by the priest. All the young men of the village will then bathe and purify themselves.

In the meantime, the Naeke (priest) will cleanse a winnowing-fan, a basket, a bow and arrow, a pick-axe, a broom-stick, a holy

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and a hunting-horn, and will daub them with oil and *mithi*, a kind of spices.

The evening comes. In the meantime, the Gorait, the orderly of the village headman, has presented him (the priest) with three fowls. Three young men now advance towards the priest's house, shaking their heads in a frenzy and impersonating "Jaher era," "Maran Buru" and "Gossain era" respectively. "Jaher era," then enters the priest's hut, puts on the bracelet and putting the basket on his head, takes up the broom-stick. The "Fives" will take up the bow and arrow, while "Maran Buru," the pick-axe and the actor-deities will then run to the grove followed by the young men. "Jaher era" then sweeps the shrine, while the two others supervise.

At night, they return from the grove. The priest, with piteous lamentations takes back the insignias the deities wore. All then sit on mats. The three actor-deities are then given a handful of rice each as propitiation and questioned about the auguries. This is followed by a general incantation of the gods.

Next, the priest washes their feet beginning with "Jaher era." The deities themselves do so mutually and the headman, the drummer, the Kabi (the singer), all participate in the ceremony. The balance of the water is then thrown on all amidst general jumps and yells. The priest then asks for the water-pot and makes "Jaher era," "Maran Buru" and the "Fives" sit on the mats when they are dispossessed of their spirit-life. They are then entertained with a meal of rice and drinks of 'pochoi' (rice-beer) along with the others present. But a peculiar thing is that the Kabi, the singer, is allowed a larger share of the dinner and not allowed to return home.

Dances *en masse* with special songs for the "Baha" follow. Many of these are duets. One runs thus in the first three stanzas :—

Semi-chorus :

On the Pipul tree, the wood-pecker is twittering,
Under the banyan tree, the *gutrut* is singing.
Has the Spring arrived?

Second semi-chorus answers :

The seasons have changed, so the wood-pecker twitters,
The Spring has come back; so the *gutrut* babbles.
The Spring has come back to us.

The second day's programme which includes the shooting at *sal*-flowers is the most picturesque. Early this morning, the priest's wife grinds flour. The headman's orderly goes round the village gathering rice, salt and turmeric. All then go to the holy-grove singing all the way. The priest carries a big basket containing a chain, bracelets, broom-stick, bows and arrows and horns and a smaller one with rice, oil, vermilion, flour and pick-axe. A small holy-water pot is conveyed there by a bachelor youth.

Here the actor-deities of the previous day will again be inspired. They will wear their traditional insignia and run to the jungles followed by the young men. There, the "Fives" will shoot at the sprouting *Sal*-flowers with an arrow, Maran Buru will climb the tree and cut the branches with the flowers, while Jaher era will pluck them in his basket. Then they all return to the holy-grove, also gathering *mohua* flowers on the way, where the priest will receive them with a load of *sal*-flowers in a chequered napkin. The actor-deities are then enshrined in their respective huts. Fowls are sacrificed in their honour with a special incantation in honour of "Baha" and amidst songs and rejoicings, the priest offers the deities bunches of *sal*- and *mohua*- flowers. Then after a mutual feet-washing ceremony in which Jaher era takes the lead, on the balance of the water being sprinkled on them, there will again be shouts and yells when the deities will be transformed to their real selves.

All then return to the village singing and dancing. The burden of these particular songs is that of an invitation to all the boys and the girls of the village to accept the special gift of a *sal*-flower from the priest and to salute him in return.

At night, the priest remains at the grove with his wife, who shares with him a special dish of a spotted fowl, cooked by her husband.

The third day, which symbolises the return home, is devoted to general feasting and merry-making. Some go to the Jaher-than (grove), beat the kettle-drum and blow horns, indicating that the priest is returning home. All then tell one another, "Let us go and welcome the priest," and march to the grove. A young man then takes on his head the basket in which the *sal*-flowers have been so nicely piled by the priest, who himself carries a few flowers, the winnowing-fan and the pot of water. The jar of holy water is, as before, conveyed by a bachelor.

As the Santhals now advance towards their village, the maids keep ready the ceremonial water-jug, seats of wood and oil in a wooden box of a small size. The priest's feet are washed by the maidens of the first house. She is offered a *sal*-flower in return. The maids salute the priest as he pours water on them. This is

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done in all the houses, till they reach the priest's, when water is poured on his roofs and a liberal offer of rice-beer is made to all present.

Now follows a water-festival on a wide scale. Water is sprinkled on all as on the occasion of the "Holi" of the Hindus, with the difference that it is not coloured. Men and women all join in this except those prohibited by special degrees of relationship. For, it may be interesting to note the Santhal thinks that his younger brother's wife and his elder sister deserve a great respect from him so it is not thought proper to throw them.

The festivities conclude with dances in which the whole village joins merry-maker's procession starting from priest's house ending with the house of headman.

SEVENTH HOOGHLY DISTRICT LIBRARY CONFERENCE

Successful Session at Rajbalhat

AMIDST scenes of great enthusiasm the seventh session of the Hooghly District Library Conference was held in the spacious pandal erected in the compound of the Rajbalhat H. E. School on the 3rd and 4th April last. The President-elect, Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, on alighting from the train with the sectional Chairmen and distinguished guests, was given a rousing reception at the Autpur Railway Station before the party proceeded to Rajbalhat by motor car.

At the commencement Rai Bahadur Professor Dr. Dinesh Ch. Sen, D.Litt., opened the exhibition arranged on the occasion with a short speech. There were stalls of local crops, small-scale cottage industries, demonstration of weaving, besides the library exhibition. In the latter posters, maps, charts, photographs, floor plans, library literature and appliances collected from Hooghly District, Baroda State, Andhra Desha, Madras, Bulgaria, America, China, Japan, New Zealand, Australia, Great Britain and other foreign countries as well as books and manuscripts of the District, were displayed. The portrait of Andrew Carnegie and a set of posters sent by the Carnegie Corporation of New York were an added attraction.

In according a hearty welcome to the President-elect. delegates and the distinguished visitors Professor Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, briefly described the condition of the village and the keenness of the local workers for the social and cultural welfare of the place.

Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., in course of his inaugural speech dwelt on the usefulness of libraries and stressed the reading of useful literature.

Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mohasai, M.L.C., the President of the Hooghly District Library Association, then narrated the history of the Association since its formation at Bansberia in 1925, when the first Hooghly District Library Conference was held. The Association organized a Library Workers' Training Camp in June 1934 and a survey of the Library provisions in the Hooghly District was made by the end of that year, both being conducted by Sj. Pramil Chandra Basu, Assistant Librarian of the Calcutta University Library, voluntarily. He stated that through the efforts of the Association, financial assistance has been secured from the District Board and Union Boards towards the libraries. He advocated initiation of Hospital Library service and offered several useful suggestions for improving the working of the Libraries in the District.

Sj. Tin Cori Dutta, the Hony. Secretary of Association, read the messages sent by Sir P. C. Rao Saheb S. R. Ranganathan (Secretary, Madras Library Association), Sj. Hiranya Kumar Mitra, Pandit Krishna Goswami and others.

Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, the President of Conference, then delivered his address dwelling on the played by the invention of writings in the progress civilization, on the evolution of books and the part library plays in the cultural uplift of a nation. He that anybody can get in touch with the master minds the bygone ages through their thoughts recorded in books. Libraries help everybody to come in contact the present-day civilization. The disheartened get comfort and joy and the afflicted get solace and relief from books in a library. Libraries are essentially needed to out the curse of appalling illiteracy from the country. also paid warm tributes to the services rendered by workers of the Hooghly district in pushing forward library movement in the province and hoped that endeavour would be crowned with success.

Prof. Anath Nath Basu, M.A., (Calcutta University Teachers' Training Department) the Chairman of Children's Library section, in course of his address on the environments required in a children's library that the juvenile readers may be afforded proper facilities and guidance in solving their own problems finding their required informations. *Inter alia*, he expressed regret that the requirements of children are judged those of adults; but the children cannot enjoy or assimilate the literature catered to them in the tabloid of that which suits the taste of the adults. He advocated proper treatment of the juvenile readers and the publication of suitable juvenile literature written from the point of view of the young ones, as the present type of juvenile books in Bengali does not meet their requirements properly.

In the next sitting Mr. Prabhat Kumar Mukherji (Librarian of Tagore's University, Visvabharati), Chairman of the Rural Library section, delivered an interesting address on the features of a good rural library. He advocated open access system and spoke on the of proper classification and cataloguing in finding the resources of a library however small. He offered some helpful suggestions for improving the condition of rural libraries.

Mr. Pramil Chandra Basu then presented the report of the Library Survey of the Hooghly District. He

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The President and the Delegates of the Seventh Session of the Library Conference at Rajbalhat

ated co-ordination of work amongst the libraries and creation of a District Library Board to take up the aforesaid work.

Mr. Ajit Kumar Ghosh read a paper on books and libraries.

In the third sitting Prof. Nripendra Nath Banerjee, the Chairman of the Adult Education section, spoke on the voluntary work to be undertaken through the libraries to focus public attention on the problems of health, sanitation, trade and commerce and other kindred topics for the betterment of the condition of the villages. Prof. Anath Nath Basu explained the method adopted in Denmark to impart useful knowledge to the agriculturists during their leisure hours. Mr. Tin Cori Dutta spoke on the creation of taste for books by reading books to the patients in the hospitals, who afterwards become real book-lovers. Several other speakers also took part in the deliberations.

Amongst those present on the occasion the names of the following gentlemen may be mentioned :

Mr. Tarak Nath Mukherjee (Chairman, Hooghly District Board), Mr. Kanai Lal Goswami (Chairman of the Serampur Municipality and Local Board), Mr. Harihar Sett, Mr. Manmatha Nath Ghose, Prof. Monindra Nath Rudra. About one hundred delegates from various parts of the district were present besides more than four thousand local people, mostly agriculturists and weavers.

A visit to the birthplace of the renowned Bengali Poet, Hem Chandra Banerjee was made by some of the delegates and a memorial meeting was also held in the Conference pandal.

Some useful resolutions were passed.

Through the efforts of Mr. Bhudev Bhattacharya and Mr. Mahabharat Terali, the Secretaries of the Reception Committee, and other members of the Hem Chandra Smriti Pathagar, the Conference was a grand success.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

1. CHANGING VIEWS ON MARRIAGE AND FAMILY (Hindu Youth) : *By K. T. Merchant, M.A., LL.B. with a foreward by Prof. Morris Ginsberg. Published by B. B. Paul & Co., Madras. Rs. 3/8/-. Pp. 292.*

2. THE UNTOUCHABLE CLASSES OF MAHRASHTRA : *By M. G. Bhagat, M.A. (Reprinted from the Journal of the University of Bombay. Vol. IV Part I, July, 1935), 45 pages. Re. 1/-.*

These two treatises are the outcome of the valuable work done by the department of Sociology in the University of Bombay under the able guidance of Prof. G. S. Ghurye. The method followed in the first is to elicit views on marriage and family by distributing questionnaires among young persons and the middle-aged among the Hindu population of certain parts of Bombay Presidency. The total number of subjects approached was 3.800, out of whom 598 replies have been analysed here. The questions were wisely couched and likely mistakes and deficiencies avoided. In the language of the author, the study "suggests that there would be late marriages. Separate and small families and a wider use of contraceptives. Personal choice would count for more than anything else. There would be more and more 'marriages between compatibles.' But we think that the demand for economic independence by a good number of the youth as the condition absolute prior to marriage suggests the possibility of a greater number of married ladies going in for employment. But the homes run by the joint contribution of both 'boy' and 'girl' will only be possible if the tendency among the ladies as suggested by their replies, not to think of marriage at all in the event of their being economic independence (?), is kept within proper bounds." With reference to these possibilities in the future certain relevant problems relating to self-choice and personal contract, like co-education, inter-caste marriage, divorce and birth-control are discussed. The author is a reformer but his reformism is supported by knowledge of the facts of the situation.

The second treatise is comparatively unpretentious. Informations about 542 untouchable families from ten districts of the same Presidency are collected. The castes studied are the Mahars, Chamars, Mang[illegible] and Bhangis. As many as thirty-one tables abo[illegible] different demographic, economic and social co[illegible] are given and cautious conclusions drawn th[illegible] The survey method is followed. The two dis[illegible] which demand immediate removal are the scar[illegible] water and absence of educational facilities. He[illegible] two cure rights of drawing water from public [illegible] and of sending children to public schools have [illegible] recognized at once. The result will be an appre[illegible] of a 'cleaner and more moral mode of life' b[illegible] untouchables themselves. To 'accustom the m[illegible] of other sections to a freer social intercourse [illegible] these people and lastly to undermine and er[illegible] the exclusivist spirit of caste' would requir[illegible] upheaval of a missionary spirit among Hindu [illegible] who would practise and preach to the people [illegible] sincere yet tactful manner. The author sugg[illegible] central organization to fight untouchability with [illegible] work of smaller committees all over the co[illegible] There should also be an army of workers pledg[illegible] do the work by non-violent persuasion, failing [illegible] by legal means.

The temper of our authors is a symptom [illegible] age, and of the change that is coming in the sch[illegible] atmosphere. Such surveys are an imperative n[illegible] India, particularly in Bengal. Will our intell[illegible] take note? The Calcutta University should a[illegible] follow suit.

DHURJATI MUKER[illegible]

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE VILLAGE MO[illegible] MENT : *A collection of speeches and writing[illegible] J. C. Kumarappa. Edited and published by Sam[illegible] Subba Rao. To be had of The Andhra Colleg[illegible] Commerce, Rajahmundry. Pp. 83. Price As. 8.*

This little book is a collection of some of [illegible] speeches and writings of Sjt. J. C. Kumarappa rela[illegible] to the aims, objects and methods of the All-In[illegible] Village Industries Association. The author gives [illegible] here his own criticism of Capitalism and Comm[illegible] concluding that both are detrimental to the gro[illegible] of human personality, and thus of human happ[illegible] The reason is that they are ultimately forces [illegible] centralization, and centralization does not favour [illegible] growth of individuality. Mr. Kumarapa remarks [illegible] one place that Communism is the "rationalised [illegible]

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of Capitalism. It is an opinion with which one can hardly agree. Both may be forms of Centralization or of Industrialism, but the difference between them is so fundamental that it would be wrong to describe them in terms of each other.

The author sees in decentralization the remedy against the dangers of Capitalism and Communism. But it is not unadulterated decentralization which he advocates; nor does he favour merely voluntary forms of association and refuse to have anything to do with the State. In fact, there will be a place for centralized production with regard to public utility services, while private ownership will have to be curtailed "by limiting productive capacity under State control." The State will be, not under the dictatorship either of the rich or of the proletariat, but will truly reflect the will of "all sorts and conditions of people." But how that can be secured has not been explained by the author; perhaps because it lies outside the immediate scope of the present book.

Mr. Kumarappa thus hopes that if our life is organized on the basis of a happy mean between centralization and decentralization, it will "give rise to a higher standard of life and culture" than has yet been secured anywhere in the world. The reader will notice that Mr. Kumarappa speaks of a higher standard of life and not of living. Obviously he reflects here Mahatma Gandhi's ideal of "plain living and high thinking"; although, like a modern man, he does not taboo machines altogether, but would have them for speed.

The book maintains a rather popular and scrappy character throughout. Perhaps this was inevitable, as it has been mainly culled from newspaper reports. But it might easily have been freed from its intolerable profusion of printing mistakes.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

TENDENCIES IN RECENT ECONOMIC THOUGHT: *By Professor Brij Narain. Lectures delivered as Sir Kikabhai Premchand Reader, 1934, to the University of Delhi. Published by the University of Delhi, 1935. Pages 213.*

The works of the economists of our country mainly deal with the peculiar problems of India, and the study of pure theory has been generally neglected. Prof. Brij Narain's book will therefore attract attention, because of the venture that has been made in it to analyse certain aspects of the pure theory of economics.

The book contains a number of lectures dealing with some new trends in economic theory and in economic policy. The new trends have been admirably analyzed. In Indian Universities, the classical exposition of economic theory is yet now adhered to, and the changes that are gradually taking place, *e.g.*, in the concept of cost, or in the theory of money, escape the notice of the average student. Prof. Brij Narain has done a service to many by explaining in simple language, with the help of familiar illustrations, the behaviouristic idea of economic activities as conditioned reflexes, the concept of cost as an aggregate expression of the equi-marginal utilities of factors having alternative uses, the changed explanation of the relation between cost and rent and the application of the marginal utility analysis to the theory of money. The Indian readers will also be grateful to the author for making available to them some of the theories of Aftalion, De Vries, Spann and of many others.

Prof. Brij Narain is not, however, content with a mere exposition of the recent trends in economic thought. He has well-defined opinions on many of the abstract issues. His belief that there is a definite causality in all economic phenomena leads him to assert that a determinate cause lies behind the present depression. He makes the unequal distribution of income ultimately responsible for the "catastrophic" fall of prices. Again, he claims that it is price which *determines* utility to the marginal buyer. And, above all, he is "certain that if the leading economists were forced to re-examine their theories in the manner he has suggested, economic principles acceptable to all would be evolved."

There is a valuable chapter on Indian economic thought in recent times, in which, however, one notices the absence of any reference to some brilliant works of the younger economists. The chapters on the recent tendency towards collectivist economic policy throw some light on the economic conjuncture of the present-day world.

BHABATOSH DATTA

INTO THE SUN: *By Frieda H. Das, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London. 7s. 6d.*

Renascent Indian Womanhood has been portrayed in this fiction in the variations which it has undergone,—during the dull dreary purdah days when suttee was the only vent for idealism, the days of social reform in a minor scale, and the eventful times of recent political struggle culminating in some quarters in a determined effort to eradicate such an age-long evil as untouchability. Parvati, Sita and Ramadevi are the types representative of the best women marching "into the sun" from the dark apartments to which they had been confined through centuries. In depicting them Mrs. Das has displayed wonderful insight into the mind and character, aspiration and idealism, of Indian women which no chance acquaintance with the Indian ways of life can give. The style is beautiful, simple as a rule, but nervous in describing tense situations and inner conflicts, sympathetic in approaching the changing viewpoints. Mrs. Dass describes what she sees,—and some of the names are thinly disguised—Barasol hinting at Balasore, Lalkanta, etc. The author has spoken of this book as Ramadevi's book, but the fight for Independence and the women's part in it has received its due share of attention from her, and one likes to pause and read over and over again chapters where the inner struggle between convention and the new movement, both among men and women, is taken up as the theme.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF HINDUISM: *By S. Soundararaja Aiyengar, B.A., B.L. Published by Vaman & Co., 81, Elephant Gate Street, Madras. Pp. 84.*

This is an *apologia* for Hinduism. Such books are usually innocuous. But there is one danger: too much glorification of the past or of what already is, often implies a stagnation of thoughts and arrest of progress. Is there no future for Hinduism to think about?

IF TRUTH AT LAST BE TOLD: *By A. H. Jaisinghani. Publishers, Ganesh & Co., Madras. Pp. 72.*

The cover of the book declares that it is "for adults only." This might lead one to suppose that it dealt with sex matters: but it does not. It is a book on religion and things spiritual. Among other things, we are told that "there was a dearth of everything alse, but never hath the world known a dearth of saints!" And the reason is, "Many an idler becometh a saint." (P. 44). We agree. But what is the good of lengthening the list of Saints by ourselves pretending to be so?

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

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SCIENCE AND THE HUMAN TEMPERAMENT: *By Erwin Schroedinger. Translated and with a biographical note by James Murphy. Foreward by Lord Rutherford. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 7s. 6d.*

The boundary between Science and Philosophy is fast disappearing. By the sheer momentum of their own researches the physicists are now driven to the borderland of all science and are even urged to cross over to the other side, to metaphysics. And it is those who have contributed most towards the progress of science that feel this impulse in the highest degree. Einstein, Planck, Eddington, Jeans and J. C. Bose are notable examples.

The volume under review is a collection of lectures delivered on various occasions by another luminary on the scientific horizon, Erwin Schroedinger, the Nobel Prize winner in Physics in 1933. Each of the lectures deals with particular fundamental questions and assumptions of physics; but while some of them are concerned with technical as also controversial problems —which this is not the place to review—others consider such problems as the exact meaning of the phrase 'law of nature,' the conception of causality, the tendencies of the present-day science, the relation of science, art and play, etc.

The idea sought to be conveyed in these lectures is one with which the reviewer is in complete agreement. It is this, that even Physics which is considered to be an objective science *par excellence* is after all as much influenced by human temperament, the cultural milieu and the fashion of the time as Psychology or any other of the avowed subjective sciences. The physical problems that have been selected for investigation through the centuries as also those which have been rejected have all like been determined by the culture and fashion of the age, and particular problems have assumed prominence and importance solely through their ability to satisfy some objective need or subjective craze. Causality is now replaced by the conception of indeterminism, and statistical considerations are believed to be the utmost that we can achieve. The author goes further and says that it is really immaterial for science whether we accept causality or not, the latter fact being entirely contingent upon our temperament.

The lectures are highly thought-provoking as they are bound to be, coming from such a highly intellectual and creative mind. To one temperamentally bent towards the discussion of fundamental questions, *Science and the Human Temperament* affords an intellectual treat which should certainly not be missed. Murphy has placed the English knowing people under a deep obligation to him by his admirable translation of the lectures.

YOGA: *By Annie Besant, Adyar Pamphlets, nos. 200-201, August-September, 1935. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India.*

The booklet is a joint reprint of a lecture on Yoga delivered by Mrs. Besant at the Theosophical Convention on the 29th December, 1896, and an article entitled "The Hatha-yoga and Raja-yoga of India' contributed to the *Annals of Psychical Science*, November, 1906. The subject-matter of both the articles is more or less the same, *viz.*, brief description of some of the elementary practices of yoga and a popular exposition of the theory underlying them. The usefulness of these practices even for our everyday working life has been pointed out and emphasised with all the sincerity and the earnestness that were characteristic of the late authoress. Though the articles are old, the Adyar Publishing House deserves the th[illegible] all laymen for reprinting them at the pre[illegible] I have not the slightest doubt that with the [illegible] of the storms and stresses of life everywhere [illegible] of yoga practices shall be more and more rea[illegible] such times these masterly presentations of [illegible] the celebrated authorities will be the only safe [illegible] and the more such pamphlets are published the [illegible] it will be for the welfare of the individuals and [illegible] The extremely simple and lucid manner in wh[illegible] complicated subject has been presented will, I [illegible] be thoroughly appreciated by all who are still [illegible] to consider 'Yoga' as something mysterious and [illegible] the powers of ordinary understanding.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MI[illegible]

MUGHAL KINGSHIP AND NOBILITY: [illegible] *Prof. Ram Prasad Khosla, I.E.S., Indian Press, A[illegible] bad. Pp. 309, Rs. 7/8.*

This is an attempt, as the author says, "to des[illegible] the Mughal Constitution" which, though static, [illegible] without some interesting features. "There is no[illegible] original," the author continues, "about the theories [illegible] tained in this work, which is only an attempt at [illegible] lating what had existed in a vague and undefined [illegible] before."

A close perusal of the book under review leaves [illegible] impression that the learned author is more conv[illegible] with the English constitution than with the pol[illegible] history of Mughal India. The original part of his [illegible] is an attempt to read the theories of the English C[illegible] stitution into Mughal Despotism for which this [illegible] is an *apologia*. We welconme it as the study of [illegible] Mughal Constitution from a new stand-point admit[illegible] hazardous.

K. R. QANUNGO

THE GROUNDWORK OF MODE[illegible] CONSTITUTIONS: *By P. C. Mukherjea, M.[illegible] Bharat Publishing House. Pp. viii+308. P[illegible] Re. 1-8.*

THE GROUNDWORK OF POLITI[illegible] SCIENCE: *By P. C. Mukherjea, M.A., Bh[illegible] Publishing House. Pp. iv+492. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The books are well written, and cover [illegible] theories and principles of political science in a [illegible] compass and in a manner useful alike to the stu[illegible] and the layman. The description of the diffe[illegible] constitutions seems to be accurate and compact. [illegible] get-up is good and the price moderate.

J. M. DATTA

SONGS OF MIRABAI: *By R. C. Tandon, [illegible] Mandir, Allahabad. Price Rupee One.*

This is a collection of English translations of [illegible] songs of Mirabai, the famous poetess, princess [illegible] saint of mediæval India. The translations are exce[illegible] and the translator has spared no pains to make [illegible] book as attractive as possible.

The name of Mirabai is familiar to all stu[illegible] of Indian mysticism and mediæval Hindi litera[illegible] Her fame has spread over the whole of India and [illegible] songs are sung all over Northern India from G[illegible] to Benares and the Punjab to the Maharashtras. [illegible] unfortunately it is difficult, if not almost impo[illegible] to make an authentic collection of her songs. A [illegible] anthologies have no doubt been published but the [illegible] cannot be relied upon. Our translator has su[illegible] from that difficulty of getting the original versions [illegible]

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the songs. It is time that Hindi scholars would remedy this defect.

In his book Mr. Tandon has given a short introduction in which he deals with the life of Mirabai. I was surprised to find no mention there of Munshi Deviprasad of Jodhpur, the pioneer worker in the field. If Mr. Tandon would refer to his works he might get further help in unravelling the tangled story of Mira's exquisite life.

A. N. BASU

THE VOICE OF THE GURUS: *Selected from Sikh Scriptures by Raja Sir Daljit Singh and rendered into English by Sir Jogendra Singh. Printed and published by S. Amar Singh at the Model Electric Press, McLeod Road, Lahore.*

A selected number of utterances of the Sikh Gurus, have been translated into English and arranged here under different subject-headings, *e.g.*, Ishwar or God, Jiva or Individual soul, Fetters of Existence, etc. These sayings may be divided into three main heads. Firstly the Gurus' conception of God, His universe and man's place in it. Secondly the veil which obscures truth and prevents man from reaching the Goal. And thirdly instructions to remove the veil and attaining salvation. The booklet will help inquisitive peeople, not conversant with the sacred books of the Sikhs, in forming an idea of the characteristic views and doctrines of Sikhism as enunciated by the preachers themselves. It will also be read with interest and profit by the general reader. A brief account of the original texts on which the selection is based would have been highly appreciated.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

INDUSTRY YEAR BOOK & DIRECTORY 1935: *Published by Industry Publishers Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 5/-.*

This is the usual annual publication from the Industry Office. It contains much valuable information on the industries and markets of India, and is, so far as we know, the only publication of its kind. Considering the difficulties under which information on industrial and commercial matters in India has to be collected we cannot but appreciate the efforts of the authors at making the publication as complete as may be desired.

CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING: *By G. R. Pillai*, B.A., B.L.

This is a short monograph on co-operative marketing embodying its principles and brief history in various Western countries as well as a study of the problems of co-operative marketing in India. The subject is of every great interest and demands careful investigation. The book is likely to serve a useful basis for further studies.

OUTLINES OF ECONOMIC THEORY: *By R. M. Joshi, M.A., B.Sc. (Econ.), London.*

This book comprises the lectures delivered by the author at the Indian Institute of Bankers in Bombay in 1930. The title of the book is much too ambitious for the matter contained therein, but for a beginner the seven lectures provide interesting reading.

INDIA'S NATIONAL FINANCE SINCE 1921: *By Prof. V. J. Kale*, M.A.

This is the Delhi University publication No. 3, comprising Sir Kikabhai Premchand Readership lectures delivered by Prof. Kale in 1932 in the Delhi University. The book gives us many useful information presented in a small compass. Students of India's Public Finance would greatly profit through its perusal.

BRANCH BANKING IN INDIA: *By C. H. Diwanji, A.I.I.B.*

This is a practical booklet written by a banker of considerable experiance and as Prof. V. J. Kale says in his foreward, the suggestions of the author ought to make a wide appeal.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF ECONOMIC BIOLOGY, COIMBATORE: *Vol. I, 1932-33.*

This is an official report of the Proceedings of the Association of Economic Biologists at Coimbatore, containing an account of the transactions for the first four years of its life.

N. SANYAL

COMPLETE GARDENING IN INDIA: *By K. S. Gopalaswamiengar, B.A., B.L., F.R.H.S., 1935. The Huxley Press, Madras. Price Rs. 10.*

The author, though a lawyer, gives his practical knowledge of 25 years in this handy volume in his own simple and admirable way and he should be congratulated on his well-deserved success in this respect.

He has dealt with the problems of gardening in several Chapters and in each Chapter he deals with a particular subject. In Chapter V, various garden implements and accessories and their uses are given in full details. In another Chapter (Ch. VI) practical suggestions are set forth regarding the various methods of propagation and I am quite sure any new-comer in this line will be profitted by mere reading this book. At Pp. 112—114 the author describes how to cultivate plants in pots and the formulæ of the soils for particular classes of plants are really very suggestive and helpful.

In Chapter XIII—Weeds and their control—the treatment of the subject is good. In Chap. XI some plant diseases and their preventive methods are given. But I think he ought to have consulted C. E. Owens' *Principles of Plant Pathology* and Harsburger's *A Text Book of Mycology and Plant Pathology.* No doubt, he has consulted E. J. Butler's *Fungi and Diseases in Plants* but he ought to have dealt with this subject more exhaustively, which is a most important one.

Vernacular names have been given in some cases but I think he would have done well and made the book more useful if he had mentioned the vernacular names of all the plants in Bengali, Oriya, Hindi, etc. I hope my suggestions will be incorporated in the next edition by consulting Bentham and Hooker's *Flora of British India,* Prain's *Bengal Plants,* Duthie's *Flora of the Upper Gangetic Plains,* Haines' *Botany of Bihar and Orissa,* etc.

The illustrations are in a general way satisfactory but in the days of fine printing and block-making one expects better plates than those given here.

The book is however not free from errors. There are some printing mistakes in the scientific terms, *e.g.* Plastir (r. 9) instead of Plastid, Nucleii (p. 11) instead of nuclei, etc. Some foundamental mistakes are however there when dealing with the life history of the plant. For example at p. 11, "Each ovule consists of a nucleus and is surrounded by one or two coats * * * ."What the writer wants to mean is that each ovule contains the embryosac in the nucellus which is surrounded by one or two coats, known as integuments.

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At the same page again, "Through this tube the male germ is brought into contact with one or two ovules." This is entirely wrong. In fact, two male cells are contained in the pollen tube, which passes through the micropyle of the ovule and enters into the embryosac. There two male cells are discharged. One fuses with the egg and the other fuses generally with the fused polar nucleus or sometimes with one polar nucleus resulting in the fermation of endosperm. If there are many ovules, naturally many pollen tubes enter into them and discharge the male cells into the respective embryosacs.

At p. 19 *Natural Orders* are written. At present plants are classified into *Families* according to their phylogenetic relationships and the words *"Natural Orders"* have become obsolete.

On the whole the book has many excellent features which have made it useful to the beginners. I hope the defects pointed out will be remedied in the next edition.

ROBINDRA MOHAN DATTA

TELUGU

MALAPALLI OR SANGA VIJAYAMU: *By Unnava Lakshminarayana. Published by Andhra Granthamala, Madras. Demy Octavo, Half Cloth. Pp. 16+600. Price Rs. 3.*

It is a social novel in which the author has very successfully depicted the life of that section of humanity whom the Law has branded as 'Criminal Tribes' and whom the society ostracises as 'Untouchables.' The author has got vision and sympathy for the underdog and in the course of his story has made many constructive suggestions for their uplift. Mr. Lakshminarayana has not only a facile pen but has wonderful command over the language also. Instead of employing the steriotyped language of the patent literary men, he has made use of the colloquial language actually spoken by the classes depicted in the story. This innovation makes his pictures powerfully realistic.

JAGAT-KATHA: *By Mr. K. Satakopachary, M.A., B.L., Vakil, Coconada. Double Crown 16. Pp. 40+706. Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 3. To be had from the author.*

It is a Telugu translation of H. G. Well's famous book: *History of the World.* It is unnessary to say anything about the merits of the original work. Mr. Wells wrote his book with European readers in his mind, but the translator has kept the interests of Indian readers constantly in view and has added copious notes to suit their requirements. This makes the book more comprehensive and useful. Sir S. Radhakrishnan has added a weighty Foreward in his charming and forceful style. In absence of original works in our vernaculars, the value of such translations cannot be overestimated.

A. NARAYANASWAMY AIYER

JIVANA SMRITI: *By Kamaraju Hanumanta Rao, Editor, "East and West Series." Rajamundry Size Crown Octavo. Pages 231. Price Re. 1/-.*

The book deals at length with the life and activities of the late lamented Desiraju Peda Bapayya, "A Sincere Thiest'. The author ably traces the various life interests of Bapayya with apt and inspiring details drawn largely out of personal knowledge. There is a vivid narration of how the subject of the biography, born of an orthodox Brahmin family, came after sore trials, to find his solace in the Theism of the Brahmo Samaj. One understands how in his twenty-six years of life Bapayya became an [illegible] unto others as an ardent believer, a strenuous [illegible] and a fervent nationalist. Prominent among the [illegible] tive influences upon his mind and spirit are the [illegible] personalities of such leaders as Dr. Sir R. [illegible] Ratnam and the late Pandit K. Veeresalingam [illegible] the staff-members of the Madras Christian Coll[illegible] spite of endless persecution from his own [illegible] kin, as also from the society around, the young [illegible] full of physical infirmities and material privations [illegible] firm in loyalty to conviction and dedicated [illegible] the inauguration of an Anustanic Community [illegible] formed Brahmos in Andhradesa. Accordingly [illegible] page of the volume breathes the fragrance of a [illegible] and gentle yet dauntless and devoted human [illegible]

The style of the author is commendably [illegible] His diligent labours in the field of purposive [illegible] of an Andhra worthy, in a language not rich [illegible] form of literacy composition, have been deservedly recognised by the Andhra University in its recommendation of the book for non-detailed study [illegible] intermediate classes.

A. RAJAGOPALA RAO

KANNADA

NELALU-BELAKU (*Shade and Light*): *By V. Sitaramiah, 1, Second Road, Chamarajpet, Bangalore City. Published by the author. Demy Crown 16. Pp. VIII+64. Paper bound. Price Re. [illegible]*

Today we see a new spirit permeating all the vernaculars of India, a spirit which defies the conventions and traditions and tries to find expression in wider fields with new thought and new modes. The author of the book under review is one of the pioneers of this new spirit in Kannada literature. Mr. Sitaramiah occupies a prominent position among the present poets of Karnataka. *Nelalu-Belaku* is a collection of his thirty poems on different subjects. They are full of beauty, imagination, feeling and inspiration. It is really a treat to go through them. If the contents of the books are pleasing to the heart, its printing and get-up is pleasing to the eyes. In fact there are [illegible] many books in Kannada which are so beautifully printed.

A. NARAYANASWAMY AIYER

MARATHI

ARVACHIN MARATHI SAHITYA. *Published by V. P. Neve, B.A., Baroda. Pp. [illegible] Rs. 5/-.*

This book presumes to give us under one [illegible] the history of modern Marathi literature in all its branches from 1875 to 1935, a period that also chronises with the reign of H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda. It is a volume brought out in connection with the Golden Jubilee Celebration of that [illegible] and is a symposium of articles on the subject by various well-known writers of Maharastra like Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. D. V. Potdan, and others. The articles bear a distinct mark of haste in composition on every page. Some of them are, indeed, extremely scrappy and others leave much that should have been included in them for a thorough treatment and exposition of Marathi literature from its early beginnings in [illegible] to its development today. The article on the growth of Marathi journalism is the scrappiest and the most unsatisfactory of them all. If we would make a special mention of a few among them that, at all, come up to the necessary standard in such a piece of writing, we may refer to the *Upsamhara* at the end penned by Mr. N. C. Kelkar of Poona, to the article on Marathi History and Research by Prof. D. V. Potdan of [illegible]

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...Mandal, and finally the article on efforts made ...Maharastra for endowing it with encyclopædias and ...ography, written by Mr. C. G. Karve. We wish ...t if the volume reaches its second edition, the ...cles should be thoroughly revised, and the errors of ...mission and omission with which they bristle all ...r the pages, should be corrected right through. A ...k done in such a hurry is no credit either to the ...eral writers, or to the publisher of the work, Mr. V. ...Neve of Baroda.

SAHITYA AND SAMAJ JIVAN : *By Lalji ...ke. Published by A. J. Jakade, Manohar Printing ...s. Pp. 143. Price Re. 1/4.*

We have no patience with a writer who discusses ...subject of literature and social life as a megalo-...nic. The economic intrepretation of history and ...doctrines of Karl Marx and communism may be ...right in these proper place. But what can you say ...a writer who put on these red glasses and reads ...ough them Marathi literature of the past, and con-...ms it wholesale because it does not conform to ...se doctrines or have not been a propounder of his ...s. Literature is, indeed, the mirror of life and ...uld reflect the social and other currents of the age ...epicts. But who can blame, for instance, the saints ...Maharastra, as being partizans of the ruling class ...the capitalistic form of society as the writer of the ...sent book of 150 pages makes them out to be, be-...use their poetry contains nothing in them to suit his ...n fancy or interpret his own ideas? That is neither ...und literary criticism, nor a dispassionate review of ...e course of Marathi literature from its early begin-...ings to this day. We are afraid the writer has not ...oroughly digested the thought of the various ...European authors whom he finely quotes in these pages ...o illustrate and emphasize his view point. As such ...e writing is extremely one-sided and unjust to the ...st. The style of the book is racy and clear. And ...if it evokes an answer from the other side, it shall ...ve served its purpose. It is so provocative from ...eginning to end. Its aim is distinctly that of a pro-...gandist. As such it will go the way that all such ...riting goes.

V. N. NAIK

GUJARATI

ALANKAR PRAVESHIKA : *By Prof. Dolarrai R. Mankad, M.A. published by the Naganka Prakashan Mandir, Hospital Road, Karachi, Sind, Paper cover Pp. 88. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1935).*

This is a hand book for beginners in University courses, and the difficult subject of Alankar is treated in such a way as to be really helpful to them.

KUND MALA : *By Bhavanishanker Vyas. Published by the Urmi Prakashan Mandir, Karachi, Sind. Paper cover. Pp. 114. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1935).*

Dingnad, the great Sanskrit poet, is said to have written this play, on the great tragedy in Rama's life, viz., his expulsion of Sita, when she was with child. The play is very well written in the original and has tempted scholar like Dr. Woolner to translate it (The Jasmuni Garland by A. C. Woolner). So far as this translation in Gujarati is concerned, we think it is well executed and would certainly bear perusal.

AL KUBRA : *By Amin (Rahemtullah Abdur Rahman Maniar). Printed at the Muslim Gujarat Press, Surat. Paper cover. Pp. 64. Price As. 6 (1935).*

Bibi Khadijah whom the Prophet Mahomed married, was a remarkable Arab lady. It was she who was the first to believe in the message of her husband and embrace Islam. She is thus for all time dubbed "The Great Lady"—Al Kubra—and the mother of all who profess the Muslim faith. The tale told of her life reads like a romance, and although this book—which narrates it—is the translation of all Urdu book—it sets out very lucidly all the remarkable features of her—to Islam—the most distinctive life. The language used in the translation is very easy and smooth running, and does credit to the pen of a Muhammadan writer, who is equally at home in Gujarati and Urdu. The short preface contributed by Munadi describes in very feeling terms the status of woman, in pre-Islamic times and the reforms effected by the Prophet of Islam. The book contains an illustration of Bibi Khadijah's last resting place. It is a rare illustration.

CHANDARNAN : *By Chandravadan C. Mehta, B.A. Printed at the Lohana Mitra Steam Printing Press, Baroda. Paper cover. Pp. 56. Price Re. 0-6-0*

Forty-three short songs for very small children, which they may sing, while romping, playing, or jumping, with a peculiar lilt. This in short is the work done by Mr. C. C. Mehta and displayed in this little book. They take the place of songs which the children in old times were supposed to learn at their mothers' knee, but which in these times, they have to learn at their schools.

SHRIMAD RAJCHANDRA : *Published by Hemchandra Tokarshi Mehta. Printed at the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Pages 480+88. Price Rs. 2-8 (1935).*

Shrimad Rajchandra, though a Jaina by persuasion, was an all round religious thinker. Although he died at the young age of thrity-three in S. T. 1957, he had so ably trod the path of religion and morality that in case of difficulty in solving such problems Mahatma Gandhi turned to him. He still considers him his teacher. This First Part of the book is the Fifth Edition of a collection of his writings on various subjects pertaining to religion, morality, straightforwardness in business and in conduct. It is a voluminous collection still, as Mahatmaji observes in his Foreword "it breaths truthfulness." He says, "The critic can find in the writings matter for criticism, those who confide in Faith, will find much to interest them." A Hindu or non-Hindu is sure to procure "Atmanand"—"self-delight" through them. His preaching was so powerful that at all time it was thought that it would bring about a schism in the sampradaya. But he did not live long enough to do so.

UTTAR HINDUSTANI SANGIT NI AITIHASIK SAMALOCHANA : *By Pandit V. N. Bhat Khande, B.A., LL.B. Translated by Sundarlal H. Gandhi. Published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad. Pp. 96. Price Re. 0-10-0 (1936).*

Mr. Bhat Khande is known all over India as an expert in the art and science of Indian Music, as well as its *technique*. He delivered a very learned discourse on the subject at the Baroda All-India Music Conference. This translation of it in Gujarati is done very well and will interest those who have to do with the subject. A short biography of Mr. Bhat Khande and an Index add usefulness to the book.

JALINI : *By "Divyanand," B.A., LL.B. Published by the Nanchelan Sahitya Mandir, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pp. 104. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1935).*

This is a short play depicting the present ideas of both boys and girls about choosing their own partners in life. It must be said to the credit of the 'Young writer' that he does not pooh-pooh the old Hindu ideal of chastity in women, and whatever he writes, he writes so as to bring his view points and expression of ideas within that limit. This is a great recommendation in favour of a rising writer.

K. M. J.

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THE POLITICO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE INDIA ACT

By D. H. BUTANI, M.A.,
Lecturer, D. J. Sind College, Karachi

Sir Samuel Hoare's office as Secretary of State marks the climax of selfish and arrogant imperialism. His highest exploit was the India Act. It is a formidable attempt to consolidate and prolong British rule in India. It has two aspects, the political and the economic, of which the latter is the more important. Enough has already been said on the platform and in the press about British political imperialism and Muslim political communalism. My diagnosis of the situation is that it is the inadequacy of our faith and courage that is responsible both for British political domination and Muslim political aggrandisement. I do not attach much importance to the political side, except in so far as political power can be, as it often is, used for economic purposes. In my opinion, British political imperialism and Muslim political communalism are much less dangerous than the economic communalism and imperialism of the British bankers, traders, manufacturers and that non-descript class who provide for themselves comfortable corners in the Indian economy. The India Act consolidates this economic imperialism. The British Home Government fears that Indians will use political power against British economic interests. That is why the India Act is more retrograde than the Act of 1919. "Fear," says Galsworthy, "is the black god-mother of all damnable things."

The India Act is described as a constitution. A constitution is defined by Aristotle as "a manner of life." The first question, therefore, that suggests itself to us is: Is the manner of political life offered to us by the India Act, suitable to the developing purposes of our National economy? There is no preamble to which we can look for the main principle underlying the new constitution. The Act of 1919 had a preamble, defining the British policy to be "the progressive realization of responsible self-government." We have, therefore, a reason to ask, whether this Act is a step in "the progressive realization of responsible self-government" or whether it is progressive British utilization of India's human and material resources under cover of responsible self-government.

Political forces inevitably impinge [illegible] economic forces. In fact the State is [illegible] to be more or less an economic institution. [illegible] shall therefore first examine the political [illegible] of the constitution in order to appraise [illegible] economic value of the new political institution.

The clear implication of section 2 is [illegible] the British Parliament will remain, as it [illegible] sovereign authority for India. Since the [illegible] Parliament is representative of the [illegible] people, it will safeguard their economic interests and will use the Government of India as a [illegible] for the furtherance of the same. One [illegible] member of the Imperial Legislative Council [illegible] marked in the course of the discussions in [illegible] assembly that, so long as Lancashire sent [illegible] members to Westminister, the British Government will always have sixty good reasons [illegible] favouring Lancashire at the cost of the Indian Textile Industry. It may well be said that [illegible] British Government will always have 615 [illegible] reasons, there being 615 British members [illegible] the British Parliament, for subordinating [illegible] economic interests to those of Great Britain.

Section 7 vests the supreme executive authority in the Governor-General. [illegible] executive authority is to be exercised by him [illegible] his discretion. 'Discretion' and 'individual judgment' are among the words most frequently used in the India Act. Every power conferred upon the Governor-General or the Governor [illegible] to be exercised by him in his discretion [illegible] according to his 'individual judgment.' What [illegible] more, the decision, whether a certain power [illegible] exercisable in 'discretion' by an authority [illegible] also to be made by the same authority in [illegible] discretion. We must give credit to Sir Samuel Hoare for the perfect thoroughness with which he has prosecuted his task of strangling Indian nationalism. It reminds me of the policy of "Thorough" in Ireland. I had long thought that the theory of the Divine Right of Kings had gone into the limbo of lost rubbish. It seems so strange that the mighty Sir Samuel [illegible] resurrected it from its grave, though in a different guise and name. The European monarchs of the seventeenth century would have thanked their stars, if they had got by such "con-

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nal means," as that of the India Act, a part the power given to the Governor-General. e Governor-General becomes a re-incarnation, it were, of "the Czar of all the Russias," and lf-government remains a "far-off divine ent." The repeated promise of self-govern- nt perhaps means that self-government ll always be coming but will never come. All s means that we shall not have the power of ricating ourselves from the mire of degrad- g poverty.

Section 9 sets up for "the administration of deral affairs" "a council of ministers, not ceeding 10 in number, to aid and advise the vernor-General in the exercise of his func- ns, except in so far as he is by or under this t required to exercise his functions or any of m in his discretion." This council of nisters is not an executive body. It is merely aiding and advising the Governor-General in tters not relating to the latter's exercise of ividual judgment. According to section 11, fence, ecclesiastical affairs and external affairs matters in which the Governor-General will ercise his discretion, *i.e.*, will not consult this uncil of ministers. Law and order (sub- ction A), financial stability (which means ation to any extent and expenditure in any nner), and credit (which means borrowing where, at any rate and at any time) of the deral Government (sub-section B), safeguard- interests of minorities (sub-section C) and vention of taxing British or Burmese goods ually or discriminately, which practically ns the control of fiscal policy (sub-section F), tection of the rights of any Indian ruler b-section G) will all be the special responsi- ties of the Governor-General according to tion 12; he will, according to sub-section 2, in his discretion in these matters, *i.e.*, will consult this council of ministers. We find, erefore, that defence, ecclesiastical affairs, reign affairs, law and order, finance, credit, rights of minorities and of public service, cal policy, policy with regard to the Indian tes, will not lie within the jurisdiction of this uncil of ministers. For these affairs, the vernor-General will appoint three counsel- s, whose salaries and conditions of service ll be prescribed by H. M. in Council (sub- tion 2 of section 11). The Governor-General ll also appoint a financial adviser, not res- nsible to the Federal Assembly (section 15). e ten ministers will have nothing to do but flatten their noses against the glass case hich they cannot enter lest they may break e glass) in which the delicate constitutional machinery of the Indian Department of the British Government will be kept and conducted by the orchestra of the Governor-General, his financial adviser and three counsellors, all playing to the tune of the Secretary of State (section 14). As the Governor-General has the power of choosing ministers, he can play one party against another. According to sub-section 5 of section 10 :

> "'The functions of the Governor-General with respect to the choosing and summoning and the dismissal of ministers and with respect to the determination of their salaries shall be exercised by him in his discretion."

This council of ministers will be an utterly powerless body. It will not be in a position to solve the greatest problem—our poverty. Our constitution ought to have been adjusted to solve this problem. But as matters stand, power will naturally be exercised for the benefit of the British manufacturer, trader and employee to the great detriment of the Indian people.

This is made much more clear by section 14:

> "In so far as the Governor-General is . . . . . required to act in his discretion . . . . . he shall be under the general control of and comply with such particular directions . . . . . as may from time to time be given to him by the Secretary of State."

Our whole policy, even its individual items, will thus be dictated from Whitehall. This so-called "superintendence of Secretary of State" (title of section 14) is limited by the Instrument of Instructions issued to the Governor-General. We know this mighty limitation upon the Secretary of State, the Governor-General and the Governor. We have had enough experience of it during the period of dyarchy. The Governor was advised, by the Instrument of Instructions, to be a "friend, philosopher and guide" to the ministers, but he actually was, as Mr. Chintamani's experience showed, more of a hectoring dictator than of a friend or a guide and anything else in the world but a philosopher.

Proceeding further, we find that the Federal Assembly will be an utterly powerless body, as section 32 vests the Governor-General with an absolute veto power on any bill passed by it. It practically means that the Governor-General will be in a position to thwart any attempt of the legislature to better the economic condition of the people, if he chooses to do so.

The financial powers of this assembly will be meagre. Section 33 divides the "annual financial statement" into two parts: (*a*) the sums required to meet expenditure described by this Act as expenditure charged upon the

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revenues of the Federation; (*b*) sums required to meet other expenditure, proposed to be made from the revenues of the Federation. Sub-section 3 describes the sums charged upon the revenues of the Federation—salaries and allowances of the Governor-General, his three counsellors, financial adviser, the ministers, the advocate-general, the chief commissioners, the staff of the financial adviser, judges of the Federal Court, the debt charges, expenditure on defence, ecclesiastical affairs, political department and excluded areas. Section 34 makes all these items non-votable. They cover more than 75 p.c. of the expenditure of the Central Government at present. This is Central responsibility, which our English masters are in all good faith giving us. It is quite understandable that the salaries of the Governor-General and his irresponsible agents should be non-votable, but, pray, why make the salaries of ministers non-votable, since they are, by the character of their office, to enjoy the confidence of the legislature? Section 10 tells us that they "shall hold office during his (Governor-General's) pleasure."

Why will the ministers at all take pains to forge schemes for the economic betterment of the people? They will hang upon the pleasure of the Governor-General, who becomes by the India Act, the lawful protector of British vested interests.

Sub-section 4 of section 33 gives the Governor-General the discretionary power of deciding, whether a disputed item falls within the non-votable category. This is a wide power, apt to be misused. But it need not be misused, as sub-section 4 of section 34 makes he Governor-General the sole authority to propose demands even of the votable category and section 35 authorizes him to restore a rejected grant for discharging any special responsibility. These special responsibilities are very wide (section 12) and the Governor-General has the power (sub-section 3 of section 9) to stretch them like India rubber. Section 37 denies to the Federal Legislature the exercise of any financial power without the previous sanction of the Governor-General. These denied financial powers include taxation, expenditure, borrowing and previous financial transactions. Central responsibility depends upon the power of the purse. If that is denied to us, we are as far from our goal as ever.

Chapter IV describes the legislative powers of the Governor-General. Section 42 vests the Governor-General with the power to issue ordinances, section 43 with renewable ordinances, section 45 with the power to enact "a Governor-General's Act" and section suspend the constitutional machinery appropriate to himself any or all the any Federal body or authority. **I am present concerned with the merely aspect of the constitution; but these powers, not to be found even in the 1919, seem to me altogether so colossal I have an itching to ask those who the working of the constitution, if they not really mad or ignorant.** This making power is sufficiently notorious political sphere. But no notice has been of its great significance in the economic For example, in September 1931, the General issued an ordinance arbitrarily ing the Currency Act of 1927. economists are of the opinion that this is responsible for the terrible gold exodus rupee was linked on to the pound British manufacturer got a virtual bounty extent of the depreciation of the pound.

Part III provides for what is called cial autonomy." During the last fifteen we have come across many interesting tions of this dubious phrase. Sir Hoare's interpretation is final: Pro autonomy means Governor's autonomy. 49 makes the Governor the executive of the province. Section 50 creates an council of ministers, who shall have even to advise on matters pertaining Governor's discretion. According to they "shall be chosen and summoned and shall hold office during his pleasure." tion 52 defines the special responsibilities Governor—law and order, minorities, servants, excluded areas, in my own the Sukkur Barrage and in Central Provinces Berar. Section 53 makes it clear that strument of Instructions, the nicest part constitutional *tamasha* from the literary of view, will have no legal binding Governor. Section 54 makes the Governor ponsible to the Governor-General for pertaining to the Governor-General's This contradicts even that limited interpretation of financial autonomy, given by the first nated President of the Assembly, that not self-government, but only freedom control of the Governor-General and the tary of State. Far from self-government provincial autonomy does not cover even limited scope of this definition.

Section 60 gives two chambers to Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar Assam. My objection to this is, not that

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make the provincial legislatures politically reactionary, for from the political point of view, the India Act is so bad that it could not possibly be worse. My objection is that the constitutional machinery is already very costly and that it is wasteful extravagance to make it still further by the appendage of a useless second chamber.

Section 75 gives an absolute veto power to the Governor to be exercised in his discretion. This is provincial autonomy. In fact this provincial autonomy is an autonomy more for the Governors of the provinces than for the provincial legislatures or ministers.

In the provincial budgets also, certain items are non-votable, according to section 79. Sub-section 3 of section 78 enumerates those items: salaries and allowances of Governor, ministers, advocate-general, judges of the high court, debt charges, expenditure of administering excluded areas, etc. The provinces will be autonomous; but the salaries of ministers—the servants of an autonomous body—will be non-votable. Section 80 authorizes the Governor to restore a rejected grant, if it affects his special responsibility. Section 82 denies the provincial legislature the power to deal with any financial matter without the previous permission of the Governor.

Section 88 authorizes the Governor to issue ordinances, section 89 renewable ordinances, section 90 to enact a Governor's Act, section 92 to govern the excluded areas without the restraints of any federal or provincial law, section 93 to suspend the provincial constitution and to appropriate all or any of the powers of any provincial body. These powers were not enjoyed by the Governor even in the Constitution of 1919. The India Act does not give us legislative or financial autonomy and it is plain travesty of truth to tell us that we have got it. **To those who want to accept offices under the new constitution, we may quote Omar-Khyyam: "Fools, your place is neither here nor there".**

As if all the above powers were not sufficient, section 108 puts further restrictions upon the legislative powers of the federal and provincial legislatures. Sub-section (F 1) and (G 1) of section 108 are of great economic importance. Sub-section (F 1) forbids the federal legislature, unless the Governor-General in his discretion thinks fit to give his previous sanction", to tax subject persons not resident in British India at greater taxation than persons resident in British India or subject companies not wholly controlled and managed in British India to greater taxation than companies wholly controlled or managed therein". This has great danger under a policy of protection, to which the Government of India is pledged by its acceptance of the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission of 1921.

Protection means reservation of "home market" and "home employment" for "home persons." But if foreigners float companies in their country and currency but set up factories or do business in our country, they shall be able to enjoy all the benefits of protection, for which the people of India pay. Protection means taxing the consumer to benefit the producer; but the consumers as a body, are roughly identical with the producers as a body; hence protection is just and profitable. But the foreigner is not a consumer of our manufactured goods. He, as a producer in India, gains from protection but does not pay for it. It is therefore absolutely just that the taxation on the foreign producer in India must be greater than the same on the Indian producer, who pays, as a consumer, an indirect tax due to protection. Sub-section (G 1) therefore places the foreign producer in India in a more favourable position than the Indian producer. Protection is thus nullified in a vicious way. So far as Indian insurance and banking business are concerned, they can only be protected by subjecting foreign insurance and banking concerns to heavier taxation than Indian companies. But this power is denied to us by the India Act.

Sub-section (G 1) is contradictory to international law and practice. The federal legislature cannot, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, pass a bill or amendment which "affects the grant of relief from any federal tax on income in respect of income taxed or taxable in the United Kingdom." In order to avoid double taxation on income, both in the country of incorporation and the country of business, international arrangements have been made, whereby income tax is collected in one place and shared between the two. Even in the British empire, the British Exchequer has entered into agreement with the British dominions, whereby the British Government foregoes, up to half of its maximum rate of income tax, on all the incomes which have paid similar taxes in any British dominion. But India is a helpless dependency. The British bond-holder, pensioner, official, entrepreneur, receiving money from India in sterling, pay income tax to the British Exchequer. Thus is our Exchequer mulcted of vast sums of money, which would go a long way to relieve the poor people of India of a burden of taxation, admitted

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by Sir George Schuster, to be crushing. Prof. Shah estimates that the loss in respect of the Government of India's payments on sterling bonds amounts to no less than four crores a year. The loss in respect of Indian incomes of British pensioners and traders is a terrible one. Taxation is a sort of payment for the services of government. But British traders in India want to enjoy all the benefits of government without paying for it. This is legalised by the India Act.

Chapter III is most important from the economic point of view, as it relates to "discrimination." Sub-section A of section 111 permits the unrestricted immigration of Britishers into India. Sub-section B exempts Britishers from any restriction on "the acquisition, holding or disposal of property, the holding of public office, or the carrying on of any occupation, trade, business or profession." I do not know how this section will be interpreted. If, however, the letter of the law is insisted upon, this section can prevent the Indianization of public services. That goes against the policy accepted by the Government of India. As regards the carrying on of "any occupation, trade, business or profession," every country including England tries to reserve its occupation, trade, business and profession for the nationals of its own country. This section prevents us from concentrating employment in the hands of our own people. It does not give us the power to dislodge the Britisher from the privileged position he occupies in the economic system of our country. Insurance, banking, foreign exchange, foreign trade, coastal and overseas shipping and public utility services will always remain the the rich preserves of the Britisher. The acquisition of control over Indian institutions by Britishers will also continue unabated. This recalls to my mind the case of the Allahabad Bank, once a prosperous Indian Joint-stock Bank, which was bought out by the P. and O. Banking Corporation, incorporated in England. This section indicates that we shall not be able to raise our little finger to prevent the foreigner from acquiring a mortgage over the wealth of our country. This section will also render protection nugatory. It has been our experience that, whenever the Government has given protection to any industry, foreigners have set up factories in our own country in order to enjoy the benefits of protection and beat us on our own ground. This section will prevent the taking of necessary action to make protection real and effective. But this section has a deceptive tinge of reciprocity. It assures us that if there are any such restrictions on Indians in Britain, then we can also put similar restrictions on Britishers. This is reciprocity, as the sign of the fairmindedness and generosity of the Britisher! As a matter of fact, "the acquisition, holding or disposal of property, the holding of public office, or the carrying on of any occupation, trade, business or profession" of Indians in Britain is so negligible that no restrictions need be placed on them. But if we examine closely the institutional structure of English economy, we find that, though there are no such legal restrictions, there is certain mass of customary practices, which prevent Indians from engaging in economic activity in Britain. So this note of reciprocity, that is appended to every section in the chapter relating to discrimination, is a gloss or a veneer on the one-sided partiality to the British trader and the gross injustice done to us.

According to section 113, our company law shall not apply to a company incorporated in the United Kingdom, the members of its governing body, its share or bond-holders, its officers, agents and even servants. The federal legislature cannot, according to sub-section A, make it compulsory for companies to be incorporated in India, or to have their headoffice in India or to have their capital in rupees instead of in sterling. We suffer a great economic loss by companies functioning in India but incorporated in foreign countries and with their capital in foreign currencies. This means that Indian customers of these foreign institutions, which are mostly British, remain ignorant of their exact commercial status and when they go into liquidation, the prior lien on their assets belongs to the foreigner, practically nothing being left for Indian creditors. Many of these institutions, Mr. Manu Subedar points out in his Minute of Report of the Central Banking Inquiry Committee, wield their powerful influence in keeping Indian business in foreign hands. He quotes a statement of Mr. Beaumont Pease, the Chairman of the Mercantile Bank of India, that the British Banks in India are responsible for the export of capital from our country. The British banks, Mr. Thakur complains in his famous book on banking, prefer second-rate clerks to English banks to highly trained Indians, and the federal law cannot even compel them to employ Indians. In fact the section makes out so exhaustive a list of exemptions from federal company law, as to raise the status of the British companies in India into something like sovereign bodies. It is this economic imperialism that is more dangerous than all the political power.

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the Governor-General, because it is responsible for an enormous and terrible drain of wealth from our country.

Sub-section 2 of section 113 makes it compulsory to extend to British companies, with no accompanying restrictions relating to any of their features, "total or partial exemption from, or preferential treatment in respect of taxation" given to Indian companies. This sub-section has also an inoperative reciprocal note appended to it; but I shall not waste my indignation on this formal sanctimoniousness. But a natural question arises: Why should the Indian Exchequer suffer for encouraging British companies? What do we get from them except their determination to ruin our industry? Less taxation on the Indian producer must be compensated for by greater taxation on the Indian people in general. But this sub-section makes it compulsory that the Indian people must also pay for less taxation on British companies. This is grossly unjust and unfair. But we cannot question, why such things are sanctioned, because the constitutional lawyers tell us, that the British Parliament is sovereign, and therefore it can do everything else, save make a man a woman or a woman a man. The saying is very mighty; but Prof. Laski tells us in his Grammer of Politics that, if the King in Parliament determines to exercise his full sovereignty, it is a sign that he will soon cease to be the King in Parliament.

Section 115 makes coastal reservation impossible. One feels a bit helpless, when one reads section 115 of the India Act, telling us that we cannot legislate about "the ship herself, her master, officers, crew, passengers or cargo" in such a way as to discriminate in our favour. Pray, why be so thorough even about the crew? Poor Indians are weak, and you need not be so thorough; and why tell us that if British law discriminates against Indian ships, Indian law can discriminate against British ships to the same extent? Is there any Indian ship plying on the British coast? Is not the British coast actually though not legally reserved for British ships? Did not the British Government build up British shipping by the Navigation Acts? But no question: the India Act is the eleventh commandment over-riding all the ten commandments of Jesus. Did not Jesus say, "Give us, Lord, our daily bread." Does not the British Parliament improve upon the Bible by its legal prayer: "Give us, Lord, somebody else's bread?"

Section 116 makes it compulsory that grants, bounties, subsidies given to Indian companies must also be given to British companies functioning in India. This means that either we should not encourage Indian industry, or if we do so, we must also encourage those who want to strangle Indian industry.

Section 118 provides that the provisions of this chapter will be declared void by an order-in-council, if a convention is arrived at between the Indian and British governments, ensuring reciprocity of treatment between their nationals. A reasonable convention cannot be arrived at, unless the Britisher is hard pressed by a sustained boycott of British goods, because the Britisher will ask for his pound of flesh. He will not accept less than what the law gives him and we cannot willingly agree to give him more. Such a convention has therefore no economic possibilities.

Section 119 relates to professional and technical qualifications, section 120 to medical qualifications. They are couched in the same language as the previous sections and the same objections can be urged against them.

Chapter 1 of Part VII relates to finance. According to section 137, certain succession duties, stamp duties, terminal taxes and taxes on freights and fares shall be levied and collected by the Federation but shall be distributed among the provinces. The Federation will have the right to levy surcharges on the same to be retained for its own purposes. Section 138 relates to taxes on non-agricultural income. It provides that income-tax shall be levied and collected by the Federation, but a percentage prescribed by an order-in-council (perhaps after the inquiry of Sir Otto Nemeiyar) shall be given to the provinces not immediately but after a prescribed period. From the prescribed percentage, a prescribed sum shall be retained in each year of the prescribed period. For 'a further prescribed period' a prescribed sum shall be retained in each year but it shall be gradually reduced so as to give the provinces the full prescribed percentage after the second prescribed period. The Federation will have the right to levy and retain surcharge on income-tax. Sections relating to income-tax are a masterpiece of confusion worse confounded. Nothing can be said for or against them until we see the orders-in-council.

According to section 140, salt tax, excise duties and export duties shall be levied and collected by the Federation, but they may be distributed fully or partially among the provinces, as the federal legislature determines. Section 141 requires the prior sanction of the Governor-General to bills affecting taxation in which the

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provinces are interested. The Governor-General as the head of the Government of India, which is a party in the present political struggle, will be able, if he so chooses, to play one province against another, as one community can be played against another. The result of this scheme of federal finance may be to create provincial communalism in addition to religious communalism.

Section 152 has specific economic significance. The Governor-General has the power, exercisable in discretion, to appoint and remove the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank, to supersede its Central Board of Directors, to take any action consequent thereon and even to put the bank in liquidation. Section 153 requires the previous sanction of the Governor-General for any "bill or amendment which affects the coinage or currency of the Federation or the constitution or functions of the Reserve Bank of India." Both these sections taken together indicate that the Governor-General will control our purchasing power. A study of the economics of central banking shows, how this power can be used or misused for encouraging or strangling national industry. A control over purchasing power is the most potent weapon of exploitation. It can be used to create a tendency to import or export gold. As Mr. Kaul showed in a paper read at the Economic Conference of 1933, it is the deflationary policy of the Government of India, which is responsible for the gold exodus. The control over currency, exchange and fiscal policy which the Governor-General will enjoy, can be used for giving a natural bounty to the British manufacturer.

Chapter II relates to borrowing and audit. According to section 161 : "all powers vested in the Secretary of State in Council of borrowing in sterling on the security of the revenues of India shall cease" as soon as the Federation is established. This concession is perhaps the result of fear of repudiation of debts, threatened by the Lahore Congress and recommended by the committee appointed by the Karachi Congress. In fact it may well be said, that the India Act is the result of panic felt by certain Britishers about their vested interests in India. They have tried to protect the existing vested interests with an incomparable tenacity, but they do not want to risk more. But this concession does not amount to much. Section 315 authorizes the Secretary of State to borrow in sterling during the indefinite transitional period. Section 162 authorizes the Governor-General to borrow within such limits and to give guarantees within such limits as are prescribed by the federal legislature. Section 163 relates to provincial borrowing within limits prescribed by provincial legislature.

Section 166 authorizes His Majesty to appoint an auditor-general for India. The character of the appointing authority and antecedents indicate that the post will be preserve for a Britisher. Section 170 authorizes the Governor-General, in his discretion, to appoint an auditor of Indian Home Accounts who shall perform audit functions with regard to transactions in the United Kingdom affecting the revenues of the Federation, the Federal Railway Authority or of any province. This additional appointment is highly objectionable as the same functions can be performed by the auditor-general. It is a just criticism of the British policy that reforms have often meant nothing more than the deliberate creation of comfortable official positions for Britishers. When dealing with our money, the British government does not observe even the simplest rules of economy. Our crying need is a cheap administration suited to our poor circumstances. But the administration set up by the India Act will be even costlier than the present top-heavy one.

Section 178 relates to existing loans, guarantees and other financial obligations and makes them binding upon the Federation and the provinces. This puts an end, legally speaking, to the demand for an inquiry into the financial obligations between India and Britain with a view to a just apportionment of the burdens between the two countries. We may cry, as Prof. Shah advises us in his annexure to the Congress Committee's Report on Financial Obligations, over "the spilt milk's possible nourishment to the generations yet unborn" though "the spilt milk" amounts to no less than 924 crores of rupees. It may also be a wise part of wisdom, as Sir M. Visvesvarya suggests in his Planned Economy for India, to bribe the British people by accepting the obligations which the latter ought in justice to bear, and thus to get Swaraj. One may very reasonably question the effectiveness of this bribery. But nobody in his senses can admit the justice of this affair. Even if we forego the claim with regard to moneys paid out, we must demand an inquiry into the outstanding financial obligation between India and Great Britain.

Part VIII of the Act relates to "the Federal Railway Authority"—a specially created body. It shall be the executive authority of the Federation in respect of the regulation and control

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tion, maintenance and operation of railways. This "executive authority extends to the carrying on in connection with any federal railways of such undertakings as, in the opinion of the authority, it is expedient should be carried on in connection therewith and to the making and carrying into effect of arrangements with other persons for the carrying on by those persons of such undertakings." These "other persons" will be, as it is clear, British railway companies in charge of certain federal railways and British contractors supplying railway stock for the same. Section 182 authorizes the Governor-General to appoint no less than three-sevenths of the members of the Authority and also to appoint one member as the President thereof. According to section 1 of the 8th Schedule appended to the Act, the Governor-General can appoint all the seven members of the Authority. This schedule can be amended by the federal legislature but not without the previous permission of the Governor-General. According to section 6 of the Schedule, all questions in a meeting of the Authority will be decided by a majority, so that it means that the Governor-General's men will dominate the Authority. This naturally means that British interests will dominate our railway policy. A foreign control over our railway policy has dangerous potentialities. It can be so used as to make the marketing of Indian goods very costly and the same of foreign goods ridiculously cheap. Railway is a huge consumer of the products of heavy industry —locomotives, wagons and other iron and steel products. The federal railways can be managed in such a way as to lay the solid foundations of a prosperous heavy industry in India. But if British interests dominate this railway authority, as they will, it is the British heavy industry which shall prosper. The Central Government's annual demand for railway materials is about thirty crores of rupees. This enormous demand can be utilized for encouraging Indian industry. But it will not be so utilized, as section 183 indicates.

Section 183 lays down the directions and principles to be observed by the Railway Authority.

> "The Authority in discharging their functions under this Act shall proceed on business principles due regard being had by them to the interests of agriculture, industry, commerce and the general public."

"Business principles" mean nothing else but "Buy British" and arrange the freight schedule in a way so that the people may "buy British." Sub-section 2 compels the authority to be guided on questions of policy by instructions of the Federal Government, but if there is a dispute between the Government and the Authority as to whether a question is or is not a question of policy, the Governor-General's decision in his discretion shall be final. If there is a conflict between British and Indian interests, the Governor-General will naturally favour British interests. Sub-section 4 makes the authority absolutely subordinate to the Governor-General—not to the Federal Government—"as if the executive authority of the federation in regard to those matters were vested in him." The Authority will be bound to obey his directions. The purpose of creating this Federal Railway Authority is to make the federal railways a rich preserve for the British investor, the British employee, the British heavy industry and to make our railway system work in such a way as to facilitate the cheap marketing of British goods in India. For this purpose, the Governor-General has been invested with special responsibilities so as to make him the the effective protector of British vested interests and every attempt has been made to wihtdraw the Federal Railway Authority from the influence of popular representatives. According to the 8th Schedule, no one who is or has been within the last 12 months a member of the federal or provincial legislatures can be a member of the Authority. Moreover, according to section 192, the federal legislature cannot regulate the rates of fares charged on any railway except on the recommendation of the Governor-General. Section 199 empowers the Governor-General to appoint directors and deputy directors of railway companies in India.

Part X of the Act relates to the services of the Crown in India. Chapter I deals with defence services. The Commander-in-Chief will remain a white elephant, his pay and allowances to be defrayed out of Indian revenues according to section 232. It has been acknowledged even by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (in his "Goverment of India") that the army is an Imperial Army. Yet the staggering pay and the still more staggering allowances of an imperial officer shall be foisted on this poor dependency. Section 233 authorizes His Majesty in Council to fill in defence appointments as he chooses. His Majesty can grant commissions in Indian forces to any lawfully enlisted person, according to section 235. The Secretary of State will regulate the conditions of service of Indian forces. Section 236 gives to the members of the Indian forces the right of appeal to the Secretary of State against the orders of the Government of India. The pay,

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allowances, pensions or other sums payable to persons who are serving or have served in Indian Forces, shall be charged on the revenues of the Federation (section 237). It is also added :

> "Nothing herein contained shall be construed as limiting the interpretation of the general provisions of this Act charging on the said revenues expenditure with respect to defence."

Does this mean that the British government can include anything else, too, in our defence expenditure? Is this meant as a loophole for letting the British Home Government charge upon our revenues, as they have done in the past, the whole or part of the cost of the wars, in which they engage for their own selfish purposes? I am surprised that there is not a single word about the Indianization of the Army in the chapter on defence services. This is the greatest blot on British policy. We shall continue to pay for an army, under non-Indian control, under whose shadow the British government and the British merchant will grow powerful and rich.

Section 244 authorizes the Secretary of State to continue to make appointments to the Indian Civil Service, Indian Medical Service and Indian Police Service. "The steel-frame" of the Civil Service shall, therefore, still be there. The anomaly of popular ministers and their "masterly servants" shall continue. There are innumerable Indians, who can fill with credit and distinction the posts occupied by Britishers in our Civil Service. There is no justification for recruitment by the Secretary of State, which practically means the recruitment of Britishers or of Indians, who have to compete with them at great cost and disadvantage in an alien climate. But this is not all. The Indian ministers will not be able to dismiss their servants. According to sub-section 2 of section 240, "no such person . . . . shall be dismissed . . by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed." According to sub-section 3 B of section 241, a member of the Civil Service shall have the right of appeal against a minister's order which (1) punishes or formally censures him, or (2) alters to his advantage any rule by which his conditions of service are regulated, or terminates his appointment otherwise than upon his reaching the age fixed for superannuation. Section 247 authorizes the Secretary of State to prescribe rules as respects pay, leave, pension and general rights of the Civil Service. The result of all these sections will be that Indians will be denied reasonable opportunities to serve their country in responsible positions, the servants will be stronger than their masters, the minister. the Secretary of State will be in a posi fill the pockets of his British appointees our money. If the socio-economic polic provincial minister happens to clash with interests and if the British Civil Servants to carry it out, the minister cannot, being insulted into the bargain, puni formally censure or dismiss the disob British servants. This is provincial aut Sub-section 2 of section 244 authoriz Secretary of State to appoint "suitable pe (naturally Britishers, considering the cha of their functions) to fill Civil posts in co tion with the discretionary functions of Governor-General. These will be newly cr posts, adding to the ruinous costliness of administration.

Section 272 is very objectionable from economic point of view. Pensions payab or in respect of retired British officers manently residing outside India, shall be ex from all taxation imposed by Indian law have already criticized this point in dealing the restrictions on the power of federal leg ture relating to relief from federal income in respect of incomes taxed or taxable in United Kingdom.

Sub-section 3 of section 280 charges a of the expenditure of the India Office on fed revenues. These charges will be attributed functions performed by the India Office behalf of the federation. In this, the w cost of the India Office can possibly come The amount will be fixed by an agreem between the Governor-General and the Bri treasury, which practically means that British government will pay itself out of revenues, as much as it chooses, to defray expenditure of one of its own departments.

Section 281 transfers all persons empl on the permanent establishment of Secretary of State in Council to the departm of the Secretary of State. This is only a le formality. But section 281 makes the fede revenues responsible for paying a part of th superannuation allowances, compensat allowances, retiring allowances, additio allowances or gratuities due to them for servi before such a transfer.

Section 288 separates Aden from In Sir Samuel Hoare has made Herculean effo to protect British vested interests in India, b nothing is said in the Act about protecting o legitimate interests in Aden. Our merchan have invested large sums of money in the co merce of Aden. We have been administer

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and developing Aden from our pockets. Yet nothing is done to safeguard our economic interests. The property of the Government of Aden is really the property of the Government of Bombay. Yet now it shall be confiscated to the British Colonial Office for British use!

Sub-section A 1 of section 289 separates Sind from the Bombay Presidency. Outwardly, this is to please Muslim communalists. But few people are aware that British commercial magnates had a great deal to do with the separation of Sind from Bombay. The people of Sind stand to lose much more by British commercial communalism than from Muslim political communalism. People outside Sind will be surprised to learn that British capitalists have acquired thousands of acres of land from landlords and peasants of Sind at ridiculous prices, as the latter are in a poor way at present. They are daily acquiring more and more land and the danger of European absentee landlordism is tremendous. It will be just like a distant suction pump. Vigorous efforts are being made by the government to turn Sind into a cotton producing area to supply raw materials to the spindles of Great Britain. The grain area is being reduced by differential land revenue. Cotton crops escape with a nominal charge. Irrigation facilities from the Sukkur Barrage water supply are given at cheaper rates to cotton producers than to the others. It is in the air that a British company is being formed for starting factories in Sind and to acquire public utility services. It is for the vigorous execution of a policy of British commercial utilization of Sind that it is being separated from the Bombay Presidency.

According to sub-section 2 of section 46, "Burma shall cease to be part of India." There is absolutely no ground for this separation but that of the British utilization of Burmese mineral deposits. (Karachi Congress Resolution moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru). The Government of Burma has been so organized by the India Act as to aid this utilization by British companies.

Section 321 makes the Governor of Burma the sole executive authority. He shall have not only "all such powers and duties conferred or imposed on him by or under this Act," but also "such other powers of His Majesty as His Majesty may be pleased to assign to him." According to sub-section 2 of section 321, these "other powers" are not to be exercised under the limitations of this Act. This is much more than what the Governor-General of India will have under the new constitution. Burma shall not have, for obvious reasons, even the facade of provincial autonomy given to the Indian provinces. Section 323 creates an advisory council of ministers, who cannot advise him with regard to his discretionary functions or special responsibilities.

> "The functions of the Governor with respect to the choosing and summoning and dismissal of ministers and with respect to the determination of their salaries shall be exercised by him in his discretion." (Sub-section 5 of section 324).

The ministers will be the Governor's creatures. Section 325 describes the discretionary functions of the Governor: defence, ecclesiastical affairs, excluded areas, specially selected as those having mineral deposits, control of monetary policy, external affairs and relations between Burma and other dominions. For these functions, the Governor will appoint three counsellors and one financial adviser, all responsible to him alone. Section 326 enumerates the Governor's special responsibilities, which are the same as those of the Governor-General of India. The Governor shall be under the superintendence of the Secretary of State with regard to the Governor's exercise of discretionary functions. The Governor's powers with regard to legislation, restrictions or discrimination, finance, borrowing, the Burma Railway Board, the service of the crown in Burma are the same as those of the Governor-General of India. Burma shall be for all practical purposes a colony to be utilized for British purposes.

The India Act of 1935 takes us back to the pre-war times. It is a colossal breach of faith. The Governor-General under the Act of 1935 has greater power than his predecessors under the Act of 1919. The Governor, under the so-called provincial autonomy of the Act of 1935, has much greater power than his predecessors under the dyarchy of the Act of 1919. Sir Samuel Hoare has thus made an attempt to make the clock of time move backwards. Sir George Schuster described our condition at the Economic Conference of 1933 :

> "In normal times the great masses of India live with but a very narrow margin over the barest necessity. But in the present economic crisis there are many people who cannot even secure the barest necessaries."

The India Act could have afforded but does not afford us even the slightest opportunity to remedy this tragic state of affairs. In fact, all possibilities of profitable employment have been closed for us with thoroughness. Every attempt has been made to consolidate the economic imperialism of the British traders and financiers. All countries sometimes complain of depres-

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sions, those phenomenal aberrations of modern industry. But the India Act condemns us to a perpetual depression. Sir George Schuster was "surprised at the way in which this country seems to maintain a certain minimum of consumption in spite of economic earthquakes." I wonder if it will surprise Sir George Schuster or Sir Samuel Hoare, if what the former calls "economic earthquakes" lead to what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru called "political earthquakes."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SYSTEM OF PRIMARY EDUCATION BASED ON THE INDIGENOUS SYSTEM OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

By AN ENGLISH EDUCATIONALIST OF THE LORETTO CONVENT

One of the great drawbacks to the existing system of education is that it is to a very large extent a foreign imposition. It testifies to the intelligence of the people of India that they have been able to use it and benefit by it to such an extent. The imposition of this foreign system was probably well-intentioned, if blundering, as well-intentioned actions often are. The authorities responsible for its introduction had no definite ideas on education, had framed no educational policy even for England. They were doing for the people of India the same or even more than they were doing for their own people in England, for whose education they showed not the slightest concern, leaving the matter entirely to philanthrophy, or private enterprise. They were fundamentally ignorant of Indian institutions and culture. That this age-old system was worthy of study, or that it contained valuable educational factors never dawned on the minds of those to whom the work of devising the educational scheme was entrusted. Records show that certain persons visiting India in the 17th century were impressed by the extension and methods of the primary schools which had come down from older times; but it may also be inferred that these persons regarded the schools as belonging to a past without promise for the future. The old Sanskrit Learning had set its face to the past. It was open only to the chosen few. It would have been impossible through its medium to meet the demands of the new situation developing. The vernaculars were undeveloped and despised, merely the "common drudge 'twixt man and man." Unfortunately their possibilities and the system of the *pathsalas* in which vernacular instruction was carried on, were never investigated. It is deeply to be regretted that some such research was not made, and that the projected system of education was not grafted on to the old system which had its roots in the land, correcting, improving, bringing it into touch with the world of the day by the introduction of Western thought and methods, in suitable measure, and by the production of suitable text-books in the vernaculars.

Indigenous primary education in Ancient India possessed certain features striking and advantageous, which might well be revived in modern schools. The vernacular was the medium of instruction. The use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction has great advantages; the subject-matter is better understood; clearer ideas are gained; greater interest evoked and the connection between education and the environment made closer. The vernacular is benefited in that a more accurate and refined use of the language is cultivated and the development of a literature is stimulated.

In these schools of ancient times self-activity was encouraged by the methods used in teaching certain subjects, notably reading and writing, which is just where the modern primary schools fail so lamentably. Instruction was to a large extent individual; general explanation or class-teaching, the exception, not the rule. Each pupil progressed at his own rate, a very important provision when the attendance, especially in rural districts, is, and must be, irregular.

The monitorial system practised in these ancient primary schools afforded certain advantages. It eased the burden of the teacher, relieving him of much of the mechanical work, leaving him free to give individual attention to scholars who needed it. It gave training in responsibility to the older boys, taught them to control and manage tactfully their fellows

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trained the younger boys to obedience and submission to lawful authority. The teaching of younger boys, limited though it was in extent, was beneficial intellectually to the monitors, producing clear ideas of the fundamentals and affording opportunities of testing what they already knew. This feature of educational practice when introduced into England by Bell, early in the nineteenth century, was thought to be a wonder-working innovation, and it dominated the elementary schools in England until the beginning of the present century. In some form, with modification to suit present conditions, it might be revived in the elementary schools, especially the village schools, where rarely more than one teacher can be employed. In addition, it would serve to prepare pupils for the teaching profession.

With regard to the teaching of special subjects, the methods of teaching reading and writing used in the primary schools of Ancient India were strikingly similar to the most modern methods adopted in Europe. It seems to be a case of re-discovery. The initial stages of instruction in these subjects seem to have been based upon the instinctive tendencies of the child, and to connect the exercise of the activity with pleasurable effects. Children love to play with sand, a pleasing form of manipulation. So the early stages of writing, viz., tracing the letter-form in sand with the hand or a finger first, and later with a stick, were calculated to utilise natural activity and to connect learning with pleasurable effects, adapting the procedure to the development of the child, the coarser movements with the hand being first introduced, later those, more complex and involving finer adjustments, necessary for the holding and the manipulation of an instrument. This can be described only as an extraordinary foreshadowing of modern psychology and pedagogy. The method is very similar to that devised by the famous educationalist Dr. Montessori some twenty years ago.

The next step in the teaching of writing was the filling-in with charcoal "ink" of a groove on the form of a letter traced on a palmleaf, the exercise being repeated until the form could be followed with ease and accuracy. Then the child was required to produce the form without the aid of the groove. The planning of this method shows a wonderful feeling towards right pedagogies, in the gradual increase in the demand on the child's powers as they develop through exercise. Another point worthy of note is the use of the products of nature, of the immediate environment, for apparatus. The great cry from the majority of primary schools, especially in the villages, is poverty;—and they are poor, extremely poor. But they are also improvident and lacking in resourcefulness. Good appartus is not always costly apparatus; more often the contrary, for then the children are allowed to handle it more freely, and so learn more from its use. Besides the use of natural objects in the process of learning brings the learning into more active contact with life and teaches the valuable lesson of utilising the resources ready to hand. In modern schools work in clay might be profitably used to supplement the tracing at this stage, the letters being formed out of thin rolls of clay.

In the old schools as the child traced the letter he uttered the sound of the symbol, thus from writing he was led to reading. Proceeding from the simple to the complex, the child first learnt the easy letter forms, and when he had mastered these, the combinations in which the forms were modified.

Details are lacking as to the exact method of teaching reading in the old primary schools. It was probably some foreshadowing of a phonic method. As the Indian vernaculars are phonic, such a system should have proved satisfactory, and the re-introduction of such a system supplemented by the "Look and Say" or the Sentence methods, would be desirable and fairly easy to achieve. The use of such methods would certainly speed up progress in the early stages where stagnation and waste are at their height. One of the gravest charges against primary, and especially village education, is that the children spend so long in the infant class that there is no chance of their reaching the end of the primary course before their school-going years are done, and they become breadwinners. The relapse into illiteracy is inevitable. Such relapse is worse than "un-redeemed illiteracy," for it affords a standing proof of the futility of education. "Such a one," they say, "has been to school, yet in what way is he better fitted for life than those who have not been to school? Why waste time and money?"

The ancient primary schools were defective in that the matter read was often worthless from a literary and even moral point of view. Reading matter should always tend to uplift while rousing interest. Even for the youngest children it should be always "worth while," and connected with real interests, the interests of the child. In modern schools plenty of practice in oral composition should be given.

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From the above description of the methods in use in indigenous primary schools it is clear that there need be little change in the methods of teaching reading and writing, which according to approved modern practice were taught together, writing preceding reading.

The teaching of arithmetic in the old schools seems to have been very defective from a modern view. Little or no use was made of the reasoning powers. The work was confined to mere mechanical memorising of number relations discovered by somebody unknown, eternal table learning. In arithmetical teaching there must be practice and drill to secure ready recall, but this drill must follow the presentation of number facts through experience in handling objects and in the exercise of self-activity in a host of ways. The Heuristic Method should be followed to a certain extent at least, in the presentation of arithmetical rules and the solution of problems. Work in arithmetic should always be connected with the life of the environment.

The curriculum of the pathsala should be widened considerably and this not only with regard to the subject-matter, but also with regard to the spirit. No direct provision for physical training appears in the ancient system. Physical training and games and dancing are most important features of the curriculum. Indigenous games should be cultivated. The curriculum of the pathsala should be widened.

The ancient system was defective again on the aesthetic side. There is no mention of music in the pathsala course, and such drawing as was taught was purely utilitarian merely copying of conventional curves and designs. Art should be connected with nature, with handwork, including work in card-board light wood-work, clay modelling, weaving and should include some elementary notions of colour and design. Music, at least singing, should form a feature of the course, both for boys and girls.

In most rural districts elementary science may be profitably connected with agriculture, so that for boys at least, certain principles of physics, chemistry, biology, should be discovered in, and applied to the agriculture of the district. Hygiene should be made the object of special attention and should be treated in a simple practical way with reference to the environment. Simple geography first of life and work in the homeland starting from the home-district, later widening to include life and work in other lands connected with the homeland, to extend interests and broaden minds. Observations of the geographical features and phenomena of the distric important and records of such observ should be kept.

Provision on similar lines should be for the education of girls. Homecraft, ing the care of children, first-aid, simple nursing, cooking, needlework, on scientific should replace elementary science appl agriculture taken by boys. This schem education should continue until the t year is entered, and should be made com sory, and therefore free.

Provision should be made in central for a continuation course, lasting abou years, attendance at which should be o though every encouragement should be to the more intelligent pupils to avail selves of the advantages it affords. As stage of education represents more than bare essentials a small fee might be ch The course should permit of a certain am of bread-winning work being undertake the children, (either in helping with the work or in the home), or it should be cond as a part-time course, as an evening shi in connection with paid industrial work this course the study of the vernacular be pursued on a higher and more literary lessons in applied science might be exte the study of geography should receive sp attention, starting from the home area, scope for practical work and extending pupils' knowledge of the world.

The study of the history of India be beneficial, and this course should in the elements of civics, dealt with very s and in connection with local needs and lems, the life of the district and its work

The study of English by the direct m should be introduced, that is conversati English. The substitution of Basic Engli what is usually understood by English be considered.

Such a scheme as the above clai provide the "educational ladder", the deratum of educationalists. The Primary affords a reasonably complete education those who have neither the mental capacity the financial means to proceed further, whil same primary stage leads without a brea the Higher Stage. This Higher Stage not be free except in the case of pupils of standing ability selected from the Pri Schools.

The Higher Stage in its turn wi found to afford a very good preparation for new course prescribed for the Matricula

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examination. So that it is possible for a talented boy or girl to start in a village primary school, and reach the University.

A system of scholarships and stipends would make this upward passage possible for children of exceptional ability. For the average, fees, a small fee for the Higher Primary course, a higher fee for the High School or secondary and University Courses, should be charged.

It is possible then, to develop an educational system grafted on to the pathsala, in its early stages embodying the simplicity and directness of the ancient system, but developing and extending it to meet the needs of the more complex society of today.

One feature of the pathsala which, unfortunately, tends to be perpetuated, though it is from a motive of reverence for the past, the low regard which is had for the primary school teacher. As in the old times, he is miserably paid, as poorly as a servant, and as such he is esteemed. He forfeits the prestige he might enjoy if he gave without receiving aught, while he does not earn the esteem which attaches to well-paid service. The position of the woman teacher is even worse. Social and economic conditions make it extremely difficult to secure the right type of women teachers except in well-established centres. In the villages usually the first qualification to be considered is that her home is in the village. Frequently she is one who has barely acquired literacy in her school-days, perhaps these are long past, and in the interval time has done its work with forgetting, so that she is actually able to teach less than she learnt. Under such a guide, "the blind leading the blind," retrogression is inevitable. Until this state of affairs is remedied the village school-teacher will never exercise the influence he or she should. At present too many in that position are of a type incapable of exerting good influence, for the right type is not attracted to the work. To be attracted he would have to be either a fool or a hero.

Village life is usually difficult for those who have had experience of town life. Conditions must be improved so that these elementary schools may attract the right type of teacher, who will be looked up to in the village and exert an educational influence on adults as well as children. He must be one with whom they may discuss their problems and to whom they may appeal in their difficulties and disputes. Conditions must be improved; housing conditions, rates of pay, etc. In a late issue of that excellent magazine, *Educational India*, it was pointed out that, were the conditions of village primary schools improved, an appreciable percentage of the educated unemployed might be found willing to serve as masters, but the pay should be more than doubled and the housing conditions such that it would be possible for such a man to make his home in the village. Should his wife be willing to undertake education of the women and girls, her services should be adequately remunerated.

There must be a serious endeavour to raise teaching to the level of a profession, and this means training. The problem of training is not easily solved. There is little use in sending a selected few from the villages to some training school or college in a city or large town. As a rule these students get completely "lost" in such institutions and take long to adjust themselves, if ever they do adjust themselves. Developing an inferiority complex they become more shy and retiring and find it extremely difficult to give expression to their ideas and needs. In such cases an accretion of information is the result, not development, and the students become more and more bewildered. On leaving these well equipped town colleges they are unable to adapt what they have learnt to the vastly different and often primitive conditions in which they are expected to work. Frequently a town training breeds unwillingness to return to the village. Village education requires special training, designed to give a thorough understanding of rural life. This consideration must be borne in mind in connection with the suggestion that, if the conditions were improved, village schools might absorb some of the educated unemployed. They, without a special aptitude for the work developed by special training, would be as out of place in the village as the simple villager would be in the town college. It was suggested to me by one who has given much thought to the matter that better results would be obtained by the institution of small training centres serving groups of villages, to which the village teachers might be sent for short courses of some three months duration, in the subject-matter of the primary curriculum adapted to rural conditions, child-study, hygiene, methods of teaching, physical training, and for those who desire it, music and art, with practical experience in teaching and organisation. To such a centre the teachers might come in turn, every rural primary teacher being obliged to take a refresher course every three years; or the centres themselves might be organized as itinerant training schools spending three

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months in one district, three months in another.

Schemes mean money and money is hard to find in these times of depression. One hundred years age the position of England with regard to mass-education was, if anything, worse than the position in India today. Now the literates and those in power are convinced of the need and will to seek for and apply the remedy. In England one hundred years ago mass education was strenuously opposed. The State took no interest in the matter, had not awakened to its responsibilities. Now vast sums are expended on education, which is regarded as the most important item of national expenditure. Much of this money is raised by an education cess which amounts to roughly about one eightieth of the rates. This is paid by all except the very poor, though perhaps some 30% of the people do not avail themselves of the free education to which the payment of the tax entitles them, but they prefer to send their children to free-paying institutions. The tax, once stoutly resisted, is now cheerfully paid by all, for all realise that education is essential to national welfare.

In India the bulk of the people for whom the education is designed are incapable of paying fees beyond a very few annas, or even taxed; and they have still to be convinced of the value of education. The burden must on others,—on those "who have received this world's goods, of the benefits of education. It is most noticeable that in our big towns and cities, even in these "hard times," a good in the way of amusement goes on. A certain amount of relaxation is necessary and therefore legitimate, but would it not be possible to tax the unessential and often injurious pleasures seeking and therefrom obtain the money satisfying an absolute need? Again many things, once regarded as luxuries some years back, have now become necessaries, and this is growing. Taxation of such items might another source of income. The world is selfish, increasingly so. If people have become incapable of sacrifice in the cause of humanity has not the States the right to intervene raise the money needed by increased taxes luxuries and amusements?

THE ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY

By R. G. PRADHAN, B.A., LL.B., ex-M.L.C.

I

The supreme importance and urgency of the question is obvious, and it is a matter of satisfaction that the conscience of the Hindu community has been awakened and that it is showing a growing desire to do away with untouchability without delay.

I propose to deal with the practical, and not so much with the theoretical, aspects of the problem. My main object is to indicate the lines on which practical work must be done for abolishing untouchability. The great French thinker and writer of the 18th century, Voltaire, writing about the ecclesiastical intolerance and bigotry that prevailed in many countries of Europe in his times, used to say "*Ecrasez L'infame*" that is, "Crush the infamous thing". As I think of untouchability and the consequent depressed and degraded condition to which millions of our countrymen are still condemned in this twentieth century, I find it impossible to restrain my righteous indignation, and I cannot but raise, in the spirit of Voltaire, the war-cry that this infamous thing—untouchability—must be crushed once for all.

The opposition to the abolition of untouchability comes, from some Shastris or so-called Sanatanists, a few educated Hindus—I know how in spite of their modern education they can believe in untouchability—and from the vast masses of uneducated Hindus who, by no fault of theirs, are still wedded to the belief that it forms an essential element of Hinduism. These unenlightened masses are naturally dominated by the deeply rooted traditional, orthodox conception of Hinduism, and by their inherited conceived religious beliefs and sentiments which they have inherited from remote antiquity. To bring about a quick change in their mentality is no easy task; and it would, of course, be necessary to impress upon them continually that Hinduism does not, in reality, sanction untouchability. I do not think, I need say much thought on the supposed theological or religious aspect of this question. It is said that 'shastric', or religious injunctions are invoked in support of untouchability. In the Hindu community, more than in any other social practices and ways of living are so embedded in fact what are supposed to be

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tenents of our religion. What is the significance of this fact? It signifies that rationalism or intellectualism is yet far from having, in our culture, its due place. I am not one of those who think that pure rationalism or cold intellectualism can solve every problem of life; but, on the other hand, I am one of those who think that no solution of any problem can be satisfactory which clearly runs counter to the dictates of reason. There is a margin of the problems of human life, including, in particular, the problem of the meaning and purpose of life, in which pure reason and cold intellectualism may not be able to afford completely satisfactory and satisfying solutions. But surely, social problems like that of the abolition of untouchability must be essentially considered in the light of reason. In dealing with the orthodox or sanatanist view that untouchability is enjoined by Hinduism and must therefore be maintained, we must, moreover, remember that religion is, or ought to be, a growth; that religious ideas undergo or ought to undergo development, that they must be reconsidered and improved from time to time in the light of growing knowledge and advancing thought, and that, ways of living, even though supposed to be sacrosanct, must be readjusted to the changing conditions of society. For instance, can a religion afford to ignore, as if they were nought, the developments of modern scientific thought which, though they may point to some unknown and perhaps unknowable Ultimate Reality, strike at the root of many cherished religious beliefs and practices which had their origin and obtained currency at a time when scientific or rationalist thought was in its infancy. Again, even conceding that ancient Hindu law-givers sanctioned untouchability on religious or quasi-religious or cultural or racial grounds, in order that the Chaturvarnya system might be maintained intact, and that the unity of the Aryan or Hindu race might be preserved from foreign, external or non-Aryan attacks or influences, can we shut our eyes to the fact that that system has ceased to exist long since, that it is incapable of being revived, that the new national and international conditions in which the Hindu society finds itself today, make its revival impossible, that to attempt to revive it in such conditions is to pursue the willow-the-wisp, that the modern world-life—with which we have to reckon even if we wished that we had not to,—has introduced new forces and factors which must inevitably profoundly affect our social life and structure?

This, then, is a view of religion and therefore of our Hindu religion, which we must have, in dealing with the supposed religious or socio-religious aspect of this problem. But going deeper into this aspect, can we as intelligent thinking human beings conceive that any religion worth the name can enjoin untouchability and eternally condemn millions of human beings to all the evils and disabilities and hardships and wrongs which untouchability must necessarily entail and accentuate? Speaking for myself, I cannot conceive how God, without positing whose existence no religion is possible, unless the agnostic or the atheistic view of life is itself considered a religious view of life, ordains untouchability as a part of His divine scheme or order. If I am told that such a God exists, I will stoutly deny His existence or at all events refuse to pay Him homage. The Christian God, the Moslem God, the Parsee God does not enjoin untouchability. Why should we Hindus, then, be so foolish as to think that our God does enjoin it? But in truth, Hinduism does not enjoin or sanction untouchability. The highest form and pattern of Hinduism is Advaita, and Advaita is utterly incompatible with a social or religious system which condemns men to untouchableness. Referring to Hindu religious texts, though I am not one of those who believe that social reform can be brought about by appeals to textual declarations, I may quote the authority of a distinguished Sanskrit Scholar, my friend Mr. P. V. Kane, who in his book on *Dharma Shastra Vichar* points out that in the Shruti untouchability is unknown. Coming to the Smriti texts it is true that certain castes are mentioned as degraded, but the same authority says that their degradation does not include the connotation of untouchability. In this connection I may refer to what I think is the upshot of the discussions that took place between Pandit Malaviya and the Shastrees at Nasik during the former's recent visit to that city. The position of the Shastrees is that untouchability is 'Janmajat', *i.e.*, it is a concomitant of birth in certain castes and that it cannot be removed by any religious rite of purification or 'deeksha' (initiation). Pandit Malaviya agreed with the view that it was 'janmajat', but maintained that it could be removed by 'deeksha'. He referred to several texts for proving that untouchability could be removed by 'deeksha'. The Shastrees, on their part, admitted that the texts upon which Pandit Malaviya relied justified that conclusion, but referred to a few other texts which negatived the inference that untouchability was capable of being removed

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by 'deeksha'. Pandit Malaviya admitted the existence of those texts, but his argument was that the texts which supported the removal of untouchability by 'deeksha' were more numerous and more authoritative than those which were opposed to such removal, and that when there was such a conflict of authorities, the final arbiter was the voice of reason or justice. The Shastrees refused to recognize the force of this argument on the ground that individual conscience or reason or sense of justice had no place whatever in the matter, inasmuch as obedience to the dictates of individual conscience or reason or sense of justice would lead to religious and social anarchy. One of the shastrees who had specially come from Pandharpur, however, admitted in a 'pravachan' subsequently delivered by him that the Hindu religious leaders of the present times had a perfect right to frame a new 'Smriti' or 'Dharmashastra' suited to these times. This admission, coming as it does from an eminent Shastri, is valuable, though I apprehend, he and his colleagues, when actually helping to frame a new *dharmashastra* will probably insist that untouchability must be maintained even in these times. I do not propose to pursue this point further, as, not being a Sanskrit scholar or a Shastree, I am not qualified to do so. And, moreover, as I have already said, I do not think that this question can or should be solved by reference to shastric texts or injunctions. I rather agree with the great Hindu social reformer, the late Mr. Agarkar, who, in a remarkable passage, declared:

> "We have as much right to inaugurate new customs and usages as the ancient Rishis; we enjoy the same favour of God as the ancient Acharyas; we are endowed with the same, if not greater, faculty of discrimination between right and wrong as they; our hearts melt with pity for the depressed classes much more than theirs did; our knowledge of the universe and its cause is greater, not less, than theirs; hence we shall observe only those injunctions laid down by them which we deem beneficial and replace those which we think harmful, by others. It is on these lines that reform must be made; it is useless to quote one sage as against another and try to reconcile them all".

In this connection, I shall quote what the late Lokamanya Tilak said in a speech he made at the All-India Depressed Classes Mission Conference, held in Bombay in March, 1918. That great leader whom most Hindus consider an authority on Hindu religion and philosophy said:

> "The door of religion is open to all. God is for all. The taint of untouchability finds no room in the eyes of God. Why should we then recognise it? It is a sin against God to say that a person is untouchable, when not so to God himself. *If a God were to* [illegible] *untouchability, I would not recognise him as God* [illegible] (The Italics are mine.)

II.

Having disposed of the theological religious argument against removal of untouchability, let me turn to my main thesis. [illegible] before doing so, I shall place before you a [illegible] facts and figures bearing on the condition [illegible] the depressed classes. According to the Census Report of 1931, the total population of the [illegible] classes, in India, including the Indian States, [illegible] 50,195,770 out of the total Hindu population of 239,195,140; that is, the total population [illegible] the depressed classes is 21 per cent of the [illegible] Hindu population. In British India, the [illegible] population of the depressed classes is 39,064,[illegible] out of the total Hindu population 177,727,[illegible] that is 22 per cent of the total Hindu population. In the Bombay Presidency alone, [illegible] depressed classes number 1,750,424 out of [illegible] total Hindu population, 16,621,221, that is [illegible] per cent of the total Hindu population. [illegible] Indian States and Agencies, out of the [illegible] Hindu population of 61,467,152, the population of the depressed classes is 11,131,761; that [illegible] the latter number 18 per cent of the Hindu population. It may be incidentally mentioned that the largest population of the depressed classes in the States is in the Hyderabad State, it is 2,473,230 out of the total Hindu population in the State namely, 12,176,727, that is, 20 per cent of the total Hindu population. Out of the total population of the depressed classes in the Bombay Presidency, including the States, [illegible] recently attached to it, the largest number is that of the Mahars, namely, 1,264,104. Next come the Mangs with a population of 309,[illegible] The Chambhars stand third with a population of 291,811. Then come the Bhangis and the Meghawals with a population of 79,403 and 69,797 respectively. In dealing with a vast problem like this with provincial variations, and peculiarities, it is better to envisage and study it intensively; and hence I shall confine myself mostly to figures relating to the Bombay Presidency.

In 1922 the total number of the depressed classes under instruction in recognized institutions in our presidency was 36,543. In 1927 the number increased to 60,260, showing a large increase of 64.9 per cent as against the percentage of increase of all pupils during the same period. According to the annual report on the working of the Backward Classes

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Department for the year 1933-34, the number of the depressed class pupils in primary schools alone was 64,239 in 1931-32, 64,705 in 1932-33, and 68,167 in 1933-34. I have not been able to obtain the figures for the subsequent two years. But the figures which I have quoted clearly show that there has been a steady and encouraging growth of education among the depressed classes in our presidency. There can be no doubt that as a result of the remarkable awakening among them, their desire for education has become very strong and general. This growth of education is a welcome feature in connection with their problem. I shall make only one observation in this connection, namely, that direct encouragement by way of instituting scholarships or otherwise should be given to promising boys and girls of these classes to enable them to receive university education and also, if possible, to receive higher and technical education in foreign countries. This may or may not have a direct effect on the removal of untouchability. Probably it will have. But I feel certain that a nucleus of highly educated members of the depressed classes occupying prominent positions in official, professional or public life, cannot fail to lead to an all-round improvement of their condition.

The civic and political status of the depressed classes has also considerably improved. They have representatives on Municipalities, Local Boards, School Boards, and on legislatures. In my own District, Nasik, a Mahar member of the Nasik Municipality was elected Chairman of the Waterworks Committee in 1934; and his wife competed successfully for the woman's seat on the School Board of the Nasik D. L. Board. In Government services also, their claims are receiving greater and more sympathetic consideration. When I was a member of the Legislative Council, I was able, as a result of direct correspondence with Sir Leslie Wilson, the then Governor, to secure clerical appointments in the Revenue Department for two Mahar gentlemen, not by way of favour, but in recognition of their just claims. The conscience of Municipal bodies in regard to their obligations towards the localities inhabited by the depressed classes has also been quickened and they now pay greater attention to their civic needs and amenities. In my own city of Nasik, until three or four years ago, these localities were much neglected by the Municipality. But thanks to the pressure brought to bear upon it by the local Harijan Sangha, they are now better swept, better cleansed, better lighted and better supplied with water.

Such, then, is, in brief outline, the civic and political position of the depressed classes. It undoubtedly indicates progress and that progress will, I think, be accelerated with their increased representation in the legislatures under the new Constitution. But so far as the abolition of untouchability and the removal of consequent disabilities are concerned, this progress affords no measure of the improvement achieved in these directions. The number of caste Hindus who do not observe untouchability in their private relations with members of the depressed classes, has increased and is increasing. At most public functions, particularly in public meetings, no distinction is observed between touchables and untouchables. In a city like Bombay untouchables are, perhaps, freely admitted at least to some restaurants and tea-shops. But in small urban areas, the sense of untouchableness is still widely prevalent, and in rural areas, it is not only all but universal, but also very keen. Untouchability may be considered to be completely or almost completely abolished, when public temples will be opened to the untouchables and when the sense of untouchableness will have disappeared from small urban areas and from villages. When the problem is considered from this point of view, it must be admitted, to our shame, that the situation is still extremely unsatisfactory and painful. The Census Commissioner has rightly divided the disabilities of the depressed classes into two broad categories, namely, first, that under which they are barred from public utilities such as the use of roads, tanks and wells; and, second, their religious disability which debars them from the use of temples, burning grounds and so forth. In addition to these, but arising out of the latter, there are, as the commissioner points out, the disabilities involved in relation with private individuals, such as the services of barbers and the admission to tea-shops, hotels, etc. With regard to the use of public water-supply, the backward class officer of our presidency is perfectly justified in saying that it is the greatest grievance of the depressed classes. As he observes, there is no hope of its being removed so long as they are subjected to boycott and bullying by the caste Hindus whenever they attempt to exercise their right of taking water from public tanks or wells.

What I have said hitherto will, I hope, give a full idea of the nature and extent of the work which must be done in order to eradicate un-

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touchability. In order to focus it on public attention, the resolution passed at a conference of progressive Hindus of Nasik under the guidance of Shri Shankaracharya Dr. Kurtkoti, to whom I may in passing pay an humble tribute for his keen and courageous fight for this cause, as also the resolution adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha at its last session held in Poona under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose devoted guardianship of the Hindu community and the Hindu religion is beyond question, deserve the widest publicity and popularization. I may therefore quote those resolutions. The Nasik resolution runs as follows :

"A. The question of public temples and public places of pilgrimage and Tirthas being extremely controversial and being outside the sphere of immediate practical achievement, this conference resolves to make every possible effort to bring about a change of public opinion with regard to that question.

B. Barring the above question except to the extent of bringing about change of public opinion with regard thereto, this conference resolves to make continuous and unflinching efforts, both individually and collectively, by propaganda, constructive work and in other ways for securing for the Harijans freedom to reside and settle in localities inhabited by non-Harijan Hindus, for abolishing untouchability in public places such as wells, schools, dharmashalas, hotels etc., and in general for doing away with untouchability in the Hindu society with regard to all other matters."

The Hindu Mahasabha resolution says :

"The Hindu Mahasabha reaffirms its previous resolutions for giving to all Hindus, irrespective of caste or creed, all public amenities and institutions, such as schools, wells, tanks, ghats, places of water-supply, hotels, roads, parks, dharmashalas, public places of worship, burning ghats and the like.

"The Hindu Mahasabha further affirms its faith that untouchability must not be regarded as a part of Hindu religion or social system. The Mahasabha recommends to Hindus the abolition of all distinctions in the Hindu society, based on birth or caste in the spheres of public, social and political life, in which such distinctions ought to have no application and are out of place in the present age".

Both these resolutions are, to all intents and purposes, identical in substance and in spirit. I am very glad that the Hindu Mahasabha has taken a very forward step in this matter and given a great lead to the Hindu community. If they can be carried out fully and effectively, untouchability will soon be a thing of the past.

Let me now come to close grips with the more important and difficult question, namely, how to bring about the changes embodied in these resolutions within the shortest possible time. After giving it my most earnest attention, I feel convinced that intensive work will have to be continuously done with regard to every one of these various items. Propaganda [illegible] course have to be carried on on a large [illegible] Time is now come when activities with a [illegible] to propaganda will have to be taken [illegible] small urban areas and villages. I do not [illegible] that such propaganda is not at present [illegible] on at all. But owing to paucity of fur[illegible] public workers, it is for the most part [illegible] to cities and important towns. My own [illegible] jected scheme of work is that in every [illegible] town there should be a small band of [illegible] three well-educated and devoted workers [illegible] duty shall be to carry on continuous propa[illegible] on lines approved by a central body at the [illegible] trict headquarters, under whose guidance [illegible] with whose fullest support they will do [illegible] work. Such a central body should be [illegible] in every district town. These central [illegible] bodies may work independently, though [illegible] should, from time to time, correlate their [illegible] ties and seek mutual guidance and co-oper[illegible] This obviously means that every district [illegible] must have adequate financial resources to [illegible] on the work. As things stand at present, [illegible] are few men in every district who are [illegible] make this work the mission of their life. [illegible] activities in connection with the abolition [illegible] untouchability and the general uplift of [illegible] depressed classes have to be undertaken by [illegible] who, besides their professional work, have [illegible] attend to various other public activities. [illegible] result is patchwork, frequent lulls in [illegible] prosecution of activities, and the utter [illegible] of considerable areas in the district. It [illegible] be too strongly emphasized that unless [illegible] agencies of devoted whole-time or almost [illegible] time workers are created at least for some [illegible] to begin with, there is no possibility of [illegible] ganda reaching effectively and successfully [illegible] those areas which stand in need of it. And [illegible] agencies cannot be brought into existence [illegible] function for the requisite length of time, [illegible] funds are available. I regret very deeply [illegible] the stream of our public charity has not [illegible] begun to flow to any appreciable extent [illegible] this channel. The public appeal for funds [illegible] we from Nasik made three months ago has [illegible] with poor response and we feel very much [illegible] capped in our work for lack of funds.

Along with this propaganda on an ex[illegible] sive scale in every district, intensive work [illegible] I have already said, will have to be carried [illegible] in individual places with regard to every [illegible] the items. To take the question of the use [illegible] public wells, every village with such a well [illegible] have to be visited, and the caste-Hindus [illegible] pursuaded to allow the depressed classes [illegible]

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it. I do not think that the desired result will be achieved by a visit or two. Many such visits will have to be made before popular sentiments and prejudices are overcome and untouchability with regard to taking water from public wells is removed.

The same intensive method will have to be pursued with regard to hotels, tea-shops, etc. Every individual owner of a hotel or a tea-shop will have to be approached and pursuaded to admit members of the depressed classes. It is possible that some of them have already come under the influence of the movement for the abolition of untouchability, and what they need is some tactful pressure and persuasion for raising their sense of right and their courage to the requisite level of practical action. At first perhaps only one such owner may be pursuaded to admit untouchables to his eating-house or tea-shop; but his example will have great moral effect and in course of time other owners may be found to follow it.

As illustrations of what can be achieved by intensive efforts in dealing with individual cases, I want to cite three instances which have recently happened in the district of Nasik. In a village about twenty-five miles from Nasik, the Mahars were prevented by caste-Hindus from carrying a procession of bullocks on a public road on the Pola-day, *i.e.*, the last day of the month of Shravana. A complaint was lodged before the local magistrate against the action of the high-caste Hindus, and my friend Mr. Sabnis who has made the cause of Harijans his own, soon interested himself in the matter. The ultimate result was that the caste-Hindus agreed not to object to such a procession any longer and the complaint was withdrawn. In another village about 30 or 40 miles from Nasik, the Mahars were similarly prevented from leading a procession of bullocks. A complaint was similarly lodged in the court of the local magistrate, who however, dismissed it on the ground that the matter was of a civil nature and that the Mahars should establish their right to lead such a procession in a Civil Court. A revisional application was filed in the Sessions Court against this order and Mr. Sabnis and myself took up the matter. The result was that an agreement was reached between the parties that the caste-Hindus would not object to the procession being carried on a day other than the Pola-day, but that as regards carrying it on that particular day the Mahars should establish their right in a Civil Court inasmuch as the village was a jahagir village and the question of carrying a procession on a Pola-day involved the question of the rights and status of the jagirdar. The third incident occurred in a village about 35 miles from Nasik, and is very interesting and significant as illustrating the reaction of some backward and orthodox people to the new spirit among the depressed classes and the movement for the removal of untouchability. Taking advantage of a real or suspected petty theft by one or two Mahar women, some caste-Hindus of the village mostly belonging to the Vanjari caste, which is classified as backward, resolved in a panchayat meeting to let loose their cattle on lands owned by the Mahars in the village. The crops on those lands were thus destroyed, and the Mahars filed a complaint before a competent magistrate. Some of my colleagues and myself visited the village, made a thorough inquiry into the matter on the spot, and came to the conclusion that the complaint was substantially true. In our conversation with the leader of the panchayat we were able to have an insight into the motive which actuated the panchayat in this act of vengeance. He said that the Mahars were getting self-conscious and self-assertive, that they no longer acquiesced in or submitted to their position in the village, and that therefore they required to be taught a lesson. After a good deal of moral remonstrance, persuasion and tactful pressure, he and his compatriots in the affair were persuaded to compound the case and to agree to the payment of damages for the loss suffered by the Mahar agriculturists. In the course of our friendly conversation, he admitted that times were changing and that the untouchables were entitled to a better status.

As I have already said, the most serious grievance which demands immediate redress is that relating to public wells. And it is our intention to carry on intensive work throughout our district in order to remove it, and such work must be simultaneously carried on in every district in our presidency The free access of the depressed classes to public wells in villages will be a notable success for the cause of the removal of untouchability.

Another direction in which intensive work is necessary and will be found to have far-reaching effects is to afford facilities to Harijans to settle in localities inhabited by caste-Hindus. Separate untouchable locations outside towns or villages have had the effect of practically isolating the Harijans from the touchable Hindus. Every facility must therefore be given to Harijans to own houses or reside in caste-Hindu localities.

As regards the question of temple-entry,

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the Nasik resolution proceeds on cautious lines. This caution is, of course, due to the strength of priestly and popular opposition to temple-entry. No doubt, if public temples, recognized as of all-India sanctity like the Kala Ram temple in Panchavati, can be thrown open to Harijans, the cause of the abolition of untouchability will receive such an immense accession of strength as to be crowned with almost complete success. But the priestly and popular sentiment against temple-entry is yet so deep and strong that there does not seem to be any near possibility of Harijans being admitted to such temples. Nevertheless, intensive efforts should be made with a view to getting temples of lesser sanctity opened to the Harijans. In this connection, I wish to make an earnest appeal to our Hindu Princes. I think, though I speak with diffidence, as I am not well-acquainted with the conditions in our Indian States, that it will be found easier to open public temples in the States than in British India, owing to the personal power and influence enjoyed by the Princes. Indeed, I venture to think that the Hindu Princes may be able to tackle this entire problem of untouchability more easily and quickly than we, with our peculiar and manifold difficulties, can do. I earnestly suggest to the Princes that they cannot use their absolute internal sovereignty better, more usefully and more beneficently than by abolishing untouchability. In 1871, the Emperor of Japan, issued an edict abolishing by one stroke of the pen, the low status of the depressed classes in that country. I shall quote that edict,

> "The designation of Eta and Hinin (*i.e.*, the depressed classes in Japan) are abolished. Those who bore them are to be added to the general registers of the population, and their social position and methods of earning a livelihood are to be identical with those of the rest of the people".

Will it be too much to hope and expect that our Hindu Princes, some of whom are imbued with the modern spirit, will issue similar edicts and by means of such edicts and otherwise abolish untouchability in their States? If they will do so, their example will have a beneficent influence in British India.

I shall now briefly refer to some other points in connection with this problem. I recognize the work which the Government have been doing to improve the educational condition of the depressed classes. I also appreciate what they have done in order that no untouchability may be recognized in schools. But I must regretfully say that they have done and are doing practically nothing to help the untouchables in the exercise of their right to the public wells. Some sympathetic officers offered police protection in the exercise of right, which, however, has not been found effective. Some officers on the other hand taken up a cold attitude and simply themselves with recommending criminal in case untouchables are obstructed in public wells. The Government, as far know, have not decided upon any definite in the matter. Much can be done by this respect if only they mean to do so allowed to do so by Government. The that the Government can do, is to issue tions to their officers in the revenue that they may exercise gentle, tactful upon the touchable Hindus to persuade allow the Harijans the use of public Legal action can be taken under the Penal when Harijans are obstructed in the public wells. But such action though be found inevitable, had better be avoided possible. And in the meanwhile, the Government may well instruct their officers to the cause of the removal of untouchability wise, gentle, tactful exercise of their fluence. The officials have it within their to do a lot of good in this cause, as in others, if only they mean, and are permitted to do so. If a Government officer can and impress upon the villagers the benefits of co-operative movement, of agricultural development, or of rural uplift, why should they impress upon them also their obligation to the Harijans the exercise of their legitimate rights? Indeed no movement for rural can be complete which does not care to or defend the elementary rights of the Harijans as members of the same village community. The Government have done well in starting movement. It. is a good movement with possibilities if carried on properly and in right spirit. But do the officials or non-officials connected with the movement ever try, they visit villages, to advise the caste-Hindu villagers to let the Harijans use the public wells, and, in general, not to treat them as untouchables? I shall be glad to know that do.

In another direction also, the Government and in particular, the Minister of Education help this cause of the removal of untouchability. The vernacular text-books should be revised as to contain direct lessons on the wrong of untouchability and on the duty of treating no as untouchable. Our children must such lessons from childhood.

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I now come to the question of legislation to deal with untouchability. It is a difficult question; but the right attitude towards it is not to dismiss it summarily or off-hand with the preconceived notion that no aspect or phase thereof can possibly fall within the sphere of legislation. I do not agree with the view that there should be no legislation at all to deal with social, or even religious questions. This view has been abandoned in Europe long since; and in every European country we now find a lot of social legislation. The argument that, as India is ruled by an alien race, social problems should remain altogether outside the sphere of State-action, has lost its force owing to changed political and constitutional conditions, as also owing to the existence of a considerable body of public opinion in favour of social legislation. In principle, therefore, I do not accept the view that this problem of untouchability should not be dealt with by legislation at all, even though in some aspects it might be possible to do so.

But the real and difficult question is how and to what extent should legislative action be taken to deal with untouchability? Should non-admission to public temples be penalised? Should refusal to admit Harijans to tea-shops, eating-houses, hair-cutting saloons, etc., be made an offence? Should licenses given to tea-shops and eating-houses contain a condition that Harijans shall be admitted to them on the same footing as caste-Hindus and that the non-observance of the condition shall entail cancellation of the licenses? Should the observance of untouchability itself be penalised? Is it practicable to do so? In what way, can it be penalised? What I would suggest for the present is a thorough exploration of all possible avenues of legislation regarding untouchability. I would earnestly appeal to the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association to appoint a committee of its members to make such an exploration and to frame definite bills with regard to those aspects of untouchability which may admit of legislation. Some members of the Bombay Legislative Council may also press for the appointment of a committee to consider this question of legislation.

I have done. I shall conclude as I began by saying with all the earnestness that I can command that this infamous thing, untouchability, must be crushed as quickly as possible. I consider this question as an acid test of our capacity for growth, for social and national readjustment, of our spirit of resistance to and conquest of wrong, evil, injustice, of whether our racial and national soul is dead or alive. By every possible means and with untiring efforts, untouchability must be destroyed, and the Harijans completely assimilated to, and fused with, our community.

It is a mistake to think that the Hindu community and the Hindu religion have never readjusted themselves to new forces, to new conditions of life. We Hindus are on our trial and if we fail in this great cause, we shall have deserved eternal shame and infamy. We shall have proved that we cannot rise to the full height of our stature, and do not possess that principle of inner growth and life which triumphs over wrong and injustice of every kind. I notice with regret a certain amount of reaction as an outcome of Dr. Ambedkar's move for a change of religion, among some of those who have taken a keen interest in the cause of the Harijans. I have heard some of them saying: "Why should we continue to take the same interest in that cause, if, after all, the Harijans are going to renounce Hinduism and cut themselves off entirely from the Hindu community?" I deprecate this attitude most deeply. I myself do not approve of Dr. Ambedkar's move for renouncing Hinduism, and I am still not without hope, that as a result of our growing success in abolishing untouchability and raising the Harijans to a level of equality with the caste-Hindus, he will reconsider his attitude and give up his intention to embrace another religion. But even if he carries out his intention and is able to take with him thousands of Harijans, as long as there remains a single untouchable in our country, we must continue to wage war against untouchability, until our community and our country are completely purged of this deadly poison. I can conceive of no greater, nobler, more glorious and more sacred work than that of abolishing untouchability. It is as glorious and will be as far-reaching in its consequences as the emancipation of slaves. I, therefore, most earnestly appeal to each and every Hindu not to consider a day well-spent on which he has not done his best to achieve the complete and final destruction of untouchability.

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THE NEW HOWRAH BRIDGE CONTRACT

By J. M. GANGULI, M.Sc., LL.B.

The question of the New Howrah Bridge contract has created much interest in the public, which is a happy sign; for public indifference to such matters has been one of the principal causes of India's industrial backwardness. The Howrah Bridge contract is estimated at several lacs over two crores of rupees, but the pity is that no Indian concern tendered for it, though the hugeness of the contract attracted a tender even from Germany. For this, the lack of enterprise in the Indians is of course to be blamed; but it should also be remembered that there is a very general feeling, which is not unfounded on experience, that such big contracts are not to be given to Indian firms, and so it is no good trying for them.

Of the four firms competing for the contract one is the Braithwaite-Burn-Jessop & Co., Ltd., which is a combine of three engineering firms of Calcutta, as is indicated by the name of the combine. This combine has been called the Indian combine, and as such it has sought the support of the Indian public. Keen propaganda has been carried on on behalf of this combine, which, as pointed out in *Capital* of Calcutta, has managed the press well. The Indian members of the Calcutta Port Commissioners, have also pleaded strongly for this concern : and so also has a section of the Indian press, though the grounds for their solicitation for the combine are not apparent. The chief reason on which such earnest pleadings have been based is that this is an Indian combine. It is of interest, therefore, to examine the Indian character of this combine.

To avoid the payment of a high rate of income-tax in England, as well as to avail themselves of the tariff advantages, whenever they are given to Indian firms, European firms have been in recent years getting registered in India. To fulfil the two conditions necessary for it, regarding some Indian capital and Indian directors in the firm, such firms have at times even alloted shares to their Indian staff and have selected for the Directorate Indians, who could hardly assert their identity on the Board. But yet, such firms, because they are incorporated and registered in India, are called Indian firms. One has, however, nothing to say against such firms; one would even welcome them, for their industrial enterprise is likely to give impetus to the hesitant Indians for similar enterprise,—even though their activities may lead to unbeneficial exploitation of the country's resources.

Now, if we look into the firms composing the combine called the Braithwaite-Burn-Jessop & Co., we find that the majority of the Directors of Braithwaite & Co., are Europeans. Its Managing Director, Secretary, Works Manager, Branch Manager are all Europeans; and it has its office in London also. As regards Burn & Co., it has two Europeans on its Board, while four of this six Assistants are Europeans. Besides, its General Manager, Assistant General Manager, Works Manager, Structural Department Manager, Steel Foundry Manager, Iron Foundry Manager, Commercial Manager, Maintenance Manager, and so on, all Europeans. In fact, all higher appointments, including that of the Accountant, are held by Europeans. In Jessop & Co., all the Directors are Europeans.

Here again it may be made clear that one does not object to the European character of these firms. Let there be as many Europeans as the firms want or may need. One only objects to these firms passing as Indian [illegible] and appealing in that way to the patriotic sentiment [illegible] the inhabitants of this country. To do so is, [illegible] not to raise any racial or communal issue, but [illegible] clear the misapprehensions, which might grow [illegible] public mind as a result of any propaganda on [illegible] those firms.

Leaving that question, however, for the moment, [illegible] us consider another point. Of the tenders submitted [illegible] the four competing firms that of the Braithwaite [illegible] Jessop & Co., Ltd., is the highest, beating the [illegible] highest tender by several lacs. It is of interest to [illegible] here that the lowest tender submitted is of the well-[illegible] German firm Krupps. That German firm is [illegible] renowned, and so the efficiency and dependability [illegible] work cannot be questioned. How is it then, one [illegible] that a German firm could be prepared to undertake [illegible] work so far off from its works and organization at a [illegible] twenty lacs lower rate than a local firm, which has [illegible] advantages of local experience, and local organization [illegible] The reason is probably to be found in the fact that [illegible] ever poor India may be, economic management is [illegible] or rather uncared for here. Money flows out like [illegible] water, though seldom in the right direction and into [illegible] field where it is wanted. The over-head charges in [illegible] undertaking are astoundingly disproportionate and [illegible] bitant. When economy is talked of, it results in 'a[illegible] here and there at the bottom, which affects the [illegible] who are already on starving wages. The significance [illegible] this system in all big undertakings in this country, is [illegible] to be lost sight of, for it entails a serious handicap [illegible] the industrial and commercial progress of India. [illegible] fact that the German firm could quote the lowest [illegible] is a very significant proof of Germany's ability in [illegible] management and organization and is a convincing exp[illegible] tion of that country's meteoric rise during the last [illegible] India cannot progress on the industrial field unless [illegible] concentrates on economic management and [illegible] organization. Favourable and protecting tariff wall[illegible] be necessary to give her a push, but as soon as the [illegible] comes of taking advantage of the protection and of [illegible] under it, it leads to inertia and fails in its object. [illegible] statement of this truth and fact has been never [illegible] because the apologists of the so-called Indian [illegible] among the Calcutta Port Commissioners have referred [illegible] an unwritten principle of giving preference to [illegible] things even though that may mean an extra expe[illegible] of five per cent.

The above so-called Indian combine in the course [illegible] its propaganda has held out a bait to Indian sympathi[illegible] by giving out that through this combine getting the [illegible] contract subsidiary Indian industries like the [illegible] the railways, etc., will be benefited, and Indian [illegible] ployment will be relieved. As regards the [illegible] industries, it may be pointed out that, even if the [illegible] tract were to go to a foreign concern, that concern [illegible] also have to use the Indian railways and the [illegible] collieries, besides some other industries, as it will not [illegible] it to import from abroad what could be easily [illegible] here. One thing, however, needs to be cleared [illegible] Will this combine, if it were to get the contract, [illegible] the really Indian-owned collieries and other industries [illegible] the European-owned and managed ones?

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Regarding the employment of Indians, of course, a large percentage of the total staff to be employed on the Bridge construction will be Indians. But the percentage will consist of coolies and labourers, junior draughtsmen, junior supervisers, junior engineers, and, of course, the inevitable clerks and typists. But will that not be the case even if an entirely foreign firm were to be entrusted with the work? The type of Indian staff to be employed by the combine will not surely be imported from any foreign firm. The question is regarding the higher appointments. Will they not be the monopoly of the Europeans, whether it be the so-called Indian combine, or a purely outside concern building the Bridge? That point is a very important one, leading to several considerations. What the Indian engineers and the Indian industrialists need is not simply scope for enterprise, but also self-confidence, which will encourage them in enterprise. That self-confidence comes through success and experience. If they are to undertake and successfully carry out big operations self-confidence will naturally grow and develop in them, which through years of subordinate work has vanished. The country and its leaders should not fight shy of even taking risks for providing opportunities, whenever possible, for gaining self-confidence to their children. All countries have done so, and they have benefited thereby. In spite of the fact that better architects and workmen could be had from outside, those countries did not keep their children behind and working under the direction and control of superior talent imported from abroad. Why should not India do the same, then? Why should India perpetually submit to the grandmotherly advice that she is still too young and that the time has not come for her yet to fret and worry but only to submit and follow?

That question must be seriously thought over by all those who are earnest about seeing India stand up in the industrial world. It is not an unknown fact that even in the various European engineering firms it is generally the Indian assistants and the Indian subordinates who do the scientific and mathematical calculations, and who do most of the operation work. But still there are European superiors over them to direct and run the show. It is in this part of the work that Indians must come. They must direct and feel the responsibility of it, otherwise self-confidence will not develop in them. To say so is to invite the retort that Indian engineers are not competent for the work. Without arguing on that point it can, however, be then asked what the various engineering colleges, which are heavily staffed and absolutely controlled and directed by Europeons, have been doing all these years. Moreover, if that be really so, let some qualified Indian engineers be sent abroad for the necessary training and experience, keeping the Howrah Bridge work suspended till then. The existing Howrah Bridge is not likely to give way in a year or two, for high authorities have repeatedly said that the bridge was good enough for at least another ten years. It does not matter even if a lakh or more be spent on it, if necessary, to keep it functioning. The Indian rate-payers will not mind that expenditure, if they are assured that by so doing the New Bridge Construction work will go into the hands of Indian engineers. The money needed for sending out the Indian engineers for training and experience will not be difficult to find, for it will not be a huge amount.

The whole point is that whatever may be the difficulties, whatever may be the handicaps, all those must be overcome to avail ourselves of this great opportunity of providing Indian talent and Indian enterprise in all its phases with a big and a first class engineering project. No stone should be left unturned for the purpose. Let the Government be moved to stay their hands in giving the contract and to invite an Indian Syndicate to come forward for undertaking the work. A hint like that is needed from the Government to encourage the formation of such a Syndicate; for, as stated above, there is a feeling that no Indian concern can get the contract. There are Indian financiers and industralists of high standing and reputation, and it will not at all be difficult for them to form a competent Syndicate for undertaking the work, if some encouragement be forthcoming from the Government. But to impress the Government, it is necessary that the agitation should be wide and sustained; and it should be taken up in right earnest by the leaders and the publicists alike. Newspapers, which covet advertisements only and which are therefore holding up the case of the so-called Indian combine -which is trying for the job, knowing full well the non-Indian character of that combine, are doing great disservice to the industrial welfare of India and are losing their claim to be known as nationalist papers. Such a big engineering work is not likely to be undertaken in the country for many years. The importance of having it done under Indian direction and by talented Indian skill cannot be over-emphasised. It is a thing of supreme national importance, the realization of which alone has led to the writing of this article and not any racial or other prejudice. The purpose of the article will be served if it sets the leaders thinking and the ball rolling in the proper direction. No argument which may be thrust against the idea of entrusting the Bridge Construction to Indians must be listened to, no handicaps should be left unovercome, no discouragement should be allowed to damp the will to go ahead, for India must go ahead now in the industrial world.

April 25, 1936.

Samuel Johnson's "Prophecy"

It is not usual to associate the name of Dr. Samuel Johnson with prophecy. Here, however, is a passage from *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia, a Tale* (written in eight nights in order to pay for his mother's funeral) which certainly might have been written with fore-knowledge of present events.

"If men were all virtuous," returned the artist, "I should with great alacrity teach them all to fly. But what be the security of the good, if the bad could at pleasure invade them from the sky? Against an army sailing through the clouds, neither walls, nor mountains, nor seas, could afford any security. A flight of northern savages might hover in the wind, and light at once with irresistible violence upon the capital of a fruitful region that was rolling under them. Even this valley, the retreat of princes, the abode of happiness, might be violated by the sudden descent of some of the naked nations that swarm on the coast of the southern sea."

Lovers of Johnson may be interested to read this passage from the great man's almost forgotten novel. It reads like an accurate prediction.

ROBERT H. WILLIAMSON

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The Late Maharani Prafulla Kumari Devi

THE installation of the new ruler of Bastar State, Maharaja Praveer Chandra Bhanj Deo, which took place recently, is different from the usual accession ceremonies of Indian princes in the interesting fact that the present ruler succeeds to a woman, the late Maharani Prafulla Kumari Devi.

The late Maharani made history by being the first Hindu woman sovereign in her own right in modern times. She was not meant by her father to be one; for, her father, the late Ruler of Bastar, had intended to adopt a son and at his death had left an authority to his widow, a step-mother of the late Maharani to adopt.

Before anything could be done to make an adoption, however, the young princess, then only eleven years old, found herself on the *gadi* of her father. Immediately on the death of the Maharaja, the assembled chieftains of the aboriginal clans inhabiting the State performed the quaint old coronation ceremony by tying a turban round her head with a piece of cloth held by the sardars.

From the days of the Mahabharata downwards, coronation of Hindu sovereigns has always included a formal acceptance of the sovereign by the subjects. In this case this act of the chieftains proved to be not merely formal or symbolical but effectively settled the succession. The paramount power was confronted with a *fait accompli* and endorsed the popular choice.

The infant princess found herself, unexpectedly, a ruler at the age of eleven, and in due course the Political authorities appointed an officer to carry on the administration during her minority. In 1924, when she was fourteen, her marriage was arranged and she was betrothed to Kumar Prafulla Chandra Bhanj Deo of Mayurbhanj. The marriage, however, did not come off without a hitch. Owing to certain representations made to him to the effect that she was being forced into the marriage, Lord Reading, the then Viceroy postponed her marriage till she should attain the age of discretion. In 1927, when she was seventeen, however, the Princess by her own choice married the husband to whom she had been betrothed.

The late Maharani had no near agnate who would give her in marriage, and her maternal uncle, Barakumar Balabhadra Deo of Bamra State had to be brought do[illegible] make the ceremonial *sampradana* a[illegible] marriage. This was an interesting [illegible] of the fact that, though the Hindu s[illegible] expressly give power to a girl to give [illegible] away in a contingency like this, hoary [illegible] tion has practically abrogated this righ[illegible] even where, as here, the marriage was [illegible] at the bride's own choice and that bride [illegible] sovereign princess the ceremonial gift [illegible] person authorised to give was deemed ne[illegible]

The late Maharani had receiv[illegible] education under English teachers a[illegible] spent years in Europe. But as a wife [illegible] an embodiment of the ancient Hindu [illegible] A sovereign in her own right, she was [illegible] loving wife and a devoted mother a[illegible] the affection of all who came across her.

The new ruler succeeds to his [illegible] wide territories, covering 13,062 square [illegible] one of the biggest of the Indian States [illegible] him he combines the blood of three [illegible] Indian Rulers namely Bastar, Bam[illegible] Mayurbhanj.

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Begum Sultan Mouyedzada

BEGUM SAKINA FURRAKH SULTAN M[illegible] ZADA, M.A., B.L., has been appointed [illegible] Government of Bengal as councillor of the [illegible] poration of Calcutta to one of the seats re[illegible] for Muhammadans.

MISS VIOLET PARANJOTI has been a[illegible] the degree of Doctor of Philosophy [illegible] Madras University for her thesis on [illegible] Siddhanta with special bearing on the [illegible] Umapathi.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Man-Power in China

In summarizing an instructive paper with e above caption in the *Political Science uarterly*, Dorothy Johnson Orchard observes :

China in the past has not been eager to industrialize, t in recent years there has grown up a desire to trans- m the old order for the purpose of fighting the aggres- on of the West with the weapons of the West. China's ajor resource is labour. Its quantity and its cheapness annot be denied, although, in the present stage of indus- al development, the cheapness is modified by ineffi- ency. The question that arises is how best to utilize s major resource for the advancement of industrializa- n. The existence of an enormous body of workers at bare subsistence level creates of itself manifold eco- ic and social problems. It acts in many ways as a d-weight on industrialization. It retards the intro- ction of machinery, the application of invention, the provement of quality, and the development of efficiency. hile efficiency is largely a matter of training and orga- ization and discipline, it is also very closely related to ng hours, inadequate wages, unhealthy and difficult ving conditions, factory and workshop sanitation, acci- ent hazards, overcrowding, improper diet, and illiteracy. nd these conditions arise from a cheap and plentiful bour supply. On the wage level that prevails, labour unable to better its own condition; and industry, ecause labour is cheap, cannot afford to introduce labour- ving devices. A very serious problem that arises with dustrialization in China is the assimilation of labour- ving economy in the presence of a superabundant labour pply. Will it be possible in destroying the old self- ficient economy to create enough new opportunities to sorb, not only those large numbers now in need of cupation, but also those whose present occupations will e destroyed by the forces of industrialization?

Cheap labour creates a further paradoxical situation. hina's home market, long coveted by the trading nations, a very important resource for industrialization, but its evelopment depends upon a higher standard of living hich in itself is inconsistent with the continuance of abour at its present low level. In a world that is no longer elf-sufficient, the home market must be supplemented ith international trade, and in foreign markets, China's heap labour will be her greatest competitive advantage. an a satisfactory balance be struck? If China develops er modern industries and appears in the markets of the orld, will this cheap labour be an economic asset, or will t become a political liability prejudicing the sale of China's goods? Can China's man-power, the envy of the world, be utilized by China to her own success? What will be the social consequences to the rest of the world of its effective exploitation.

As in India also labour is comparatively cheap, we should consider the above comments and questions.

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German Scholarship Under The Nazis

German Scholarship, once hailed the world over for its thoroughness and brilliance, has passed into a twilight phase, observes *The New Republic* editorially :

Since the N a z i s came to power in 1933, the number of students enrolled in the universities of the Reich has fallen from 100,000 to 55,000. Universities are regarded as training grounds or filling stations for Nazi doctrines, and professors who refuse to be "coordinated" are dismissed. Some 1,500 of the country's finest minds already have been banished in this fashion. Most discouraging of all is the way the poison has infected some of the genuinely front-rank men in German science. Surely bottom has been reached in the spectacle, reported in current newspapers, of Professor Philipp Lenard and Johannes Stark, both former winners of the Nobel Prize in physics, leading a fight against the Einstein theories on the ground that these constitute a false or Jewish physics, as opposed to the true German physics. It is against such a background as this that the University of Heidelberg, once the justly honored citadel of all that was best in German scholarship, now asks selected institutions throughout the world to participate in the celebration of its five hundred and fiftieth anniversary, scheduled for the coming summer. In England, Cambridge University and the University of Birmingham declined so forcibly that all British invitations were recalled. In America, Harvard University has just joined Columbia, Michigan, Western Reserve, Vassar, Cornell and Amherst in accepting. In view of Heidelberg's dismissal of forty professors for racial and political reasons, and in view of the Nazis' evident intention to use this celebration as a sounding board for Nazi propaganda, it seems to us that American universities should develop sufficient spine to stand up for academic freedom and refuse to have anything to do with a government and a doctrine whose eventual purpose would destroy civilization itself.

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Inside Russia

Ethel Mannin, writing in the *New Leader*, records her general impressions of Russia formed during a recent journey :

The general impression is one of progress—a visible progress; building, building, all the time, everywhere, even out in the deserts and in the wild loneliness of the steppes. Everywhere are newly-erected blocks of workers' apartments, and blocks in the course of erection. After a year's absence I found Moscow almost unrecognizable, so rapidly and extensively has the building progressed.

It is the same story of progress all over Russia, in the Ukraine, the Caucasus, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan —new blocks of apartments, workers' rest-homes and sanatoria, theatres, schools, universities, stores, hotels. *That in the face of every conceivable obstacle and set-back which could possibly impede the progress of a*

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country, the U.S.S.R. has achieved miracles, is absolutely undeniable. And that all over Russia there are still people living under very bad conditions does not alter this supreme and obvious fact.

After all one has heard of improved living conditions in the U.S.S.R., it is admittedly a shock to find people, as we did, in Tiflis, Stalin's home-town, living in cellars, windowless, with earth floors, and in unspeakable hovels as on the oil-fields of Baku; to be accosted by beggars, and see people sleeping out at night; and outside of Moscow it is impossible not to get a depressing impression of a drab level of poverty where the crowds in the streets are concerned.

But everywhere throughout the Union people assured us, 'Things are getting better—every day,' and the answer to the bad living conditions still to be found is that building is going ahead literally day and night. Under the 'Rebuilding of Moscow' scheme, it is planned eventually to double the room-space of everyone.

Russia is not yet the Promised Land; she is still the *Promising* Land—but there is every reason to believe that she will fulfil her promises in the matter of decent living conditions for all; she is, indeed, fulfilling them as fast as she can. Food is plentiful and no longer rationed. The aim is not to raise wages, but to lower the cost of living, which has fallen within the last year.

It is no just or true or pertinent criticism to say of Russia that she is not yet Utopia; the marvel is that under the circumstances she has achieved so much. What *is* a pertinent criticism, and a bitter disappointment is that she should yet be so far from having achieved a classless society.

The Next War: New Horrors

The next war (and short of a miracle there will be a next war) will be inconceivably horrible. In an editorial note, *The Catholic World* gives a foretaste of these new horrors from *Hitler's Wings of Death*, 'a most devastating little volume' by Otto Lehmann-Russbueldt:

Disarmament in the usual sense of the limitation or abolition of arms and ammunition has become futile even if, by a miracle, it could be achieved. The munitions-makers are no longer Public Enemy No. 1. Their place has been taken by the chemists. Even as far back as the World War it became evident that infantry and artillery were doomed to become as obsolete as cavalry. In 1925, a major in the German army, Soldan by name, could speak of the "fiasco" of armies and the "fiasco" of war-methods used as late as 1918. "Gas" was the new word, "a terribly effective gas." In 1928, there occurred in the city of Hamburg what Herr Lehmann-Russbueldt calls "the notorious phosgene catastrophe," so horrible an explosion that the details of it were hushed up and are not known to this day. But now in 1936 phosgene itself is *passe*. The newest and latest scientific invention is a liquid. All that an enemy needs is an airplane or even a baloon with enough lifting power to carry a few carboys of the new invention, which, dropped like rain upon a city, will destroy every mortal whose person or whose clothes it touches.

Wherever and however he got it, the author produces a letter from Hitler dated Berlin, May 17, 1933, to a firm of chemists engaged in experiments with this new implement of horror. It contains a bacillus which breeds a culture. The chemists are commanded to keep the formula strictly secret and not to "make the culture plates yourself nor breed the germs upon them [illegible] might easily attract the notice of the [illegible] educated members of your staff." Our author [illegible] the liquid to contain a bacillus like the [illegible] *prodigiosus* known in 1911 but perfected and [illegible] by a new ingredient that makes it more [illegible] use and more deadly in effect. This new [illegible] "rained down from an aeroplane flying at various [illegible] between 5,000 and 1,000 metres, culture plates [illegible] been placed in suitable positions upon the [illegible] below. The culture plates were then taken to [illegible] that the results of the experiments might be [illegible] exactly discovered. . . . . An extract from a [illegible] randum consists of a long disquisition upon the [illegible] of drops of liquid falling through the air, [illegible] a number of mathematical calculations and [illegible] But the beginning of the extract runs: '*As regards experiments with the bacilli, the undersigned [illegible] to know that, in accordance with his advice, [illegible] periments have already been made and [illegible] encouraging results.*'"

Mussolini and the Workers

One of the striking features of Fascist [illegible] paganda is the insistence of Mussolini [illegible] followers that they are for the workers. [illegible] claim that their programme is designed [illegible] more for the workers than can socialism [illegible] communism. Mussolini in his speeches [illegible] of repeating that Italy is both "proletarian [illegible] Fascist" and that other countries are [illegible] by "plutocratic egoism"—the twe[illegible] century, he has declared, is to be "that of [illegible] power and glory of labour."

Writing in *The New Republic*, Paul [illegible] Douglas examines at length the reality [illegible] behind such words. The author remind[illegible] readers how Mussolini came to enjoy [illegible] through the support of the big capitalists [illegible] thought the revolution was just around [illegible] corner and wanted someone to destroy [illegible] workers' unions: Mussolini well served [illegible] purpose, and won the support of the big [illegible] lords by using violence against those who [illegible] trying to redistribute the land among [illegible] peasants.

Many Fascists, the author points [illegible] privately admit this, but claim that Fascism [illegible] no more an agent of reactionary capital[illegible] it is now 'above classes,' and governs for [illegible] good of the nation as a whole. All this [illegible] meaningless in face of the fact that

Mussolini has never made the slightest effort to [illegible] the extraordinary inequality in the ownership of [illegible] that characterizes Italy; rather, he has increased [illegible] us consider first the case of agriculture. There [illegible] 8,100,000 workers on the 65,000,000 acres, of which [illegible] 3,000,000 are either proprietors or members of the [illegible] diate family; an approximately equal number are [illegible] landless farm laborers; while perhaps 2,000,000 [illegible] ants. The 17,500 holdings that range between [illegible] 1,250 acres and that include a total of 8,700,000 [illegible]

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Dear Reader

The Modern Review is now going on in its thirtieth year. From the very start we had an ideal before us of cultural service and of a high standard of excellence. What success we have attained the opinions overleaf will show. We have always tried to give full value, and as such our catering has been over a wide range of Cultural, Economic and Political subjects.

We believe now **The Modern Review** *is an institution in India. Abroad it is regarded as the one paper that carries a true index of Indian Progress, Culturally, Economically and Politically speaking.*

But we feel now that wide as our scope is, we have to widen it further still. The world has moved considerably during the last decade, and, the centre of gravity of world politics having shifted to the East, India is no longer isolated.

That a world crisis is imminent is felt on all sides and we feel that it is essential that we bring our readers—who constitute a very influential group in India—closer in touch with world events. In order to do this we have to enlarge our scope very considerably at an enormous increase of cost and labour. We have made a beginning, as must be apparent, but we have a long considerable distance to cover yet.

Frankly the programme before us far exceeds our present budget limits but we have great faith in the support and sympathy of our friends the readers, and we hope, **Dear Reader,** *you will accord us the support we request from you.*

All that is required is that, out of your numerous friends, you ask one or two to join the list of our constituents. You will thereby receive more than full value, and considerably help us in our task. We hope you will oblige us without any obligation on your part beyond obtaining the consent of your friends, prior to sending us their names.

The Editor and Staff of the Modern Review.

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"The dance of Spring on the swollen stream." "Clearing after rain on an Autumn plain." "A mountain ramble in summer rain." "A guest arriving at the gate at twilight." "A fishing boat on a misty stream."

Contrast these with Constable's "Valley Farm," Claude's romantic ruins, Reubens's rich abundant fields, or Titian's voluptuous living pastures. In these the joy is in the things themselves, not in the mood they bring.

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Dr. Nicholas Roerich, the world-famous Artist, Explorer and Orientalist, says :

DEAR MR. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE.

Having returned after an almost two years' expedition in Central Asia, I was again glad to see in my library the excellent magazine under your enlightened editorship. Please accept my heartiest congratulations and best wishes..

November 8, 1935. (Sd.) N. ROERICH

The opinion of the late **Lala Lajpat Rai,** as expressed in an address to the Hindusthanee Students of U. S. A.

I would advise every Indian student to reserve three hours a week at least to the study of Indian literature or literature relating to India. This does not include newspapers. Every Indian student in this country should read the Modern Review (Calcutta), and it should be the business of the different chapters of the Hindustanee Students' Association to supply it to the members.

Sir Michael Sadler, *Vice-Chancellor, Leeds University,* wrote to the Editor :

If it is not unbecoming, I should like to congratulate you on the Modern Review and not least on the Editorial Notes. The Review is one of the "live' periodicals of the world.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika says :

The "Modern Review" as a monthly periodical has established an unrivalled reputation in India and has already taken a foremost place as a vehicle of the Indian cultural renaissance. The fact that it is classed as one of the world's best eight journals in the English language entitles it to be recognized as a cultural asset of immense value.

The Leader of Allahabad says :

Of all Indian periodicals The "Modern Review" easily holds pride of place.

Commerce, Feb. 29, '36 says :

The Modern Review, February, 1936, Calcutta.

Like good wine, this foremost monthly Journal of India, edited by the Veteran Journalist Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, needs no bush. The February issue maintains the high standard hitherto associated with the publication. . . . .

The Sind Observer says :

With the January, 1936, number of The "Modern Review" (Calcutta) opens the 59th volume (half yearly) of that splendid magazine which mirrors the culture of India, specially of Bengal, and gives a bird's eye view of the progress of the world from month to month. The magazine under the able editorship of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has come to the forefront in the journalistic world on account of the wide scope it covers in the field of art, literature and politics.

Dr. J. T. Sunderland of New York, than whom there is no greater friend of India in the West, says :

I have long had in mind sending you [the Editor] some brief words expressing my high appreciation of the monthly magazine which for so many years you have edited and published. It is a constant wonder to me on account of the breadth and wealth of its contents, covering as it does, and with such intelligence, the wide fields of politics, history, literature, art, education, economics, industries, social reform and religious reform. I speak with care when I say, that we do not have in America, nor is there in England, any monthly review that covers so wide a field, and does it with such accuracy of scholarship and at the same time so interestingly.

I regard *The Modern Review* as not only an invaluable asset to India; but as a messenger to the outside world, the importance of which increases with every year of its publication.

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limitation or abolition of arms and ammunition has become futile even if, by a miracle, it could be achieved. The munitions-makers are no longer Public Enemy No. 1. Their place has been taken by the chemists. Even as far back as the World War it became evident that infantry and artillery were doomed to become as obsolete as cavalry. In 1925, a major in the German army, Soldan by name, could speak of the "fiasco" of armies and the "fiasco" of war-methods used as late as 1918. "Gas" was the new word, "a terribly effective gas." In 1928, there occurred in the city of Hamburg what Herr Lehmann-Russbueldt calls "the notorious phosgene catastrophe," so horrible an explosion that the details of it were hushed up and are not known to this day. But now in 1936 phosgene itself is *passe*. The newest and latest scientific invention is a liquid. All that an enemy needs is an airplane or even a baloon with enough lifting power to carry a few carboys of the new invention, which, dropped like rain upon a city, will destroy every mortal whose person or whose clothes it touches.

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ate that 35 per cent of the agricultural land is com-
sed in one-half of one per cent of the holdings. In
ntrast to these large estates are the 900,000 "farms"
less than an acre and a quarter in size and the 600,000
re that are between this figure and two and a half
res. Therefore, these 1,500,000 petty peasants, or about
ree-eighths of the total number of proprietors and
nants, are each cultivating less than two and a half
res and are trying to get their living from only about
ve per cent of the soil. Nearly a third of this number,
almost half a million, are in turn tenants rather than
prietors and must surrender around one-third of their
l crop to the landlord for rent.

As to the plight of the three million agricul-
ral labourers, the author bases his remarks on
recent study by Dr. Paola Arcari. An ardent
scist as Dr. Arcari is,

r results nevertheless indicate that the farm
orers raised their real wages by nearly 50 per cent
tween 1914 and 1922, the gains being made in the
riod of agrarian agitation. After eleven years of
scist rule, wages were, however, ten per cent less
n in 1922.

The record is much the same in urban industry.
e large industries are under the tight control of a
atively limited number and the big capitalists are still
werful in the Fascist Party.

Turning to the burden and incidence of
xation the author observes :

Fascism, it is true, inherited a bad and regressive
stem of taxation.

But Mussolini has made this system worse rather than
tter. He greatly reduced the inheritance taxes on the
g estates and with some modifications has maintained
avy indirect levies. Thus, of the $1,500,000,000 that
e national government raised by taxes in 1933-34 no
s than $660,000,000, or 44 per cent of the total, was
rived from taxes and tariffs on such commodities as
gar, benzene, coffee, etc., and the profits of the tobacco,
lt and match monopolies. This, of course, is regressive
xation of the worst type.

If we allow for certain other taxes that are regres-
ve in nature, it seems probable that from 60 to 65 per
nt of the national revenues are provided by the hard-
essed masses. Furthermore, nearly half the local
venue of the cities is derived from taxes on consump-
on, usually about ten per cent of the sale price. That
n wine, a conventional necessity to the Italian work-
an, is about 20 per cent.

Nor is this all. Whereas the previous regime gave
unties upon wheat in order to reduce the price of
read to the poor, Mussolini, by means of high tariffs
nd import prohibitions, has forced the wholesale price
p to around $2.70 a bushel, or to about three times its
rice in the Liverpool market.

The author concludes by observing that on
the whole Fascism has injured rather than
helped labour :

It has stripped the workers of their main defenses,
such as the independent unions, the right to strike, and
most of the cooperatives, and has put them into the hands
of a party that in its composition is primarily middle
and upper class, and is even more so in its direction.
. . . . The condition of the workers is indeed one of
the most vital weaknesses in the regime. It will not
threaten Mussolini unless a severe crisis develops, since
he has the weapons of intimidation and of publicity. But
if severe military or economic reverses are suffered by
Italy, it is likely to cause trouble for those who now hold
power.

Chinese Art

In the course of a review of the International Chinese Art Exhibition, L. A. MacMunn observes in *The Month* :

To the modern world, with its revolt against a purely representational idea of art, the treasures of China are like waters on a thirsty land; they make clear its contention that art represents thought, not things, that the business of an artist is not with the plant, but with the life of the plant, not with the form, but with the life of the form, or as Hsieh Ho in the sixth century A.D. put it, in his Six Canons of Art : "The life movement of the spirit through the rhythm of things."

The studio is often suspicious of philosophy, fears literature, and believes in original impulse. But we cannot any of us do away with the results of thought and its reaction in all our energies. We have only to compare the East with the West as each reveals itself in art. There is a dreaming Lohan in the British Museum, found in a cavern of the mountains in Chihli, Northern China which reflects in a superb manner the result of Buddhist thought—the utter stillness, the smile of achieved ecstasy, the remoteness which withdraws the soul from the theatre of life, could not be more eloquently expressed. And with that withdrawal what a change of values for the world of Art ! Contrast it, for the moment, with a Western master-piece of equal impressiveness; take, for instance, the great figure of God creating Adam, at the north door of Chartres Cathedral. Heaven comes down to earth in this sculpture, the hand of God is laid lovingly upon his creature, whose countenance though lofty is yet that of the Psalmist's "Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him ?" The Psalmist has looked at "the moon and the stars" and seen the greatness of the Universe, and his reaction is wonder that so great a Creator can be, and *certainly is*, regardful of so small a thing; whereas the thought of the Buddhist when realizing his smallness is to escape from weakness and futility into the great all-absorbing Whole, the only way in which man, ignorant of his Source and Destiny in God, can find rest.

Regarding the Chinese landscape and its painters the author observes :

It (the Chinese landscape) reflects man's effort to escape from the demands of this world, as the European landscape expresses man's love of the soil on which his foot is planted. The very titles of Chinese paintings as suggested by Kuo-Hsi, remove us from the world of representation and topography :

"The dance of Spring on the swollen stream." "Clearing after rain on an Autumn plain." "A mountain ramble in summer rain." "A guest arriving at the gate at twilight." "A fishing boat on a misty stream."

Contrast these with Constable's "Valley Farm," Claude's romantic ruins, Reubens's rich abundant fields, or Titian's voluptuous living pastures. In these the joy is in the things themselves, not in the mood they bring.

The landscape painter in China is he "Who walks alone in contemplation's ways," "the happy man who dwells apart." He feels the breath of the "ancient wind" and knows eternity and "how gray and senseless is the bloom of mortal life." For him the world is only a dreaming place and of his dreams he makes his landscapes; the thought is

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to him the reality, which, not the appearance, will help him gain the centre. He will not then work until the mood is with him, he must find the environment that suits his spirit and that sets his emotion free. This attained, he must wait with his hand poised till the Soul reveals to him the notes he must strike—he is more closely allied to a musician with his hand ready to sweep the lyre than the Western artist with his clumsier equipment, and when he finds his chord and strikes it, it is nearer to a vision than we could ever believe a painting could be.

Contemporary Art in Bali

One never asks in Bali the name of the creator of a work of art: the vocabulary of the Balinese language, points out Martin Birnbaum in the *Asia*, contains no equivalent for the words 'art' and 'artist.' No one seems to care who made it, for

almost everybody is an artist in Bali, where life is still a communal artistic festival, and boys who can carve life-sized temple guardians from the living rock without a drawing to guide them are not honoured as they would be in Europe, any more than those maidens who make particularly good votive offerings to the rice goddess from palm leaves, or those who can arrange orchids, mangosteens and sweet-smelling frangipani blossoms in wonderful pyramids before the altars of the divine destroyer Siva.

Here art is simple and harmoniously blended with religion and nature. The man you see working with his buffalo, knee-deep in the mud of a rice *sawah*, may be a sculptor and a good draughtsman, a weaver of beautiful stuffs, a remarkable dancer, a good musician, a carver of masks or a fine penman.

The author gives some interesting points about sculpture and drawing as practised by the Balinese today:

Since the soft stone decorations cannot resist percolating waters and the wear and tear of age, the villagers erect even more elaborate structures when nature threatens to efface old buildings. Some of the most imposing temples are of recent date. Everywhere you will come upon men and boys carving decorative stone figures to embellish the sacred grounds, balustrades of *nagas* or elephants, richly ornamented "split" entrance gates, low reliefs on wood to serve as doorways for shrines and spouts to convey water to the holy bathing pools. The volcanic tufa is so soft that only simple tools are needed. Formerly they carved many statues of deified kings and royal personages who were regarded as incarnations of the gods. Now the work is more purely decorative, and imaginary animal forms like harpies and the sphinx are created. Occasionally, as in the sacred grove at Sangeh, one comes upon an avenue of realistic stone statues of crouching men and boys, holding jars and laughing—each squatting figure like the portrait of a genial Balinese. While the men hew stones, the artistic womenfolk are making the votive offerings and lamaks without which no altar is complete.

Stories from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* with variations of existing temple motifs are the material which usually engage the talents of these men, but the "Praying Native," vigorously carved from the gnarled root of a tree, and the more exquisite "Arjuna Preventing the Suicide of the Princess," show the range of subject-matter. Sweet-smelling sandalwood, ebony—highly prized for kris handles—are not available by the artists, but when these are not available they utilize cocoanut shells or other cheap material. In one village I found a dozen boys carving horses on old buffalo bones which they found in the fields. The action of the figures—Legong dancers with scarfs, seated divinities, the climbing monkey Hanuman—was always cleverly determined by the shape of the raw material.

Happily many of the artists devote themselves entirely to existing motifs. They make pictures of guiding ducks along the lanes, fishermen catching excited crowds at a cockfight, the mad frenzy of the dancers, teachers with their diminutive dancing pupils, venders of pottery in the busy markets, the gamelan players and all the infinite artistic activity of this paradise. Even modern European inventions are neglected. Old wall panels, showing episodes from the *Ramayana*, are often replaced by carved airplanes, motor cars framed in gay Balinese arabesques.

The most interesting thing, perhaps, about the art, is that it is a vital part of the social structure and in a measure shows along what lines the art of India might have developed, had it remained charged only with the ancient Hindu religion, free from Islamic and other cultural influences. How long Balinese art will last so amazingly no one knows.

Teaching Illiterates

In an instructive article contributed to the *International Review of Missions*, Dr. Frank Laubach relates his experiences in teaching illiterates in the Philippines through his "method," an invention to teach illiterate men and women to read and write their own language in a short space of time. His experience will be found useful to social workers in all lands:

At first we taught our pupils in classes, but we soon learned that individual teaching was more effective as it compelled our student to talk every moment.

A literacy campaign needs constant stimulus and endless variety. Illiterate people are timid and sensitive about revealing their ignorance; motives must be very strong enough to overcome their inhibitions. We offered pins for those who could read. We gave large diplomas to the homes which had become wholly literate. We painted red and yellow tin signs which we nailed on the houses of fully literate families. We set up a 'thermometer,' on which we showed how many people had learned to read each month.

In every town of Lanao Province we organized 'societies of educated youth,' which were fired with the desire to help their people and became a part of the volunteer army of those who travelled from house to house trying to teach men, women and children to read and write. These societies have become the principal social service organizations of the province, working for better water supplies, much-needed sanitary improvements, utilization of the magnificent water-power for electricity, introduction of better seeds and more modern agricultural methods, and twenty other types of social service. The women found that reading could be learned easily and that it opened up to them a new world of delight, and to-day at least as many women as men are learning each month.

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A press and a periodical are indispensable at the inning of a literacy campaign in any language which es not already possess the proper printed material and ed periodical. People emerging from illiteracy read ir paper far more carefully than educated people do, ause it is likely to be the only printed matter in the use—or in the town. One planter told me that he lieved the first copy of our paper was read in his ges a thousand times.

During the Philippine tours we organized three types campaign. The first was carried on by one or more rches, with the double aim of making the community rate and of using the campaign to open doors to the pel message.

The second type of campaign was carried on through public or private schools. . . . . We taught ut ten of the brightest pupils how to the charts. The entire school was then divided up ong these trained students, who had the responsibility training the others how to teach. Or in some case had each pupil who learned the method teach one er how to teach until the entire school had learned.

The third type of campaign was organized by icipal officials, who co-opted private individuals as l as employees to conduct the campaigns. A large of the municipality was placed in the town hall gold stars marked houses which were fully literate. e goal of the campaign was not reached until every uses had its gold star.

Two features make this key method distinctive: we ch only one student at a time; and as soon as he can d we set him to teaching others. This serves a double pose: it fixes what he has learned in his own memory d it utilizes volunteer service and speeds up the mpaign.

The Beggar Problem in China

The People's Tribune editorially discusses he beggar problem in China and its possible emedies. As the problem awaits an adeuate solution in India also, the discussion may e of some use:

If the beggar nuisance is to be abated, official action some sort is necessary. At the moment official action not proving efficacious. In the Settlement it consists the police periodically rounding up the worst cases, nsporting them wholesale to the borders, and dumping em into Chinese territory, whence they slowly work eir way back again! This, apart from its fundamental tility, can hardly be regarded as courteous. In the hinese municipalities the beggar is mainly the concern charitable organizations, who with police permission om time to time gather up the more deformed and seased and incarcerate them in homes.

This latter is probably a better attempt at a solution han the Settlement's, but it can hardly be called satisactory. At the root of the beggar problem lies the tal weakness that there is no legal method of dealing with it. Begging in China is not an offence punishable by the Courts. The police, in attempting to deal with , have to act arbitrarily and to assume powers they do ot in law possess. Though it may be done in the name charity, the apprehension of the Nantao beggar and his detention in a home, merely with police sanction, amounts to imprisonment without trial, just as the Settlement practice of forcible deportation amounts to assault. Both are extra-legal, if not illegal, actions, and as such are to be viewed with distrust.

To allow the police greater powers of summary treatment would obviously be undesirable. More support for the efforts of charitable bodies might help, were it not for the fact that the average beggar is not so much a case for charity as for penal reform. Voluntary effort in any case can only touch the fringe of the problem. No doubt it is possible to argue that the root of the evil lies in the extreme poverty in which great masses of the population live, and that, with a general raising of the standard of living and a more even distribution of wealth, the beggar would disappear—the objective, it may be affirmed, should be, not the elimination of the beggar, but the abolition of poverty. Of the genuine pauper this might be true, but it certainly is not of the "incorrigible rogue" who is our present problem. In my case, such a long view is no help for the present, and it is the present we are concerned with.

What is needed now, in fact, if begging is to be, if not stamped out, at least reduced to a decent minimum, is a legal deterrent. Punishment, sure, inevitable, certain and fixed should await any beggar the moment he showed himself, while especially severe penalties should be reserved for the "patrons," any in fact who were found to be living either directly or indirectly on the earings of beggar satellites.

Age of Abundance

The *World Order* writes editorially:

The two most important goals immediately confronting humanity are the abolition of war and the establishment of universal economic security. It is clear that the second goal is predicated upon the first, for there can be no world prosperity so long as war and fears of war usurp the major energies of human beings.

But even were the paralyses of civilization due to wars and the fears of war, to cease, there would still confront humanity the major problem of organizing its resources, both natural and human, so as to assure not only a livelihood but a comfortable level of living to every individual. This is a goal worthy of enlisting the highest intellectual and moral energies of every thinking man and woman. And it is in a certain degree intimately connected with the problem of universal peace, in that there plainly can be no plan for world peace which does not provide practical and peaceful means of satisfaction for the economic needs and wants of every nation and people.

Those countries advanced in the arts of modern civilization already point the way toward the potentiality if not the practical possibility of creating an economic system which would assure abundance to every individual. We have an abundance of natural resources awaiting scientific cultivation and exploitation; we have a surplus of labour; and we have an excess of natural wants and desires of the consuming public over any level of industrial production yet attained. If by some magic alembic we can bring these three factors into functional unity, we can thereby create an Age of Abundance.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

What Should We Rely On

The April issue of the *Visva-Bharati News* appears with this message of Rabindranath Tagore in which he advises his countrymen to place their reliance on justice and suffering and sacrifice :

So I would repeatedly caution my countrymen : "What is it that you rely on when you venture to claim ? Your physical strength ?—that you have not. The loudness of your voice ?—that is not so penetrating as you imagine. Some great Englishman behind you ?—where, oh where is he! But if you have Justice on your side, place on that your whole reliance. None can deprive you of the right to suffer. The glory of sacrificing yourself for the truth, for the right, for the good of your fellowmen awaits you at the end of the arduous road. If boons you deserve, you will get them from the Dweller within."

—

What Shall We Read

Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma raises his voice of protest against having our reading determined solely by what is being read and discussed in England at a particular time. We have not merely to read the books written by Indian writers, but also to buy those books. Says he in *The Twentieth Century* :

Recently the Prabasi Press published two books *Eminent Americans Whom Indians Should Know* and *Evolution and Religion* by Dr. J. T. Sunderland. It is true these books are by an American, but the Doctor is as much interested in the welfare of Indiians as anyone of us. He is one of those men who has not only tried to serve India throughout his long life, but has also suffered and fought for it. But I wonder if many educated Indians have cared to read these books, which are full of priceless lessons for us. In the same way, I am not sure if many Indians have cared to read Dr. Beni Pershad's *Democratic Process*. The publishers of this book confessed to me rather sadly that the book had had better sales outside India than in this country. I have singled out these instances at random. There are many eminent Indians writing at present on all kinds of subjects, and their books compare favourably with the best books of the type produced elsewhere, but I am not sure if the educated men in India ever bother about them. How can they, when they are bent upon devoting all their leisure to cheap fiction and wish to invest a considerable part of their savings in trashy novels ?

It should not, however, be thought that these are the only books by Indian writers in English that deserve our attention. It will be idle to take the readers of this journal very far back, so I will be content with referring only to the works of men of established reputation not only in India, but also abroad; I mean poets like Tagore, Mrs. Naidu, Sri Aurobindo and Sir Mohd. Iqbal, philosophers like Radhakrishnan, and politicians like Mahatma G... But there is no harm in drawing the attention ... readers to other writers who have done memorable ... in the various departments of literature, History, Philosophy, Politics and Arts. One note of caution ... however, be sounded here. The list of authors mentioned ... is in no way exhaustive, for the sole determining ... in getting together these names is the memory of ... writer—a memory which has never been known to ... either very strong or extremely ready. So the omissions ... unfortunate as they might be, should not rankle in ... one's mind. I wonder how many of us are familiar ... the poetry of the late Prof. Manomohan Ghose ... besides his sensitiveness to beauty, was the master of ... incomparable diction.. Nor is the work of Prof. Sri ... less worthy of note in this direction. He has a ... of the sonnet which is enviable and he has shown ... command of simple diction. In the realm of fiction ... cannot but admire the work of Mr. K. S. Venkataramani ... the author of *Murugan, The Tiller* who has ... such fine studies of character and such intimate pictures ... the life in the south of India. Santa and Sita Chatterji ... short stories are always readable, for they ... such vivid impressions of the life around them. ... Mulak Raj Anand's novel dealing with the life of Hindus ... is full of topical interest and his books on the ... Poetry and Philosophy of India make very stimulating ... reading. The pen-portraits of the eminent persons of ... day as given by Mr. G. S. Raghavan will be a source ... great stimulus to the readers of the history of contemporary India while the essays by Mr. Iswara Dutt ... hope the readers will excuse me for this reference to ... Editor of the journal for which I have written ... article) which are in the best tradition of the ... will be a source of genuine pleasure. Thoughtful ... of India's problems, social, religious and metaphysical ... by that eminent savant, Dr. Bhagawan Das are always ... of interest while the writings of Mr. Subhas Chandra ... and Dr. Pattabhi afford plenty of food for ... Sir P. C. Ray's autobiography is a mine of information ... and the writings of Major Basu throw a flood of light ... historical, economic and sociological aspects of the ... British rule in India. Prof. Siddhanta's study of ... heroic age in ancient Indian history is illuminating ... Prof. A. N. Jha's essays in literary criticism are ... able for their lucidity and critical insight. There are ... many other writers like Sir Jadunath Sirkar and ... Benoy Kumar Sarkar whose studies of Indian history ... economics have proved extremely valuable, but the ... pity is that most of these writers are generally ... to or neglected by their own countrymen.

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Rural Health Organization in Bengal

G. L. Batra, Asst. Director of Public Health, Bengal, writes in the *Journal of the Indian Medical Association*, on the rural health organization in Bengal :

A few years ago, the late Mr. C. R. Das, the ... national leader of Bengal, introduced into the ...

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Legislative Council the question of public health and the organisation that was essential to work it successfully. Adopting the broad outlines of his scheme, the Government of Bengal initiated in the year 1927 the current Rural Public Health Organisation based on the smallest registration unit of area, called a *thana* in the vernacular. Every such *thana* unit, aggregating nearly 600 in number excluding those located in municipal town, has been constituted into a health circle staffed by a non-medical sanitary inspector (only a few by assistant medical health officer), a health assistant and a carrier servant, at a maximum aggregate annual cost of Rs. 2,000 for each circle. The entire recurring expenditure (Rs. 1,200,000) is borne by the Government of Bengal from provincial revenues, subject to the single condition that the district boards shall not reduce their own previous average rate of expenditure on public health.

The new organization is controlled directly by district boards, all of whom employ District Health Officers. The primary aim of this organization is the prevention of disease—securing information of the health conditions of the circles and taking immediate action to prevent outbreak of, and to control the spread of, epidemic disease. The several duties and functions of the rural Sanitary Inspectors are regulated by statutory rules. Their endeavours are by personal influence, by health talks, by simple demonstrations and lectures to bring to the homes of the villagers some knowledge of the elements of hygiene and sanitations.

In order that the public health circles may have the support of public opinion, Public Health Committees have been formed locally.

It was cholera of all problems which had the most dramatic effect on the people. The people were at first cold and indifferent to this new method of campaign. They could understand the importance of treatment, and would gladly avail themselves of the services of doctors, but the significance of preventive measures was quite unknown to them, and they would take little or no interest in preventive measures which to them were quite meaningless.

The constant movement among them of the Health Officers and the Sanitary Inspectors, the instructions about the gospel of the laws of health, helped occasionally by lectures and magic lantern demonstrations and exhibitions worked like a miracle. The frequent campaign carried out for them against cholera with success by these young enthusiasts seerved as so many object lessons.

The efforts of the health staff created a health consciousness among the mass. The reporting of cholera and smallpox improved and the ever-increasing demand for anti-cholera inoculation *e.g.* by the Puri Rath Jatra pilgrims and the Sagar Mela pilgrims, is the direct result of the propaganda work carried out by the health staff.

The Sanitary Inspectors have taken up the malaria question as well. They have recorded splenic indices of villages and distributed quinine to malaria patients. Intensive quinine distribution has been taken in five *thanas* of Bengal with a special grant from the local Government.

The main object of the organization is control of epidemic diseases in Bengal. From what has been said it will be evident that the cholera and smallpox epidemic outbreaks are at present well controlled.

Is Enforced Widowhood the *only* Cause of the Slower Growth of the Bengalee Hindus

Lt. Col. U. N. Mukherjea first raised the question years ago, whether the Bengalee Hindus were a dying race; to this Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar replied that they as a race, were not dying, but because they lived in malarious regions their rate of growth was smaller. Jatindra Mohan Datta, writing under the above heading in the *Population*, the journal of the International Union of Associations for the Scientific Study of Population Problems, approaches the question in a scientific spirit. *The Hindu Review* reproduces the article :

The Swedish Statistician Sundbarg in an address before the International Statistical Institute in 1899 pointed out that in all western countries the number of persons aged '15-50' is uniformly about half the total population and that any variations which occur in the constitution take place in the other main groups—'10-15' and '50 *and over*.' Where the population is growing, the number in the former group is much greater than the latter; but where it is stationary the members in the two groups approach equality. The mortality in these two groups, he says, is far greater than in the intermediate one, but it is about the same in both cases. Consequently variations in their relative size do not affect the total mortality, which is thus independent of the age-distribution.

Sundbarg divided populations into *three* types :—Progressive, Stationary and Regressive.

Sundbarg's observations that the age-group '15-50' contains about half the total population holds good in the case of India.

The Hindus of Bengal fall in the Stationary category of Sundbarg while the Muhammadans may be said to fall in the Progressive category.

Ordinarily the proportion of children shows whether the community is progressive or not, while that of old persons is some guide to its longevity; and where the proportion of persons in the prime of life is relatively high, a comparatively rapid growth of population in the immediate future may confidently be anticipated. The proportion of persons in the prime of life *i.e.* in the age-category '15-50' is higher amongst the Hindus than amongst the Muhammadans; but the growth of the Bengal Hindus has always been slower than that of the Bengal Muhammadans during the last 60 years. The following table showing the respective variations of the Hindus and the Muhammadans during each inter-censal period will be most instructive.

Percentage variation during each inter-censal period.

(+increase, —decrease).

	Muhammadans.	Hindus.
1881-1891	.. + 9.7	+5.0
1891-1901	.. + 8.8	+6.2
1901-1911	.. +10.4	+3.9
1911-1921	.. + 5.2	—0.7
1921-1931	.. + 9.1	+6.7
Average variation during a decade.	.. + 8.6	+4.2

The relative excess in decennial increase over the Hindus is in favour of the Mumammadans; and it is (8.6—4.2) =4.4 per cent.

It will be seen that the Hindus have increased, excepting for one decade; but their growth has been twice as slow as that of the Muhammadans, inspite of the proportion of prime men *i.e.*, those who are between 15 and 50 being 8 per cent. greater than that amongst the Muhammadans.

For this apparent anomaly in the relative growth of the two communities, two causes suggests them-

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selves :—(1) restriction of widow re-marriage amongst the Hindus, and (2) greater prevalence of malaria in those regions where the Hindus predominate.

The respective numbers of married females aged '15 to 40' *i.e.* of the reproductive age period per 100 females of all marital conditions, whether unmarried, married or widowed, and of all ages amongst the Hindus and the Muhammadans are shown below :—

	1911	1921	1931
Muslim ..	35	36	37
Hindu ..	32	33	34
Excess of married females amongst Muslims over Hindus	3	3	3

The relative excess of married females amounting to some 3 per cent thus mainly accounts for the relative excess in the decennial increase among the Muhammadans. If we add to it the effect of the greater proportion of females amongst the Muhammadans, we believe the two together fully and wholly accounts for the greater increase of the Muhammadans.

The proportion of females per 1,000 males among the two communities have been :—

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Muslim ..	988	977	968	949	945	936
Hindu ..	999	969	951	931	916	908

Excess (+) or defect (—) of females amongst Muslims in those years are —11, +8, +17, +18, +29, +28, respectively.

The average excess of females amongst the Muhammadans over the Hindus works out to 1.5 p.c. Thus, the excess of married females and the excess of females proportional to males account for 3 per cent+ 1.5 per cent=4.5 per cent of the greater increase, while the average greater increase is only 4.4 per cent. Any possible effect due to malaria thus seems to be of very little importance.

—

Jawaharlal Nehru

Under the title of *The Prophet of Young India* Krishnadeva Prasad Gaur gives in *The New Call* a short sketch of the life and work of the Pandit who is the hero of the hour :

On the 14th November, 1889 India saw the birth of this dynamic personality. He was brought up in English atmosphere, taught by European nurses in childhood. The services of Mr. F. T. Brooks, a theosophist, who later committed sucide, were called in afterwards, and for three years, he was the tutor of Mr. Jawahar Lal. In 1905, Pt. Motilal took him to England and got him admitted in the famous Public School of Harrow. In 1907, he entered the Cambridge University, where Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu, Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Mr. K. M. Khwaja and Justice Sir Shah Mahomed Suleiman were his contemporaries. In 1910 he graduated, taking a degree in zoology and came to London to sit for the I. C. S. It was fortunate for the country that he failed. He might have been a great officer, but the country has gained much more than what Civil Service lost. He joined law and was called to the bar in 1912 from the Inner Temple. When he returned to to India in 1912, he was an Englishman save in birth. In 1916, he was married with Kamala Kaul, whose recent death has pulnged India into gloom.

Jawaharlal Nehru for the first time attended the Congress in 1912 at Bankipore, and next year, he became a member of the Provincial Congress Committee. His view of politics was quite different. Political [illegible] were looked at then by lawyers and public men [illegible] as a recreation. When the South African agitation [illegible] he became a little more serious and when in 19[illegible] late Mrs. Besant founded the Home Rule Le[illegible] whole-heartedly worked for it. Pt. Motilal Nehru [illegible] up to that time not changed his political view[illegible] resented the extreme action of his son; but Jawahar [illegible] was one of those who never hesitated and always [illegible] 'well that's due.' This was a burning point and [illegible] father and son several times well nigh came to a [illegible]

Mahatma Gandhi proclaimed the Satyagraha mov[illegible] in 1919. Against the wishes of Pt. Motilal, Jawahar [illegible] Nehru signed the pledge. Jawahar Lal was also a me[illegible] of the Punjab Inquiry Committee under the chair[illegible] ship of Pt. Motilal. He also came in closer contact [illegible] Mahatma Gandhi and was soon converted to Ga[illegible] In 1920, he left law for good in which in reality he [illegible] never taken a keen interest.

People who saw him during the Oudh agrarian [illegible] tion during 1919—21 walking miles after miles [illegible] Dhoti stuck up in fields and spending the evenings [illegible] coarse food, were wonder-struck.

Jawahar Lal was now a staunch non-co-operator [illegible] was the right hand of M. Gandhi. He became [illegible] General Secretary of the Congress, worked for [illegible] nationalist daily *Independent*, and devoted all his [illegible] for the work of the country.

Then came the visit of the Prince of Wales. [illegible] Congress boycotted it. The Congress was declared [illegible] illegal body and he was put in prison but released [illegible] three months. The boycott of foreign cloth was carr[illegible] on with great energy and as everywhere Jawahar L[illegible] Nehru put his whole soul into the affair. He was ga[illegible] for a year and a half, but released after eight mo[illegible] in 1923.

His work as chairman of the Allahabad Munic[illegible] Board will ever remain remarkable in the history of [illegible] administration. In 1926, he had to leave the chairm[illegible] ship and go to Europe for the treatment of Kamala Ne[illegible] His visit to Europe and Russia made him a soci[illegible] through and through. While in Europe he participa[illegible] in the Brussels International Congress and was one of [illegible] five presidents.

He was elected president of the Lahore Cong[illegible] and there under his presidentship Mahatmaji moved [illegible] Independence Resolution. The salt satyagraha came [illegible] and Jawahar Lal Nehru was again arrested. After [illegible] release he again began the work. He was only [illegible] days outside jail. After the Gandhi-Irwin pact he w[illegible] released. He was never at rest and again in connec[illegible] with a speech delivered at Calcutta was sent to [illegible] and only recently released to see his wife in Switzerl[illegible]

He is socialist in politics and non-violent in relig[illegible] His gaol time is employed in writing books, where [illegible] subjective mood is peacefully visible. He has [illegible] three big and small volumes. His *Glimpses of the W[illegible]* *History* and *Letters from a Father to Daughter* [illegible] literery-cum-scientific treats with historical perspec[illegible] *Whither India* is a political philosophy with a [illegible] orientation.

—

President Masaryk

Professor Dr. Masaryk, the first Presid[illegible] of Czecho-Slovakia, has been styled as [illegible] philosopher king.' S. V. Ramanujam wr[illegible] about the philosopher President in [illegible] *Scholar* :

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Born at Hodonin in Moravia on the 7th of March, 1850, Masaryk is now 85 years of age. His father was a Moravian coachman and his mother of mixed Slovakian-German descent. Employed by a Vienna locksmith and then as a blacksmith in Moravia, he was enabled to continue his studies at Brno, at Vienna, where he graduated. In 1882 he became a professor at Prague University. In 1891, he was elected a member of the Austrian Reichstrath, but after two years he resigned to be again elected in 1907. Shortly after the Great War broke out, Masaryk escaped from Austria and worked unceasingly for his country. In 1915 he was appointed Professor of Slavonic studies in King's College, London. He was one of those mainly instrumental in winning recognition from the Allies for Czecho-slovakia.

Now he is one of Europe's oldest statesmen, the octogenarian and a virtual founder of the Czecho-slovak Republic. His service to Czecho-slovakians began as early as November, 1918, when he was elected life president for the Czecho-slovakian Republic.

In this connection, the history of the Moravian Empire which comprised of Czechs and Slovaks would be of some interest. When the Moravian Empire fell, the Czechs came under the domination of the Germans of Austria and the Slovaks under the Magyars of Hungary. Since then, the two races were working hard to regain their lost freedom. As a result of intensive agitation, they secured concessions for satisfying their national sentiments from Austria and Hungary respectively and secured separate representation on the legislature and used their power to the advantage of securing freedom for their state. In course of time, an ardent desire for unification of both the Slovakian peoples developed into a single nation with their own culture, custom and tradition.

This led to the formation of a representative and virile party called "Realist Party" which was mostly responsible for securing status to Czecho-slovakia as one of the powers in Europe. Dr. Masaryk was elected leader of this party in 1890, and with the help of his party he made history in the Central and South Eastern Europe. During the outbreak of the war he was recognized as the accredited leader of the Slavonic races.

Without him Czecho-slovakia's contemporary history would be entirely different. *The Times* aptly says, "By precept and example, he victoriously defended liberal causes, temporarily lost or continually endangered in Central Europe since the War. For eighteen years, he has been both the first Citizen of a free country and the chief guide and counsellor of its political progress and thanks above all to him, the democratic institutions of Czecho-slovakia have stood firm."

Unemployment and Psychology

In an article in *Science and Culture* Dr. S. C. Mitra puts forward a strong plea for the establishment of an institute for vocational guidance with trained psychologists :

The question from the academic standpoint is how to create a medium through which the pure knowledge derived from books and studies in the university may pass on and transform itself into practical knowledge in the service of the society. The solution of this problem lies in the formation of an organized institute of psychologists trained in the university whose primary duty would be to acquaint themselves with the actual problems of the day and to render expert advice and guidance to each particular case on the basis of intensive psychological examinations and properly conducted psychological tests. So numerous and varied are the problems that arise and so vast is the number of persons needing and seeking advice that it is impossible to meet the demands of the situation by individual efforts. An announcement, by no means an extensive one, to the effect that the Psychology Department of the Calcutta University will undertake the testing of boys and girls and advise guardians, brought such a large number of children, and adults too, not only from different parts of Calcutta but also from outside the City, that the whole staff had to remain overwhelmingly occupied for days together. In order to prevent the disruption of normal activities, the Head of the Department had to make immediate arrangements with the Carmichael Medical College for opening a psychological clinic at that Institution. Thanks to the authorities of that college who were alive to the necessities of the situation, the pressure of work on our Department has lessened to a certain extent.

The facts stated above pointedly draw our attention to the desirability of immediately starting a large scale organization for effectively meeting the present crisis.

Biological Interests of Children

Writing in the *S. P. C. I. Quarterly Magazine* on the very great interest shown by children in animal life Lt.-Col. Owen Berkeley-Hill makes the following observations :

It is interesting to observe how a writer of the distinction of Prof. G. H. Thomson, in his book, *Instinct, Intelligence and Character*, starts with the assumption that plants are preferable to animals as a medium for imparting 'sex' knowledge to small children, but omits to state on what grounds he bases this claim.

In a recent publication entitled *Intellectual Growth in Young Children*, the author, Mrs. Isaacs, records a series of observations carried out at the Malting House School at Cambridge, which must leave any impartial student of the subject with the conviction that an active, continuous and cumulative interest in animal and plant life—but particularly animal—develops easily and uninterruptedly out of the little child's first impulses of curiosity and pleasure in these things. Mrs. Isaac's observations clearly show that for little children, plants and flowers are, as it were, mere instruments of passive pleasure; animals, on the other hand, are active and adaptive creatures, which the child finds he can act upon or be moved by, much as in the case of human beings.

The customary view hitherto has been that 'sex' should not be taught to children under ten years of age because no interest in sex exists in children before that age. Mrs. Isaacs, however, has shown in a very convincing manner that the interest in 'sex' not only exists in very young children but is capable of a sane and healthy development from the age of four onwards.

Our problem is then to make a positive educational use of the child's impulses so that they shall be fertile in skill and imaginative understanding, and lead out of themselves to the word of objective knowledge and common human purpose.

But as Mrs. Isaacs reminds us, external necessity, no less than psychological need, shows at once that the mere negative demand is not enough, for although we can rfuse to let our children tease or hurt any animals with which they have to do, it may happen that we have to put a suffering animal out of its pain or destroy a family of kittens or mice so that we may not be overrun.

We must, then, let our children face—when it comes

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their way—the fact of animal death, as a fact of nature as well as of the necessities of human sustenance. There is, of course, no need to go out of our way to introduce them to it, or to focus their attention upon it. This would very probably be most unwise.

A Labour College in America

Dr. Sudhindra Bose of the State University of Iowa, U. S. A., writes in *Educational India* about a Labour College in America :

Located at Mena, in the beautiful Ozark hills of the State of Arkansas, there is a college for the students who are perplexed by the chaotic situation in which the world finds itself today, who want to know more about the economic and social problems of the time and who hope to find their bearings at the college. It is known as Commonwealth College. It is a non-sectarian and non-factionl institution, encouraging its students to co-operate wiih their fellows in those various economic, political and cultural activities which may be described as the labor movement. Commonwealth College is one of the most important labor colleges in the United States, and in its ways and purposes it is essentially different from the conventional institutions of higher learning.

To enter Commonwealth no formal qualifications are required of students, except they must have "alert interest in social problems confronting the countries of the world." Each applicant is considered on his own merits.

The curriculum of Commonwealth includes valuable courses of study in political economy, imperialism, labor organization, strike management, farm and co-operative organizations, current events, public speaking, dramatics, creative authorship and history.

Labor journalism, as taught at Commonwealth College, deserves special mention. The course begins with a study of the American press and proceeds to deal with the technique of news writing, editorial writing, feature writing, headline writing, and make up, the aim being to familiarize the young writer with the details of newspaper making. The College has a print shop where the students get out their paper called *Commonwealth College Fortnightly*.

There is a well-equipped library containing thousands of volumes, and dozens of periodicals and newspapers. Students have a ready access to all these.

Commonwealth believes in free and frank discussion of all economic, political and social ideas. Classes are informal and sometimes meet around the fire-places of the teachers' cottages.

The College is owned and controlled by the Commonwealth College Association. To be eligible for membership in this body one must have been at the College as a teacher or maintenance worker nine months, or as a student for ten months.

Commonwealth College occupies 320 acres, and has 24 buildings, including a guest house, an auditorium, and four hostels (called in America, "dormitories"). All these buildings were erected with student and teacher labor.

The work activities which Commonwealth carries on enable it to be self-supporting to a very large extent. Students and teachers work together in the fields, the kitchen, and laundry. They raise crops, vegetables, chickens and cattle. They cook, scrub and chop wood. They operate a cannery, a water system, and a small electric light plant. In short, they do all of the work that is done at the College. Virtually the only expense to the student is a nominal tuition fee.

Members of the Commonwealth group have demonstarted that they can learn and earn as they go along.

Birds that Helped to Win Wars

Ahimsa reproduces an article writ[illegible] Ewen K. Patterson in which he relates [illegible] wonderful exploits of the carrier pigeons [illegible] the Great War :

The great part that carrier pigeons have play[illegible] warfare constitutes one of the most impressive [illegible] in history. In many cases, these feathered mess[illegible] actually helped to win wars and thus were partly resp[illegible] ble in altering the destinies of nations.

One of the earliest and most striking cases in w[illegible] these birds helped to win a war occured over 362 [illegible] ago. In 1573-74 the city of Leyden, the capital of [illegible] Holland (Europe), was besieged by the Spanish [illegible] which gradually brought the defenders of the city and [illegible] inhabitants to a state of starvation. Matters became [illegible] serious in the city, that the defenders, believing [illegible] assistance would never come, decided to surrender to [illegible] Spaniards. But no sooner had this decision been reach[illegible] than a carrier pigeon was seen to arrive and [illegible] about the city. The bird was shot by one of the sol[illegible] really for food, but on picking up the dead bird he [illegible] covered that a message was tied to one of its legs. T[illegible] message intimated that the Prince of Orange was co[illegible] to the aid of the city with a strong army. As a resul[illegible] this message the besieged city held out until the arr[illegible] of the Prince whose army quickly routed the Spania[illegible] The pigeon that had delivered the fateful message [illegible] not forgotten; its body was recovered and stuffed, [illegible] to this day, carefully preserved in a glass case, it occu[illegible] a prominent place in the City Hall at Leyden.

At the famous Battle of Waterloo carrier pig[illegible] also rendered valuable service as messengers. In [illegible] South African War, which lasted from 1899 to 1902, [illegible] successful operations of the British troops were also [illegible] in no small measure to the pigeon service. A sim[illegible] service was adopted by both Japan and Russia in th[illegible] war which took place in the early part of this cent[illegible] and the feathered couriers proved of inestimable valu[illegible] both belligerents.

But it was during the Great War of 1914-1918 [illegible] the pigeons really distinguished themselves, and there [illegible] many thousands of soldiers who survived that war w[illegible] owe their lives to these birds. At the outbreak of [illegible] war, pigeons were not really thought of, as telepho[illegible] were chiefly used for sending messages. Later, howe[illegible] owing to the intense fire during battles it was fo[illegible] impracticable to depend upon telephonic communication [illegible] the wires were so often cut by bullets, and the danger [illegible] repairing them was so great. This led to pigeons bei[illegible] used for communication purposes, and the birds pro[illegible] of inestimable value.

At one time there were over 5,000 pigeons engag[illegible] in message work for the Allied troops, and just how su[illegible] cessful the birds were in this work may be gained fr[illegible] the fact that all told ninety per cent of them reac[illegible] their destinations with their messages. The remainder [illegible] the birds were shot down by the enemy. Often, howe[illegible] a bird survived after being shot, and although sadly [illegible] fluttered feebly to its destination with its valuable messa[illegible] A striking case in point occurred at the terrible battle [illegible] the Marne in 1915. A pigeon carrying a message w[illegible] struck by a German bullet which tore away most of [illegible] right leg. Despite its suffering the bird arrived at [illegible] destination. But no sooner had it delivered its messa[illegible] than it dropped dead. The message the bird ca[illegible] enabled the Allied troops to effectively repulse a Germ[illegible] attack.

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NOTES

Congress President's Unity Move

The Congress President's move for united action on questions on which there is agreement among the progressive nationalist elements of the country is greatly to be commended and such as was expected of a sincere, earnest, active and enthusiastic lover of freedom like him.

ALLAHABAD, April 23.

It is understood that Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru is in communication with Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other leaders in order to ascertain the maximum points of agreement between the various nationalist elements in the country with a view to formulating, if possible, a programme offering a common front, against imperialism. It is suggested that in spite of the militant programme outlined in his presidential address he believes in the possibility of co-operation between progressive elements, at least on questions which they all commonly feel as opposed to country's interests.

The non-party appeal issued yesterday for the observance of "Subhas Day" on May 10, it is considered, will be the first step towards inviting co-operation of other parties. It is understood that Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru is keen to organise a civil liberties union on non-party basis to defend the civil liberties of the people and work for the repeal of repressive laws.—*A. P.*

Bengal Whipping Act Receives Governor-General's Assent

The Bengal Whipping Act, 1936, which was passed by the last Budget session of the Bengal Legislative Council, has received the assent of the Governor-General. The Act which extends to the whole of Bengal, provides that: whoever—

(*a*) being a member of an assembly of two or more persons the common object of which is to commit an offence punishable under section 386 of the Indian Penal Code, abets, commits or attempts to commit such offence, or

(*b*) abets, commits or attempts to commit in respect of any female person any offence punishable under sections 366A, 366B, 367, 372 or 373 of the said Code;

may be punished with whipping in lieu of or in addition to any other punishment to which he may for such abetment, offence or attempt be liable under the said Code.

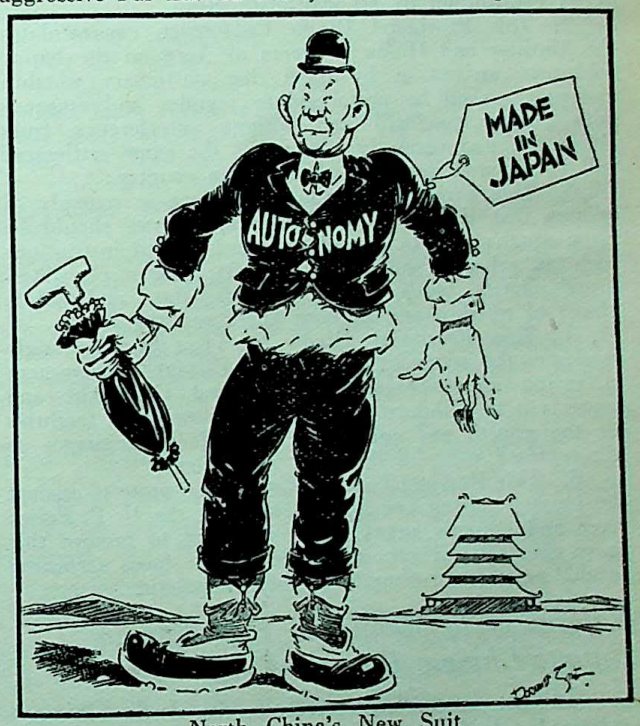
Such an Act is required for the whole of India—particularly for Sind, N.-W. F. Province, Panjab and the United Provinces, also.

A Japanese Estimate of Japanese and Russian Armaments

Moscow, (By Air Mail).

A pamphlet entitled, "Reminiscenes of the Russo-Japanese war: Determination of Our People" has been issued in Tokyo. The pamphlet contains a comparative estimate of Japanese and Russian armaments. It says:

"By the Japan-Manchukuo protocol our first line of defence has been advanced to the Soviet frontier. Across this frontier the heavily armed Far Eastern Red Army confronts our forces. Since the Russo-Japanese war the form of government in Russia has changed, but Russia's aggressive Far Eastern Policy remains unchanged . . . .



North China's New Suit

"It is understood that since 1932 Soviet Russia has spent about 1,600,000,000 yen (about 93,000,000 pounds) on the construction of defensive works at important parts of the Soviet-Manchukuo border. These defensive works called Tochitka are composed of small but strong forts

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50 to 100 yards apart and arranged in three-fold or four-fold lines. Their number is between 5,000 and 6,000. From the strategical point of view these forts are not only important for defence but form powerful bases for operation. Russia has been steadily fortifying Vladivostock, where 50 to 60 submarines are stationed. Our troops in Manchukuo are a little more than one-sixth of the number of Soviet forces in the Far East."—*United Press.*

Though this Japanese pamphlet is probably part of propaganda to persuade the people of Japan to agree to greater national expenditure for warlike preparations, the estimate given in it of Soviet preparations is perhaps not wide of the mark.

U. P. Hindu Conference Resolutions

At the session of the U. P. Provincial Hindu Conference held at Agra last month the following resolutions, among others, were passed :

1. (*a*) This Provincial Hindu Conference reaffirms its opinion that the Government of India Act is a highly unsatisfactory and retrograde measure and reiterates its condemnation of and opposition to the Communal "Award" which is detrimental to the interest of the country generally and is grossly unjust to Hindus especially and makes the growth of responsible Government in India impossible.

(*b*) This Provincial Hindu Conference calls upon Hindus in these provinces to carry on active agitation against the Communal "Award" until it is replaced by a nationatl system of representation and to strive for a better constitution by all legitimate means.

2. This Provincial Hindu Conference congratulates the Muslims and Hindu residents of Agra on the happy settlement arrived at by them that customary worship and prayer shall be performed in temples and mosques with mutual good-will and without interference from either side and earnestly hopes that the same settlement will be adopted generally all over the country.

3. This Provincial Hindu Conference is strongly of opinion that Hindus of all classes and castes should be given equal access to all public amenities and institutions such as schools, wells, tanks, ghats, places of water-supply, hotels, roads, parks, 'dharmashalas' and public places of worship and burning ghats and the like.

4. This Provincial Hindu Conference strongly condemns the action of the N.-W.F. Province Government in laying an embargo on Hindi and Gurmukhi and requests it to withdraw the ban and allow equal facilities for the growth and cultivation of all local languages as a recognized right of linguistic minorities

5. This Provincial Hindu Conference protests against the present glaring paucity of Hindus in the U. P. Police force and strongly urges the Government to remove this grave anomaly and appoint Hindus in the force according to the numerical strength of their population.

References to Manu and Evolution in Unique Chinese Document

In an important article on Indo-Chinese cultural relations, contributed to the November, 1935, number of *The Modern Review* by Professor Tan Yun-shan, dates were given relating to ancient Indian history which go against the accepted notions of Western scholars. But if what is stated in the paragraphs printed is correct, the Chinese Professor's dates be admitted to be not quite fanciful.

LONDON, (By Air Mail) The Darwinian theory of evolution was known accepted in China seven thousand years ago. Manu written in Vedic language about ten years ago were the basis of Chinese law at the same period. These far-reaching discoveries of Chinese civilization were made possible by a bomb, which blew off a part of the Chinese wall, years ago. Underneath the wall, deep down in was a canister, which contained the most manuscript laying bare the forgotten treasures of civilization.

The history of this manuscript is explained priest-author. Emperor Chin Ize Wang wanted known to posterity that all the achievements Chinese civilization were made during his reign made possible by his creative influence. So he ancient history books destroyed; other records period mentioning the past glory of China were burnt. It was the ingenuity of a priest-author period which made possible for us to know of the of civilization before the Emperor. He buried manuscript in a canister and explained in a manuscript the conditions under which it was written.

The manuscript, which was bought by Sir Fitz George, was duly brought to London and over to a group of Chinese experts headed by Anthony Graeme. After a long period of research translation, the secret of the manuscript is now for the public. Professor Graeme explained could not estimate the importance of the manuscript. "When I showed the first translations to Sir Budge of the British Museum," said Professor Graeme, "he said that the manuscript was of even greater than the Codex Sinaiticus. In the manuscript direct reference to the Laws of Manu, which were written in the Vedic language 10,000 years ago. in turn, refer to the theory Darwin put forward. book it says :

'From the plants, life passed into fantastic which were born of the slime of waters; then through series of different shapes and animals, it came to

"Further discoveries include the secret of long The Patriarchs lived to an incredible age. It believed that they lived on a secret diet. We find ence in the manuscript to the juice of the cypress which is to-day regarded as a 'tree of death'. tree is the longest living tree the world has ever and it is now believed that patriarchs lived largely its juice.

"There are Chinese who even to-day hold this At the present moment there is living in the province Szechwan, a Chinese named Li Chang Yun who years old and is still active. He has survived three wives and is now living with his twenty-fourth attributes his great age to the juices of cypresses and plants.

"We have also found—and—proved that in days there was a distinct relationship between the of India, America and China. We actually found ence to the ruined cities which have been found centre of the Peruvian forests."—*United Press.*

Bombay and Bengal Matriculation Candidates

According to *The Sind Observer*:

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A record number of about 23,800 students are earing for the Matriculation examination of the iversity of Bombay this year, which commences from day. The number of students appearing in the exami-ion last year was in the neighbourhood of 18,000 and 000 the year before last.

The number of Matriculation candidates of Calcutta University was this year about 000. Now, Calcutta University serves Bengal d Assam, which contain about three times as ge a population as the Bombay Presidency cluding Sind). Therefore, the idea that in gal secondary education has been overdone, is thout foundation and absurd. Judged by the andard of Bombay, to equal Bombay Calcutta iversity ought to have some 70,000 Matricula-n candidates!

Subhas C. Bose on Mr. A. Pelt

Travelling in India and giving talks or tures in various places, Mr. A. Pelt, Director the Information Bureau of the League of tions, has tried to reconcile Indians to the sition of India as a member of the League of tions. According to him, Indians should feel ppy in not having to bother themselves with ternational politics—they had better devote tention to the social side of the activities of e League. While we are certainly in favour paying attention to and profiting, if possible, the League's social, health, economic and ltural activities, we do not at all admit that, cause we have no voice in international affairs, e should not feel concern in them. We are the shameful and highly disadvantageous sition of having to fight and pay without the eedom and the right to say yea or nay. Should ere be war between France and Germany, dian troops would be sent to Europe as they ere during the last world war—though neither en nor now any such war was or would be India's choice or for the protection of Indian terests.

Mr. Pelt has tried to produce the impres-on that he is a friend of India, albeit a candid iend. But here is what Mr. Subhas Chandra ose, who kept his eyes open in Europe, wrote us from Kurhaus Hochland, Badgastein, on e 25th March last :

"I find from the papers that Mr. Pelt, irector of the Information Section of the eague of Nations, has gone to India. He eems to be making nice speeches. The agita-ion raised in India over India's futile member-hip of the League has somewhat unnerved the eague authorities and that is why they have sent him out to India. But I would like to warn our friends at home that Mr. Pelt is an anti-Indian gentleman who has never cared to meet any Indians in Geneva. When Mahatma Gandhi was in Geneva, he neither called on him nor did he invite him to the League office, while the Director of the International Labour Office not only called on Gandhiji but also invited him to his office."

Calcutta University Asutosh Museum of Arts

From our detailed note on the subject in our last March issue, the reader is aware that Calcutta University is going to have a museum of Indian Arts. Calcutta dailies *of the 24th April last* write :

The University of Calcutta, it is understood, has approved the detailed scheme of the Ashutosh Museum of Indian Arts to be housed in the Western section of the Senate House. The total cost for the purpose sanctioned by the University is Rs. 18,000 including Rs. 3,000 to be spent for making necessary repairs of and alterations in the Western wing of the Senate House for a museum.

It is pointed out that as the Museum is likely to take some time for development and as it is thought that a representative collection of all the phases of the Indian Arts cannot be secured all at once periodical exhibitions of loan collections of originals and reproductions of the different aspects of the Indian Arts and some special phases of the Asiatic Arts should be made a feature during the first few years.

It has also been decided that to afford proper facilities for a course of visual training and for a better appreciation of aesthetic values regular study circles should be organized by the Museum consisting of not only students of the Post-Graduate Councils in arts and science but also of under-graduate students of affiliated colleges.

Excavations and explorations under the auspices of the Museum have also been decided upon by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in collaboration with the Archaeological Survey of India.

It is understood that well-known art connoisseurs and collectors have promised some representative paintings and sculptures to the Museum.

Next Calcutta University Vice-Chancellor

It is understood that the Chancellor of the Calcutta University (namely, the Governor of Bengal) will soon choose a successor to Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherji, the present Vice-Chancellor. As some previous Vice-Chancellors had been re-appointed, there is no reason why Mr. Mukherji should not hold the office for another term. We have on many questions and occasions criticized him. But as he is an experienced and capable man and as many important problems have only begun to be tackled during his regime, the University should have the advantage of his energy, capacity and experience for some years more.

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"France to Keep Her Mandates," Of Course!

PARIS, April 23.

"France can no more think of giving up her mandated territories than can Great Britain," declared M. Truitard, Director of the Mandated Territories Department in a broad-cast speech to-day.

M. Truitard quoted statistics which, he claimed, showed that since the Cameroons had been placed under a French mandate, the territory had enjoyed prosperity, from which the natives had been the first to benefit. During this period the number of natives had increased by 300,000.

There could be no question, he added, of exposing the natives to German racial theories.—*Reuter.*

Increase of population is not necessarily a sign of prosperity.

In this cable France poses as a great philanthropic nation. But what of her mandate in Syria?

France's Mandate in Syria

World Events, "a pocket periodical for students of international affairs," writes :—

"I don't care if the boycott continues for twenty years." These belligerent words were the reply of Count de Martel, French administrator in Syria, to Damascus merchants who had kept their shops closed for more than a month in protest against the harsh rule of the French.

Imperialists have hard heads which never learn and never forget. In spite of the score of warnings of the last century they continue to believe that intelligent and aroused nationalities can be governed by artillery and machine-guns and that friendly commercial relations can be furthered by bayonets.

The French are making the same mistake again in Syria. After bombarding Damascus four or five times in the last decade, they finally granted a constitution. But at the same time they saw to it that the native ministries were their puppets. The movement for independence, however, went on and the constitution was suspended.

Any child could have guessed the results. The fires of revolt burst into open flame and the French position was less tenable than ever. On January 18, the French closed the offices of the Nationalist Party and arrested many of its leaders. Thereupon the entire economic life of Syria came to a standstill. All shops and bazaars were closed, workers refused to continue at their tasks, strikes and demonstrations filled the land.

The French replied with military force. Scores were killed, hundreds were arrested and exiled. The soldiery took command and rode roughshod over nationalist demands. But at once it became evident that even machine-guns could not make the economic wheels revolve. The Syrians persisted doggedly in keeping their shops closed and in refusing to work and finally they protested openly to the League of Nations against "this regime of violence." The French began to make concessions. The puppet ministry was removed and a Nationalist leader was asked to form a new cabinet. But the Syrians are distrustful, and so many of them demand full independence that any arrangements short of that are likely to prove abortive.

The pocket periodical concludes :

The Syrians, meanwhile, have shown by their latest manoeuvres that they have learned the power of the ... ful general strike and of passive resistance against ... violence. And the League of Nations has an ... opportunity to demonstrate that it can bring ... adjustments without resort to war.

"We Are Not Mere Children-Producing Machinery!"

MOTINAGAR, April ...

The part that the women of India could and ... play in India's fight for freedom was explained by ... speakers at a meeting of women this morning ... Subjects Committee "pandal," Mrs. Sarojini ... presiding.

"We are not mere children-producing ma... but we have much greater and more useful part ... namely, that we have to make our contribution ... Indian struggle for freedom, because we are the ... force behind the Indian freedom movement," said ... Maniben Kara Mulji addressing the gathering ... added : "Every one of us can become a Sarojini ... and Congress President, provided we work for it ... our parts well. The Indian womanhood was ... backward, but the national movement for freedom ... created a history, because women came to the ... and stood lathi charges and jails cheerfully. This ... a surprise to all, and my appeal to you is to ... this spirit of renaissance and revolt."

Mrs. Zutshi speaking next referred to Mr. ... Gandhi's work in making the Indian woman ... courageous and forward. She urged that they should ... up pardah and child marriages and work for ... emancipation.—*A. P. I.*

We respect and admire Indian women ... the brave and self-sacrificing part they ... been taking in India's struggle for freedom ... in humanitarian work. But we doubt ... the quiet work of bearing and bringing up ... children is inferior to any other duty ... can do.

Of course, women are not and should ... be *mere* children-producing machinery ... neither should they forget that one of ... natural functions is to produce children. ... function can be made glorious or the ... by the mothers of the race. But in itself ... not to be despised. Had the mother of ... Maniben Kara Mulji or the mother of ... Mrs. Zutshi, or the mother of even Mahatma ... Gandhi, any reason to be apologetic for ... motherhood? Pray, do not make motherhood ... unfashionable and speak slightingly of it.

The mother-heart is as great an asset ... humanity as any other, and it flowers and ... fruit in children.

Hindu Marriage Validity Bill

The greater portion of the speech ... which Dr. Bhagavan Das, M.L.A., moved ... circulation of his Hindu Marriage Validity ... in the Assembly, on the 17th April last, ...

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purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon by the 15th July, 1936, is printed below.

The measure is a purely permissive one. It does not compel any one to marry out of his caste against his will. Also, it does not compel any one to maintain social relations against his will with any person who has contracted such a marriage out of his caste. But I do hope that if the Bill is passed by this House it will have the effect of saving persons who have contracted such a marriage from being hounded out of caste by any other person proclaiming that he has lost caste. I hope that if this Bill is passed it will have the effect of preventing all such public proclamation on pain of the proclaimer being held guilty of defamation. There are a few scientific principles which underlie what is now known as the caste system. I hope to be able to place them before the House in detail later on. To-day I will only mention briefly that one of the main principles which underlie the real original vocational-class system, which has been converted into a caricature and is now called the caste-system, is that inter-dining and inter-marriage should be entered into very discriminately. I believe that all such of my learned colleagues in this House as are practising the beneficent profession of medicine will support me when I say that 90 per cent of the diseases of mankind are due to mistakes in diet and mistakes in sex relations. The current superstition against inter-dining and inter-marriage between different castes is simply a perversion and misunderstanding of this fact of hygienic and eugenic science. Attention to purity in diet ensures individual health, and attention to parity of temperament in respect of marriage ensures racial health. The perversion and misunderstanding of these two scientific laws has resulted in the ridiculous caricature which is looked at with astonishment and contempt by every outside observer of Hinduism. Hinduism to-day has degenerated into an amorphous mass of nearly 3,000 castes and sub-castes which are mutually untouchable in respect of dining and marriage. This is due simply to a misunderstanding of the scientific laws which underlie the old ideal of avoiding indiscriminate dining and indiscriminate marriage. The word 'indiscriminate' needs to be emphasized greatly. The real meaning of 'a-sa-varna vivaha' is not marriage outside the caste or between different so-called castes, but marriage between persons of disparity of temperament; 'sa-varna' means parity of temperament and sameness or similarity of occupational and intellectual and emotional interests and tastes, and compatibility of dispositions. This has been perverted into the mere nominal observance of identity of caste-name.

Dr. Bhagavan Das added that he would place before the House later on some views on the suggestions that some provisions should be made in the Bill for ensuring monogamy and the possibility of divorce or judicial separation "in case disparity of temperament develops later on."

The Bill is given below :

A Bill
to
Validate marriages between different castes of Hindus.

Whereas it is expedient to validate marriages between Hindus of different castes for the purpose hereinafter appearing; it is hereby enacted as follows :

1. This Act may be called the Hindu Marriage Validity Act, 19—.

2. No marriage among Hindus shall be invalid by reason that the parties thereto do not belong to the same caste, any custom or any interpretation of Hindu Law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Cambridge and Socialism

According to *Life*, dated Bangalore, April 16, 1936,

At a debate which took place under the auspices of the Cambridge Union about a month ago Socialism was voted for by 186 votes against 182. The retiring President of the Union signalised the end of his year of office by putting forward for debate a resolution moved in the Cambridge Union almost 50 years ago by William Morris and H. M. Hyndman. The resolution ran :

"That the anarchy—economical, social and political—which is brought about by our present system of production and exchange, can only be put to an end by an ordered socialistic system under the control of a completely democratic state."

Lord Willingdon's Apologia

In his farewell address to the Indian Legislature, Lord Willingdon tried to convince his hearers that his regime was a success. The criterion which he would apply and have others apply was whether India was quieter now than when he began to rule India five years ago, no matter whether the quiet attained was by means of repression or other methods. But public tranquillity is not an end in itself; it is only a means to an end. The true criterion is whether during these five years India has made adequate progress in health, wealth, enlightenment, and freedom, and whether in consequence the people are in a hopeful mood and contented. Judged by this test, Lord Willingdon's regime has been an utter failure. For such failure, he himself and he alone is not entirely to blame. During the earlier years of his rule he said more than once that it was his ambition to become the first constitutional Governor-General of the Indian Dominion. That ambition cannot be cherished now even by his successor, the India Act of 1935 having rung the death-knell of "dominion status" for India. *If there be political advancement for India*, what India would have next would be independence, not dominion status.

In his farewell speech in the central legislature, Lord Willingdon complained of "the calculated discourtesy" shown to him as the representative of the Crown by the Congress party, in that all the Congress members absented themselves whenever he spoke there and did not stand up when his messages were read. We think the Congress party did not mean to be discourteous either to his British majesty or to his lordship—they only wanted

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to show that they condemned his policy. Had they behaved otherwise, the British imperialistic interpretation of such conduct would most probably have been that Lord Willingdon had become so popular that even Congressmen hung on his words.

By the by, we read some time ago in the review of a book on India by Miss Wilkinson and her fellow-tourists in a British journal that when they interviewed Lord Willingdon, his lordship repeatedly referred to Gandhiji as "that little fellow." If this be true, his lordship is scarcely the right person to complain of the discourtesy of other persons.

Sir Henry Craik's Logic

Speaking last month in the Legislative Assembly on the Congress motion for the release of detenus, Sir Henry Craik, the Home Member, attempted to show that there was a close connection between the Congress and terrorists. After giving the actual figures since 1930 of officials and non-officials murdered and injured, he proceeded to say :

> These officials and non-officials comprise every class of the community but one. There have been Europeans, both official and non-official, Anglo-Indians, both official and non-official, Muhammedans, Hindus, and women and among the officials many of the lower grades such as school masters, railway employees, postmen, motor car drivers, and as I say several women. Can any hon. member of this House mention to me a single case in which a member of the Congress has been the victim of a terrorist outrage? Can any member of the House mention a single case in which the house of a Congressman was subject to dacoity? There have been numerous cases of dacoities and numerous cases of murders in this country. Among the list of persons murdered or injured, among the list of victims of dacoities and robberies, there is never the name of a Congressman. The point is that the only section of the community that is immune from terrorist outrages is the Congress, and it is not surprising that they want to have the terrorists released.

Sir Henry Craik forgot that the greatest Congressman, Mahatma Gandhi, was sought to be killed at Poona by a bomb-thrower—according to police accounts!

Congressmen are not a class or section of the community by themselves, any more than the Indian Liberals are. They come from various classes, religious communities and races.

Following Sir Henry's line of argument, one may ask : Has any member of the Indian National Liberal Federation been victimized by the terrorists? Has any member of the Muslim League been murdered or injured by them? Has any member of the Indian Christian community been attacked by them? So far as we are aware, the answer is, none. Therefore, there must be some friendly con- nection or contact between terrorists and the above-named groups of persons!

Taking it for granted that it is a fact that the terrorists have never sought to kill or a Congressman, a reason can be assigned their non-violent attitude towards members the Congress. Many high officials, including Governors of Bengal, have publicly stated terrorism is born of a "perverted and misguided love of country"—it is a diseased form of ardent desire to make the country free. The Congress also has love of country and desire to make it free. Terrorists, therefore, may naturally have some pitying tolerance Congressmen, as the object of both groups the same, though pursued along different paths.

Empress of Ethiopia's Tearful Appeal

Addis Ababa, April 2

With tears glistening in her eyes, the Empress Ethiopia made an impassioned appeal to the world to state Ethiopia's case, when she received Reuter's Special Correspondent. The Empress said that this was the

Time for a Quick Decision

critical hour in Abyssinia's history, but there was still time for those desiring justice to take action to end the most unjust war and most wicked aggression against an independent non-aggressive people. All those respecting the principles designed to regulate relations between nations must be stung to shame and indignation by

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unfairness and inequality whereunder Abyssinia suffered. Abyssinia was not defeated and would defend her just cause to the end. The Empress herself would remain in the capital.

The Empress appealed to France, as emblem of liberty and equality, and to Britain, as the defender of freedom and justice for all races, and also to the whole world, to abandon delay in saving her poor country.—Reuter.

Civilization Comes to Ethiopia

The people of India and their press have all along sympathized with the Ethiopians, supported and stated their case and expressed respect and admiration for their patriotism and heroism. But, alas! we are powerless to render substantial help. We can give only moral support. Those nations who could have done more have been only talking.

Pandit Jawaharlal Is and Has Been A Socialist

In the course of his presidential address, delivered on the 12th of April last at the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said :

"I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism. . . I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through socialism. . . In short it means a new civilization, radically different from the present capitalist order. . . I do not know how or when the new order will come to India. I imagine that every country will fashion it after its own way and fit it with its national genius. . . I should like the Congress to become a socialist organization and to join hands with the other forces in the world who are working for the new civilization. But I realize that the majority in the Congress as it is constituted to-day may not be prepared to go thus far. . . Much as I wish for the advancement of socialism in this country, I have no desire to force the issue in the Congress and thereby create difficulties in the way of our struggle for independence. I shall co-operate gladly and with all the strength in me with all those who work for independence even though they do not agree with the socialist solution. But I shall do so stating my position frankly and hoping in course of time to convert the Congress and the country to it, for only thus can I see it achieving independence."

This is not a new confession of faith on his part. He made the same declaration of his principles in 1929, when he presided over the Lahore session of the Congress, in the following words :

"I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican and am no believer in kings and princes or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even the kings of old, and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy. I recognise, however, that it may not be possible for a body constituted as is this National Congress and in the present circumstances of the country to adopt a full socialistic programme. But we must realize that the philosophy of socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over and almost the only point in dispute is the pace and the methods of advance to its full realization. India will have to go that way, too, if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own method and may adapt the ideal to the genius of her race."

Not only in his two presidential addresses but in many other pronouncements also he has declared himself a socialist. In both the addresses he has mainfested a desire to co-operate with all earnest workers for India's freedom—and he has already sought and invited such co-operation for the formation of an Indian Civil Liberties Union on a non-party and non-sectarian basis.

It is to be noted that in both his presidential addresses, while advocating socialism, Mr. Nehru wants India to "evolve her own method," "adapt the ideal to the genius of her race," "fit it to the national genius."

Perhaps the article in this issue of our Review on "Indian Genius in Politics" by that great nationalist and comprehensive thinker and *sadhak*, Sri Aurobindo, may be of some help in realizing what India's national genius is.

For ourselves, we humbly confess that we have not made a study of socialism in its fifty odd varieties. We, too, want the "ending" of

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"the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people"—and also of their illiteracy and ignorance, and their mental starvation and stupor. But we have no liking for class war—which cannot but lead to class hatred and violence. Nor do we think that an exclusively or predominantly materialistic and economic interpretation of history and civilization can enable us to discover the right remedies for human—and Indian—ills.

We do not believe in any dictatorship—not even in the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

And we may also be allowed humbly to suggest that, to be stable, no socio-political order, no civilization, can be entirely new. It must have its roots in and grow out of the past.

Evolution and Revolution

It has been said that revolution is rapid evolution. If that be so, there is no radical difference between evolution and revolution.

Reformist and Revolutionary

Nor do we think, there must necessarily be antagonism between reformists and revolutionaries. Both groups of *earnest* workers have common objects—at least some common objects, though their methods and pace, their "tempo," may differ.

The officials in India—British imperialists and their servants—and their favour-seekers may start at the very mention of the word 'revolution.' We do not, though we are not revolutionaries. Officials and their hangers-on should recognize the fact that the Government of India Act of 1935 has not left a single loophole through which Indian political evolutionists may try to lead India to freedom, the desire for which no imperialistic nation, however powerful, can eradicate from the human breast. Knowing this fact and knowing that despair as to the feasibility of the evolutionary process may give rise to revolutionary desires and movements, the British framers of the Act in Parliament assembled have given the governor-general and the provincial governors the power to suspend the so-called constitution wholly or in part and nip all revolutionary tendencies in the bud. So the British Parliament has done all that human foresight and ingenuity can do to prevent even the thought of revolution. But perhaps there is a power in the universe which upsets all human calculations.

We have often wondered how Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and those of his way of thinking are going to work for and produce a revolution. We have wondered not less [illegible] those politically-minded Indians who de[illegible] Mr. Nehru expect to reach *their* goal. It [illegible] be that both, Micawber-like, though not [illegible] like Micawber, trust that something helpful [illegible] turn up. So we do not propose to quarrel [illegible] either group. We shall look on from a [illegible] distance and indulge in verbal patriotism!

Mr. Nehru's Courage and Frankness

To readers of Mr. Jawaharlal Ne[illegible] Lucknow presidential address, its litera[illegible] excellence becomes at once apparent. But [illegible] is doing scant justice to a man of his earn[illegible] ness, sincerity, courage and energy to say [illegible] his handiwork possesses elegance and ch[illegible] It has other high qualities, not the least of wh[illegible] are the courage and frankness wh[illegible] characterize it. These remind us of the wo[illegible] with which he concluded his presiden[illegible] address at Lahore in 1929:

"We play for high stakes; and if we seek to ach[illegible] great things, it can only be through great dang[illegible] Whether we succeed soon or late, none but ourselves [illegible] stop us from high endeavour and from writing a [illegible] page in our country's long and splendid history.

"We have conspiracy cases going on in various p[illegible] of the country. They are ever with us. But the time [illegible] gone for secret conspiracy. We have now an [illegible] conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule, [illegible] you, comrades, and all our countrymen and countrywo[illegible] are invited to join it. But the rewards that are in s[illegible] for you are suffering and prison and it may be de[illegible] But you shall also have the satisfaction that you h[illegible] done your little bit for India, the ancient, but ever y[illegible] and have helped a little in the liberation of human[illegible] from its present bondage."

The pity is, now as then, "we have c[illegible] spiracy cases going in various parts of [illegible] country. They are ever with us."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Terrorism

Many, perhaps most, political revolu[illegible] have been brought about by violent means [illegible] been accompanied by violence, though there [illegible] no necessary connection between revolutions [illegible] violence. Hence, from the facts that Pan[illegible] Jawaharlal Nehru wants to conserve the revo[illegible] tionary mentality produced by the Congress [illegible] that he is an admirer of Soviet Russia, [illegible] bureaucratic mind may at once jump to the co[illegible] clusion that he does not dislike terrori[illegible] But such a conclusion would be wrong.

Consider the following passage in [illegible] Lucknow presidential address:

"We were engrossed in our national struggle and [illegible] turn it took bore the powerful impress of our g[illegible] leader and of our national genius."

"I do not know how or when this new [socialis[illegible] order will come to India. I imagine that every co[illegible]

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will fashion it after its own way and fit it in with its national genius."

From these passages one can infer that Mr. Nehru is for doing things according to our national genius, which does not prefer violence.

But there is a passage in the Lucknow address which gives his opinion of terrorism directly :

"This instance (*viz.*, the case of Subhas Chandra Bose) leads us to think of the larger problem, of the way the bogey of terrorism has been exploited by the Government to crush political activity and to cripple physically and mentally the fair province of Bengal. You know that terrorism as such is practically non-existent now in Bengal or any part of India. Terrorism is always a sign of political immaturity in a people, just as so-called constitutionalism, where there is no democratic constitution, is a sign of political senility. Our national movement has long outgrown that immature stage, and even the old individuals who have in the past indulged in terrorist acts have apparently given up that tragic and futile philosophy. The Congress, by its stress on peaceful and effective action, has drawn the youth of the country into its fold and all traces of terrorist activity would long have vanished but for the policy of the Government which feeds the roots out of which a helpless violence grows."

The Pandit then proceeded to condemn the Government's methods in Midnapore and some other parts of Bengal and in the N.-W. F. Province.

Proposed Referendum on Porto Rico's Independence

Spain ceded Porto Rico to the United States of America in 1898. Its area is 3,435 square miles and population about 1,550,000. After deciding and legislating for future Filipino independence, the United States is thinking of taking a similar step with regard to Porto Rico.

WASHINGTON, April 24.

An opportunity to Porto Ricans to decide whether they should become virtually independent is provided in a Bill introduced by Senator Tydings in the Senate.

He proposes a referendum in 1937. If a majority vote for independence, a commonwealth would be established for four years. At the expiration of that period, the island would become completely independent, the United States keeping only the naval base at Culebra.

The Bill is regarded as a challenge to nationalist agitators and provides for a gradual increase in American tariffs on Porto Rican goods.—*Reuter.*

The referendum is a step in the right direction, even though the dollar may be at the bottom.

Leakage of Budget Secrets in Britain

In order to provide for increased Defence expenditure, which implies preparations for the next war, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, has increased the income-tax in his budget. That he would do so, leaked out somehow. This has created the situation described below.

LONDON, April 25.

As a sequel to abnormal last-minute heavy insurances against an increase in the income-tax and the tea duty on Budget Day, Lloyd's Committee has asked the underwriters to ascertain from the brokers the names of the clients for whom such insurances have been effected. It is reported that the Treasury is also in touch with the City in connexion with the matter.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, is expected to make a statement in the House of Commons on Monday when the whole matter of the leakage of Budget secrets, which caused the rush to insure will be raised. It is understood that the amount which the underwriters have been called on to pay is at least £100,000, which is ten times the normal sum.—*Reuter.*

No Leakage of Such Secrets in India

In connection with the leakage of budget secrets in Britain, the following tribute to the trustworthiness of Indian officials in such matters, paid by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, a former Finance Member of the Government of India, in a speech made by him when retiring in 1913, should be interesting :

"As for their trustworthiness, let me give an instance. Three years ago, when it fell to my lot to impose new taxes, it was imperative that their nature should remain secret until they were officially announced. Everybody in the department had to be entrusted with this secret. Any one of these, from high officials to low paid compositors of the Government Press, would have become a millionaire by using that secret improperly. But even under such tremendous temptation not one betrayed his trust. So well was the secret kept that a ship laden with silver in Bombay delayed unnecessarily its unloading for three days and was consequently caught by the new tax."

Yet Indians are excluded from some confidential jobs, Britishers from none.

Mr. Nehru's Appreciation of Soviet Russia Not Indiscriminate

Neither in his Lucknow presidential address nor in many of his previous utterances has Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made a secret of his appreciation of the U. S. S. R. But he does not like everything done by the Bolsheviks. Says he in Lucknow address : "Much has happened there which has pained me greatly and with which I disagree." The reference here is perhaps to the numerous shootings and executions, the more numerous imprisonments and exiles, and, generally, "the tremendous deprivation of civil liberties" in Russia and the methods and doings of the Soviet police.

The reference cannot be to the Soviet's anti-religious and atheistic propaganda and doings, as Pandit Jawaharlal has said on many occasions that he is not a man of religion.

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But perhaps there is another matter which may have drawn or may deserve his attention, as he is greatly interested in science and its advancement. And that is —

Absence of Intellectual Freedom in Russia

In his recent work, *Religion and Science*, Bertrand Russell has something to say on the absence of intellectual freedom in Russia. The following passages are taken from a review of that book :

"Traditional religion has abandoned its struggle against science, but the post-war period, Russell claims, has witnessed the emergence of two state philosophies or political religions that have adopted the same attitude toward freedom of scientific inquiry as the religious dogmas of old. These are the political religions of fascism and communism. Russell argues that they represent the strongest opponents science has ever had to face because they are systematically employing the technical instruments and fruits of scientific research to discredit the scientific temper of mind without which science must ultimately be destroyed. Since Russell believes that 'these newer religions are taking the place of Christianity, and repeating the errors of which Christianity has repented,' he is concerned to restate the argument for intellectual freedom. He regards it as the duty of all who value scientific knowledge to protest vigorously against the new forms of persecution and not rest content with the disappearance of the older forms."

In Germany, the "Aryanization" of culture is an organic part of Nazi doctrine. In Russia, the absence of intellectual freedom, the restriction upon all utterances that challenge Communist Party dogma, are in direct contravention to the philosophy of Marxism. It is no part of the theory of socialism, and its existence in Russia can be explained—not justified—by special conditions. In Germany, intellectual terror cannot be abandoned without abandoning the political system; in Russia, it can be shown that the persecution of those who do not accept the party line in various fields of culture is disadvantageous to the operation of the economic system. There is therefore hope that some day the Russian rulers may realize this, especially if Socialists throughout the world are as unremitting in their criticism of the unnecessary evils of Russian life as they are sustained in their enthusiasm for its remarkable achievements."

But whatever the explanation and whatever the hope, it is a fact that "the absence of intellectual freedom" is among "the unnecessary evils of Russian life."

This is also evident from the monumental work, *Soviet Communism : A New Civilization?* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. A reviewer says :

The Webbs show the extraordinary place that science occupies in the Soviet system—which is literally built upon science and encourages research as no other nation does. But they note one curious omission—the lack of extensive research in the social sciences. Much remains to be discovered about human behavior, and this is of the utmost importance to a workers' society. The lack, they believe, is traceable to what they call the "disease of orthodoxy," the dangerous tendency of Communists to believe that Marx, Engels and Lenin said the last words about human affairs, the habit of deciding policy, not on the basis of a continual reappraisal of the situation, but by citing texts. But Marx and Lenin themselves, in so far as they were scientists, recognized the commonplace that every theory is a hypothesis subject to revision, that if it cannot stand the test of new facts it is not worthy of credence. It is just as silly to speak of "Marxist economics," otherwise than as a description of a general point of view, as it is to talk of "Darwinian biology." Darwin's stature is not reduced by a continual modification and revision of his hypotheses. Communist authorities themselves are conscious of this disease, to which their rank and file seem peculiarly subject.

The Indian Problem Not Isolated

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has rendered an important service by showing in his presidential address that India cannot be isolated from other countries, nor the Indian problem from that of the rest of the world. Two rival economic and political systems face one another in the world. On one side, there are imperialism, imperialistic nationalism, fascism and capitalism; on the other, ranged against them, are socialism in the West and the rising nationalisms of the eastern and other dependent countries, including India.

Though we cannot and should not expect that some other people will make us free, we should study all kinds of real freedom movements in the world and take advantage of the anti-imperial forces, as far as practicable.

The fact that western and Japanese nationalism (against both of which Rabindranath Tagore's book on *Nationalism* is directed) is damnable, should not make us ashamed of our nationalism. For, as Mr. Nehru, says :

"Nationalism in the East, it must be remembered, was essentially different from the new and terribly narrow nationalism of fascist [and imperialist—Ed., *M. R.*] countries;- the former was the historical urge to freedom, the latter the last refuge of reaction."

The wrong notion that the Indian problem is an isolated one—that it is Britain's "domestic concern," was attacked and exposed years ago in an article contributed to *The Modern Review* by the Rev. J. T. Sunderland. It was also indirectly and incidentally exposed by Dr. Taraknath Das in some of his articles in this Review on India and world politics. His latest book, *Foreign Policy in the Far East* (Longmans), deals partly with cognate matters.

Mr. Nehru on the British Connection

In Mr. Nehru's opiinion, as expressed in his presidential address,

"Between Indian nationalism, Indian freedom and British imperialism there can be no common ground, and if we remain within the imperialist fold, whatever our name or status, whatever semblance of political power we might have, we remain cribbed and confined

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and allied to and dominated by the reactionary forces and the great financial vested interests of the capitalist world . . . . all the vital social problems that face us will remain unsolved. Even real political freedom will be out of our reach, much more so radical social changes."

Such being his opinon, one can at once say what is his attitude toward the new Government of India Act, which provides all the means for perpetuating British political and economic domination in India. He calls it "A charter of slavery" and says :

"To this Act our attitude can only be one of uncompromising hostility and a constant endeavour to end it. How can we do this ?"

Seeking Election and Demand for a Constituent Assembly

Mr. Nehru is for seeking election on the basis of a detailed political and economic programme, "with our demand for a Constituent Assembly." We agree that Congressmen should seek election. As to the Constituent Assembly, all that Mr. Nehru says is theoretically correct; but we do not see how it is going to come about. The British Government cannot agree to it. It can be brought about only by a revolution, which is an uncertainty.

Socialism and Indian Independence

Mr. Nehru wants socialism and Indian independence, because, in his opinion, the two are inter-related.

"I work for Indian independence because the nationalist in me cannot tolerate alien domination; I work for it even more because for me it is the inevitable step to social and economic change."

A Many-sided Fight

Mr. Nehru's programme involves a many-sided fight : fight with British imperialism, with British and Indian capitalism, with landlordism, with feudalism and the Indian states and, after a time, with both the upper and lower middle class. He will give no quarter to any of these antagonists and opponents—except temporarily to the last.

So, though there may be a united front on smaller issues, we do not see how the union of all nationalist sections of the Indian people for fighting freedom's battle can co-exist with this quadrangular or pentagonal fight.

He is distinctly opposed to communalism and the British Government's Communal Decision. But he will not deliver a frontal attack on that Decision, and he will also give some quarter to communalism.

"It seeks to divide India into numerous separate compartments, chiefly on a religious basis, and thus makes the development of democracy and economic policy very difficult. Indeed the communal decision and democracy can never go together."

After saying this, he observes :

"We have to admit that, under present circumstances, and so long as our politics are dominated by middle class elements, we cannot do away with communalism altogether. But to make a necessary (*This is begging the question.*—Editor, *M. R.*) exception in favour of our Muslim or Sikh friends is one thing, to spread this evil principle to numerous other groups and thus to divide up the electoral machinery and the legislature into many compartments, is a far more dangerous proposition."

On the contrary, in our opinion, the most dangerous proposition is the partiality shown to the Muslims, because others make that a precedent for their sectional demands (prayers). Mr. Nehru is perhaps wrong in grouping the Muslims and the Sikhs together. For the Sikhs have declared that they would not demand reservation of seats, weightage and separate elections provided the Muslims did not get them; but the Muslims have never made such a declaration.

Mr. Nehru is a courageous fighter. He has not hesitated to throw down the gauntlet to imperialism, capitalism, landlordism, feudalism and the middle-class mentality *simultaneously*. So it cannot be said that it is for want of courage that he shrinks from squarely facing and negotiating communalism. There must be some other reason. What it is we do not know. He says :

". . . . . it [the communal arrangement] will not go by the methods adopted by the aggressive opponents of the decision. These methods result inevitably in perpetuating the decision, for they help in continuing a situation which prevents any reconsideration."

"The aggressive opponents of the decision" are accused of helping (we hope, unintentionally) to continue a situation which prevents any reconsideration. But has the Congress method of sitting on the fence altered the situation in the least? Has it induced a single Musalman communalist to reconsider the decision? On the contrary, when Mr. Nehru was saying these things from the Congress presidential chair, the Muslim League was openly attacking the Congress for its attitude towards the Muslim community. Of course, the attitude which the Muslim League would appreciate would be the unequivocal and definite acceptance by the Congress of the communal decision and the Government of India's resolution reserving jobs for minorities and other similar things.

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Communalism and the Middle Class

Communalism is said to be due to our politics being dominated by middle class elements. Middle class people—very many of them—are certainly not free from communalism. But are the masses free? Who engage in fatal "religious" riots even in villages? Are they all or mostly middle class people? It will not do to say that the masses are egged on to rioting by the middle class. It is very difficult to determine who do the egging on. It is difficult also to believe that angelic Hindus and Muslims belonging to the class below the lower middle class attack one another simply because they are egged on to do so.

Industrialization and Capital

"I believe in the rapid industrialization of the country and only thus I think will the standards of the people rise substantially and poverty be combatted."

Thus Mr. Nehru. The question is, who will supply the capital for this industrialization. When there is state capitalism, the state will do it. But that sort of socialism is not coming in the near future so far as India is concerned. And Mr. Nehru will not give any quarter to the capitalists, the princes and the landlords. Hence, it would be necessary for him to indicate the possible sources of capital to finance industries. If the labouring classes—the masses that is to say, possessed general education and education in co-operative methods, they could have financed at least some industries. But they lack these qualifications.

"The Decay of British Imperialism in India"

As Mr. Nehru's address has been widely reproduced, as it deserved to be, in the press, it is not necessary to summarize it or to refer to all the questions and topics it deals with.

What he says of "the decay of British imperialism in India" is quite true. One of the proofs of the deterioration produced by the enjoyment of autocratic power has been "the tremendous deprivation of civil liberties in India." This has naturally led Mr. Nehru to suggest the starting of an Indian Civil Liberties Union on a non-party and non-sectarian basis. All nationalists of all schools of political thought ought to join it. Such Unions ought to help in discountenancing and destroying "the spirit of disunion spreading over the land."

Congress For and Of the Masses

The masses form the majority of the population of the country. Therefore, the Congress which claims and seeks to represent the entire nation they ought to play the major part. But they ought to be qualified to do so. There is no magic in mere numbers. There ought to be a rapid dissemination of knowledge among the masses, for which rapid wiping out of illiteracy is necessary. It is only in this way that the Congress can be really and beneficially *for* and *of* the masses. The middle classes are doing, not their whole duty to the masses, it is true, in the matter of awakening their minds and providing them with intellectual food, but they are doing something in that direction. It is by their wholehearted devotion to this kind of service that the masses can be made ready to take their proper place in the body politic and society.

It is to be regretted that Congress has not paid due attention to the proper education of the mass mind. It wants full contact with the mass mind, but how can there be such contact without universal literacy? Until recently Indian nationalists used to talk of Japanese achievements, but did not, except in a very small number of places, emulate the Japanese example of illumining the mass mind. The later view is to speak of Soviet Russia. But perhaps the account has not been taken of the fact that the phenomenal progress of education there has much to do with the remarkable Russian achievement in other directions.

The Government in India continues to be afraid of universal literacy. But it hopes to win over the masses to its side by means of the radio and is establishing broadcasting stations in various rural centres. What is Congress going to do in the face of such propaganda? What *can* it do without the rapid spread of literacy?

But in its long resolution regarding the agrarian programme—the cultivating classes form the bulk of the population—educational awakening and intellectual nutrition find recognition only in the solitary word "cultural." We do not in the least undervalue economic improvement and freedom from oppression and exploitation. But such amelioration must in part at least come from the efforts of the awakened masses themselves. But how else, except by education, can they be qualified for such self-help?

We reproduce below the resolution relating to the agrarian programme.

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"This Congress is of opinion that the most important and urgent problem of the country is the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry, fundamentally due to the antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems and intensified in recent years by the great slump in the prices of agricultural produce.

"The final solution of this problem inevitably involves removal of British imperialistic exploitation, a thorough change of the land tenure and revenue systems and recognition by the State of its duty to provide work for the rural and unemployed masses.

"In view, however, of the fact that the agrarian conditions and land tenure and revenue systems differed in various provinces, it is desirable to consult the Provincial Congress Committees in drawing up of a full All-India agrarian programme as well as the programme for each province.

"This Congress, therefore, calls upon each Provincial Congress Committee to make recommendations in detail to the Working Committee by the 1st August, 1936 for being considered and placed before the All-India Congress Committee, having particular regard to the following matters:

"1) freedom of organization of agricultural labourers and peasants; (2) safeguarding interests of peasants where there are intermediaries between State and themselves; (3) just and fair relief of agricultural indebtedness including arrears of rent and revenue; (4) emancipation of peasants from feudal and semi-feudal levies; (5) substantial reduction in respect of rent and revenue demands; (6) a just allotment of State expenditure for social, economic and cultural amenities of villages; (7) protection against harrassing restrictions on the utilization of local and natural facilities for their domestic and agricultural needs; (8) freedom from oppression and harrassment at the hands of Government officials and landlords and (9) fostering industries for relieving rural unemployment.

The Communal Problem and the Masses

Says Mr. Nehru:

"Even the problems that trouble us are essentially middle class problems, like the communal problem, which have no significance for the masses."

It is not correct to say that the "communal problem" has no significance for the masses. We do not want to give an exhaustive list of the items constituting the "communal problem" which have significance for the masses. But we will give a few examples to show how the masses in Bengal *are* affected by the "communal problem."

Muhammadans paying less in the shape of rates or cesses than Hindus can become eligible for the vote. And many of these Muhammadans and Hindus belong to the "masses." Is it not a grievance for a Hindu peasant who pays as much as and sometimes more than a Muhammadan that he cannot take part in legislative council elections and choose his representative whereas the Muhammadan can?

Those members of the legislative council who work for the good of the masses irrespective of caste or creed are members of the Hindu intelligentsia. In Bengal, their number has been deliberately made very small and they have been reduced to impotency. Does not this have any significance for the masses?

The masses require education. The poorer classes ought to have facilities for education provided for them irrespective of their caste or creed. But in Bengal the special educational facilities provided for Muhammadans are at least fifteen or sixteen times as great as the special facilities provided for the Hindus, making it easier for poor and well-to-do Muhammadans to obtain education than it is for poor Hindus. Does not this have any significance for the masses?

Mr. Nehru's Remedy for the Communal Decision

Says Mr. Nehru:

". . . . . in my opinion, a real solution of the problem will only come when economic issues, affecting all religious groups and cutting across communal boundaries, arise."

It will be a day of rejoicing, not only for Mr. Nehru but also for the "aggressive opponents" of the communal decision, when such economic issues arise, if they be allowed to arise. But when will they arise?

In the meantime, however, some pieces of economic legislation, which ought not to have any communal tinge, have been carried through which affect different religious communities differently. For instance, in some parts of the country it is not possible or it is very difficult legally for some Hindus to purchase land for cultivation whereas it is quite easy for all Muhammadans of the same class and economic standing to do so legally. In some parts of the country laws regarding the payment of debts have been passed in order to suit Muhammadans in particular. Trade unions should be formed only on occupational basis. But it cannot be said that there is no trade union of which the membership is confined to a particular community.

Thus while Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru may go on working for his socialistic non-communal economic groupings, the communal virus will continue to be spread and to affect economic issues, as it has already done under state patronage.

Office or No Office?

We have been all along against Congressmen's acceptance of office. It is a pleasure, therefore, to find that Mr. Nehru has given

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good reasons why they should not accept office. But Congress itself has refrained, on very flimsy grounds, to pronounce a definite opinion on the issue.

Militancy

Regarding a militant programme and militant action Mr. Nehru says :

"There has been some talk of a militant programme and militant action. I do not know what exactly is meant, but if direct action on a national scale or civil disobedience are meant, then I would say that I see no near prospect of them. Let us not indulge in tall talk before we are ready for big action. Our business to-day is to put our house in order, to sweep away the defeatist mentality of some people, and to build up our organization with its mass affiliations, as well as to work amongst the masses."

Congress Resolutions

Immediately after the conclusion of a Congress session, its office should publish all the resolutions passed in the open session in their final and definite form and send them to the press. That is not the present practice. So the result is, one has to wade through the files of the dailies containing the proceedings of the Working Committee, the All-India Committee, the Subjects Committee and the full session of the Congress and the resolutions passed by them before one can definitely know what resolutions in what final form have been accepted by the delegates assembled, unanimously, *nem. con.*, or by a majority. This is not easy for busy working journalists to do. Therefore, the Congress resolutions do not receive full attention and consideration.

As we write and appear before the public only once a month, the difficulty is greater in our case. And if we fail, owing to this difficulty and other reasons, to discuss the important resolutions in the issue immediately following the Congress session, by the time our next issue becomes due, they become old history.

We have already referred to some points in a few of the resolutions. With regard to them and the other resolutions, it is a truism to say that it is easy to pass resolutions. They do good only if effect is given to them. So, now that they have been passed, they will become valuable if earnest efforts are made to act according to them.

Congress on the Communal Decision

Several amendments were moved to the resolution on the Government of India Act, of which not one was accepted. That moved by Mr. Dhiresh Chandra Chakravarty [illegible] follows :

"Whereas the Government of India Act [illegible] which is based on the White Paper and [illegible] Parliamentary Committee's Report and on [illegible] undemocratic separate communal electorate, and [illegible] is in many respects even worse than the [illegible] tained in the White Paper and the J. P. C. [illegible] no way represents the will of the nation and is [illegible] to facilitate and perpetuate the domination and [illegible] tion of the people of India and a stereotyped [illegible] division is imposed on the country to the accompa[illegible] of widespread repression and suppression of civil [illegible] the Congress reiterates its rejection of the new [illegible] tion, including the communal decision in its enti[illegible]

The mover supported this amendment [illegible] an argumentative speech. So wise and [illegible] a leader as Pandit Madan Mohan Ma[illegible] spoke in its favour. Excepting the words [illegible] cluding the communal decision in its enti[illegible] there was nothing in the amendment [illegible] every Congressman does not believe in [illegible] speeches made against it did not contain [illegible] valid or cogent reasons. Yet it was lost [illegible] Congress is again committed to the poli[illegible] sitting on the fence. This policy has been [illegible] is meant to please the Muslim community [illegible] it is doubtful if even a microscopic minor[illegible] that community has been placated by it [illegible] person and no representative body ought [illegible] against or keep in abeyance its principles [illegible] to please a large number of persons. But [illegible] posing it were allowable to do so to pl[illegible] certain group, that object has not been [illegible] and will never be gained.

Congress, the Communal Decision and the Indian Christian Community

The following is one of the resolutions [illegible] the Conference, held last month in Madras [illegible] representatives of South Indian Christians :

The Conference is of the opinion that com[illegible] representation is not desirable in the best interests [illegible] of the Indian Christians or the country at large.

It calls upon leaders of the community to take [illegible] to get the Communal Award modified in the direc[illegible] of joint electorates with reservation of seats as [illegible] towards the complete abolition of the system of [illegible] munal representation itself.

The Conference feels that two-fold injustice [illegible] volved in the provision of communal representation [illegible] Indian Christians in the Government of India Act [illegible] that it has, in addition to depriving the commu[illegible] chances of general co-operation, reduced its strength [illegible] influence by giving it an inadequate representation [illegible] the proposed scheme for the delimitation of [illegible] Christian constituencies.

Communal Decision, Congress and Muslim League

In the course of his presidential address [illegible] the session of the All-India Muslim Le[illegible]

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d last month in Bombay, Sir Syed Wazir san strongly criticized the attitude of the ngress toward the communal decision. Said

The attitude of the Congress had the double effect the secession from the Congress of the anti-award group d creating a feeling in the minds of the Mussalmans t the Congress was not prepared to co-operate with m in the struggle for the freedom of the country from yoke of foreign domination. The truth of the old ng that by trying to please all you please none was e more established.

It is clear from this passage that if the ngress had accepted the decision then alone Muslims would have been pleased. Another lt of such acceptance would have been that far larger body of Congressmen than the sent Congress Nationalist Party would have en dissatisfied with the Congress. If the ngress had definitely rejected the decision, t would have proved that it had the courage adhere to its nationalist principles and would us have earned the whole-hearted support of l non-Muslim Indians and the respect of even opponents. Thus, if a policy can or should judged by calculations of loss and gain— think it should be judged only by the ideal uncompromising adherence to principles—the ngress would have gained more than lost by equivocally rejecting the decision.

Perhaps even many Muslims would have pproved of such a firm step.

In the course of the speech which he moved egarding India's coming constitution,

Mr. Jinnah sounded a note of warning to the ngress over its attitude towards the communities. He d, "The Congress is pursuing the ostrich policy and arrogates itself that it represents the whole nation. does not care for the communities. It is a great stake that the Congress is making and the Congress ill never reach its goal unless it appeals to the Muslims co-operate. If the Congress does not realize the real tuation and if it wants to prolong British domination t it continue its policy but as Mussalmans we owe our ty to the country."

It is simply false to say that the Congress oes not care for the communities. It does care r all communities—particularly the Muslim mmunity. Mr. Jinnah ought not to have used e plural number. He wanted to say that the ngress does not care for the Muslim community. Obviously the only way in which the ngress could have proved that it cared for Mr. Jinnah's community was by accepting the mmunal decision!

Muslims Asking Hindus to Co-operate with Them in Freedom's Battle !

Both Sir Syed Wazir Hasan and Mr. Jinnah have posed as greater fighters for India's freedom than the Hindus and asked the latter to co-operate with the Muslims in freedom's fight! As if hitherto it was the Muslims who had been fighting the battle single-handed or only with the lukewarm support of some Hindu laggards!

It is a ridiculous pose.

" They are Slaves Who Dare Not Be In the Right With—"

The American poet Lowell sang :

" They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

Mr. Jinnah has declared that, if the Hindus do not co-operate with him, he will march alone to freedom. Therefore, the revised version of Lowell's couplet would be in plain prose—we are sorry we cannot write verse :

'They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with fourteen points,
The minority pact, the communal decision,
The reservation of jobs for Muslims and some others—
And that in excess of their numerical proportion—
And differential franchise in favour of Muslims."

Why Do Muslims Like Provincial But Not Federal Scheme?

The following is the text of the Muslim League resolution on India's new constitution moved by Mr. Jinnah :

"The All India Muslim League enters its emphatic protest against forcing the constitution upon the people of India, embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, against their will and despite their repeated disapproval and dissent expressed by various parties and bodies in the country. The League considers that having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country, the provincial scheme of the constitution be utilized for what it is worth despite the most objectionable features contained therein which renders the real control of the responsibility of the ministry in legislatures over the entire field of government and administration nugatory.

"The League is clearly of opinion that the All-India Federal Scheme of the Central Governmennt embodied in the act is fundamentally bad and most reactionary, retrograde, injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India vis-a-vis Indian States. It is calculated to thwart and delay indefinitely the realization of India's most cherished goal of complete responsible government and as such is totally unacceptable.

"The League considers that the British Parliament should still take the opportunity of reviewing the whole situation afresh regarding the central scheme before its inauguration, or else the League feels and is convinced that the present scheme would not bring peace and contentment to the people. On the contrary it will lead to disaster if it is persisted in and forced upon the people as it is entirely unworkable in the interests of India and her people."

In the course of his speech on the resolution Mr. Jinnah said :

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"The new constitution offers 2 per cent responsibility, 98 per cent being the safeguards and vast special powers vested in the Governor-General. Even as regards the 2 per cent powers conceded it is hampered by methods of nomination and a large representation of European conservative elements, landlords and capitalists in the legislatures. In the provinces the position is much worse and the new constitution maintains intact the power and authority of the British as dominant as before over the people."

We condemn both the provincial and the federal schemes, and we think it would be lost labour for any nationalist group to try to "utilize" either for the good of the people. That may be left to be done by the bureaucracy (and their hangers-on), for they would naturally try to prove in a concrete manner that the new Act is beneficial.

Considering that Mr. Jinnah says that "*in the provinces the position is much worse,*" we have not been able to understand why he and his co-religionists prefer to "utilize" it to the exclusion of the federal scheme. There is, no doubt, one difference between the provincial and the federal scheme. In the provinces, the Muslims, considering their numbers, have been given greater representation than the Hindus. In the federation, too, in the British India part, the Muslims are a priviledged and favoured community. But in the Indian States part thereof, the Muslims have not been given any definite number of seats or any weightage. Perhaps that is their real grievance against the federal scheme.

How Muslims Will Work the Constitution

At the last Muslim League session,

Regarding the working of the constitution Mr. Jinnah said, "The constitution has been forced upon us and we are obliged to accept it. We will work it not in the sense as the Britishers understand it. Let there be no illusion that we shall work only to expose and do away with it. Though we swallow it with a bitter heart we shall not rest content until it is replaced by one acceptable to the country."

That was well said.

Referring to the part the Muslims were prepared to play Mr. Jinnah said, "The Muslims are prepared to fight against the constitution. We are anxious and ready, as any Hindu, to stand by the country and struggle for its emancipation. If the Hindus co-operate, we welcome, otherwise we will march alone the road to freedom of the country, though we are a minority."

The Hindus, we presume, will rejoice if the Muslims give the world a foretaste of how they will march the road to freedom.

U. P. Liberal Conference

At the U. P. Liberal Conference many useful resolutions were passed including one condemning the constitution going to be forced on India and another for the betterment of economic condition of the agricultural and labour in general.

If the agrarian programme of the Congress and the Liberals' work for the peasantry and labour both make for the amelioration of the condition of the masses, it will not matter whether "revolutionaries" or "reformists" both have brought about that result. The masses stand in need of the services of all parties and, above all, of self-help.

The New Viceroy's Speeches

The speeches already made by Lord Linlithgow, the new Viceroy, give a pleasant impression of His Excellency the man. Though human qualities are not negligible, he will be judged by his official achievements when the time comes for pronouncing judgment. But not till then.

In reply to the Bombay Muslim address he gave expression to the following pious hope and observation on unity and "sincere and unitedly ing purpose":

It is my earnest hope that I may look for the co-operation from all sections of the people of India regardless of class or creed and that the period of my office as Viceroy may be marked by an ever growing appreciation of the decisive importance of national unity which will transcend any local or sectional differences. It is in the unity of her people that the future security of India lies. It will be my sincere and unchanging purpose in the work that lies before me to do all that I can to contribute to that unity and with that end in view it will be my aim constantly to hold the balance even between all sections, classes and creeds of the population of this great country.

Whatever the Viceroy's personal intentions may be, as he cannot go against the Government of India Act but must give effect to it and as that Act does not "hold the balance even between all sections, classes and creeds of the population of this great country," the people of India will not build castles in the air on the foundation of His Excellency's purpose.

In the course of his reply to the address presented by the municipal corporation of Bombay he observed:

The cultivator tilling his fields remains as ever the backbone of this country and the foundation of its prosperity.

This is partly true. But it is also true that India's past prosperity was also due to its manufactures and commerce. Lord Linlithgow is certainly aware how the new Government of India Act has made it more difficult than ever now to promote Indian industries and commerce —we mean those financed, managed and carried on by Indians. We refer particularly to the chapter on "Discriminations."

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In the address which the Viceroy broadcasted from New Delhi on the 18th April last he referred to law and order, his personal knowledge of British India, the Indian states, the Royal Indian Navy, the army in India and the R. A. F., the Indian civil service, the district officer, the remaining civil services of the Crown, the police, the difficulties of industrialists and of urban areas, the problem of middle class unemployment, the advancement of medicine science and technology, indigenous art and literature, the younger generation, the Viceroy's strict impartiality, provincial autonomy, the centre, the Viceroy and leaders of political parties, and the press.

On all these heads he had something pleasant and encouraging to say—with the exception perhaps of law and order. And that is natural. For that paragraph, at the beginning, reminds us of the existence of the gauntlets of steel, covered though they be by velvet gloves. In that passage we have to observe that it will be desirable for the Viceroy to ponder why there is or alleged to be the opposite of law and order in India (where the ideal of non-violence originated milleniums ago), whether "law and order" is not merely a means to an end, whether that object is steadily and prominently kept in view, and how far it has been gained.

It is rather curious that, in an address which is so comprehensive in its scope and which touches on so many topics, there is not the remotest reference to the phenomenal and shameful illiteracy of the people, and the urgent need, therefore, of the rapid liquidation of illiteracy and the consequent awakening of the people from their mental torpidity. Was this omission due to mere inadvertence?

In this speech Lord Linlithgow speaks of "this body of reforms" as having been "shaped by the joint wisdom of Britain and India." India does not claim and will always refuse to claim any part in what is entirely Britain's handiwork. The India Act does not embody the suggestions even of the most "loyal" and moderate section of Britain's Indian nominees, miscalled delegates to the so-called Round Table Conference and Indian advisers to and witnesses before the Joint Select Committee. Let Britain take all the credit for the Act—she is entitled to it.

"The fame of the Indian Civil Service" is an achievement of the biggest Mutual Admiration Society in the world and rests on the solid foundation of the fact that, among all ancient homes of culture under the rule of civilized men, India holds the record for poverty, disease and illiteracy.

Regarding his strict impartiality the Viceroy said: "I would have you know that I am incapable of preferring any one community before another." We do not and cannot say that he is capable of such preference. But the Law and some of the administrative measures to which he will have to give effect actually originated in requires such preference.

As regards the press, we shall be glad indeed if during Lord Linlithgow's regime the central and provincial publicity and information bureaus give us more facts and less propaganda.

The concluding passage of the speech strikes a human note:

> I will devote my mind, my heart and such health as Providence may vouchsafe to me to the service of your country. For this I ask you to remember me in your prayers. Let us move boldly forward with faith and courage, you and I, and with all our strength strive to better the lot of her peoples wheresoever they may be and to sustain in all its ancient fame and glory the great name of India over all the world.

It will indeed be a matter for congratulation if the new Viceroy and Governor-General of India be able to serve India to any extent in spite of the Government of India Act of 1935 and cognate official measures and instruments.

The Indian Cultural Conference

The first session of the Indian Cultural Conference was held in Calcutta last month under the auspices of the Indian Research Institute. Professor Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., was chosen general president. Said he in the course of his address:

> Every nation, if it wants to rise to the pinnacle of civilization, must study and learn its history, whether it has or has not a glorious past. Because unless we know our past, we can never properly understand our present, and unless we are well cognisant of our present we cannot adequately shape our future.

He then proceeded "briefly to elucidate some of the chief characteristics of the culture and civilization of ancient India."

As chairman of the reception committee Principal Dr. S. N. Dasgupta gave a brief account of the origin and present condition of the Indian Research Institute. Said he, in part:

> The Institute was inaugurated with the distinct idea of studying Indian culture in all its various branches. It has already started a first class journal of Indian culture, has been acquiring manuscripts and printed books as the preliminary requisite of a research library. It has undertaken the publication of a scholarly edition of the Rigveda and it has under its contemplation the publication of a Buddhist Encyclopædia, a Botanical work, works on Vedanga Jyotisa, etc. I must avail of this happy

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occasion to offer our most grateful thanks on behalf of the Institute and the scholarly public of Bengal to the pecuniary support rendered to the Institute by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, Mr. T. C. Goswami and Mr. Gopaldas Chowdhury, the Zemindar of Sherpur and by the various scholars who have taken upon their shoulders the high task of building the temple of Sarasvati, for the future spiritual welfare of India.

Dr. Dasgupta then spoke on the Indus Valley civilization and Vedic civilization, post-Vedic thought, ancient India's contributions to science, cultural dissemination in other countries, and ancient Indian literature and logic and philosophy.

Presiding over the Indian History and Culture section of the Indian Cultural Conference Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda characterized modern castes codes and untouchabilities as "inglorious" legacies of India's glorious past. He deplored the tendency of modern reformers to have these evils eradicated with western methods. The method he ventured to recommend for gaining the same end was the historical method. Let them trace the history of the blots and find out how they came to be; where they were; whether they served any useful purpose in the past; whether they had outgrown their utility, observed the speaker. It would then be easier to remove the blots without doing harm to the main structure and without neutralising the action of the old forces of cohesion more than the application of foreign remedies.

Tracing the history of caste codes the Rai Bahadur pointed out, how the laxity of the former period gave rise to the rigidity of later times. But despite this rigidity there was considerable inter-mixture of race and culture, and referred in this connection to the difference in physical features of even the modern Brahmins from province to province. He therefore concluded by saying that from whatever point of view they looked at it the blot of untouchability should be removed from the society.

Dr. B. C. Law who presided over the Buddhistic section of the Conference referred to the various sources which were now available for the proper study of Buddhism. He observed that coins, inscriptions, sculptures, monuments and architecture should not be left unconsidered for a better understanding of Buddha's doctrine.

Mr. Maneckjee C. H. Rustomjee presided over the Zoroastrian section of the Conference and referred to the cordial hospitality that the Hindu rulers extended to the ancestors of the modern Parsis on their immigration into India many centuries back.

The presidential address in the Bengali section was delivered by Rai Bahadur Khagendra Nath Mitra. Mr. Mitra referred to the present position of the Bengali literature which stood at the cross-roads. It was either attempting to go back to the ancient lore of India or imitating foreign literature. Both, said Prof. Mitra, were fruitless and unreal. It was essential that the Bengali literature should not forsake the ideal of truth, faith and righteousness which inspired it in the past.

Archaeological Exploration Grants and Museums

The Indian Cultural Conference has passed the following resolution :

(That the Indian Cultural Conference views with grave concern that, at a time when Mohenjodaro, Harappa and other sites have revealed what excavations [illegible] toward the reconstruction of the history of [illegible] Government of India should curtail exploration [illegible] the Archæological Survey of India. This [illegible] further appeals earnestly to the Central as well [illegible] Local Governments in India to restore these grants [illegible] and if possible to increase them for the development [illegible] dissemination of the knowledge of Indian [illegible] which all classes and creeds of the country are [illegible] and vitally interested, and also to maintain the [illegible] tions of an enlightened government which the [illegible] ment of India have created and hitherto followed [illegible]

Another resolution adopted at the [illegible] ference is as follows :

This Indian Cultural Conference earnestly [illegible] for the reconstruction of the study of history, [illegible] Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which [illegible] national and premier Museum of India, to organise [illegible] All-India Museum Association with a constitution [illegible] enable them to deal effectively with such problems [illegible] standardization, exchange of exhibits, arrangement [illegible] galleries, cataloguing and equipment and so forth [illegible] confront the Curators and Directors and Trustees [illegible] Museums in India.

Economic Provincialism Retards Nationalism

The meeting of the Economic Section [illegible] Calcutta Literary Conference was held on [illegible] 13th April. Sj. Debendra Nath Banerjee [illegible] Reader of Economics and Politics, Dacca [illegible] versity, in the course of his presidential [illegible] said :

A cry has recently been raised by certain [illegible] of the Indians that Bihar is for the Biharis and [illegible] for the Assamese. Recently a similar cry is [illegible] Bengal that Bengal is for the Bengalees only. [illegible] it seems that this attitude of mind necessarily check [illegible] progress of Indian nationalism. Unless we move [illegible] United India, there cannot possibly be more progress [illegible] can statistically be proved that each Province [illegible] depend to a large extent on some or many other Provinces [illegible] In the Census Report of 1931 we find that [illegible] Biharis and Oriyas migrated to other provinces in [illegible] while 466563 non-Biharis and non-Oriyas immigrated [illegible] Bihar and Orissa. And of these Bihari and Oriya [illegible] grants 90 per cent emigrated to Bengal and Assam [illegible] Bengal alone they numbered 1138850. At the [illegible] this census 231151 Biharis and Oriyas were resident [illegible] the neighbourhood of Calcutta and Calcutta [illegible] During the six years prior to 1931 about 8 crores [illegible] rupees were received in money-orders in the post [illegible] of Bihar and Orissa and the maximum part of it [illegible] from Bengal. But nothing is received in Bengal [illegible] emigrant Bengalees. The Bengalees who have emigrated [illegible] to other provinces have domiciled in those provinces [illegible] have thus become permanent residents of such provinces [illegible] whatever they earn they spend there. If we compare [illegible] proportion of Bengalee emigrants to other provinces [illegible] emigrants from those provinces, we find that non-Bengalee [illegible] emigrants in Bengal far out-number Bengalee emigrants [illegible] to those places. Under these circumstances, it is [illegible] excite provincialism. But if non-Bengalees [illegible] Provincialism, Bengalees may take up Provincialism [illegible] self-defence.

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he Problem of Soil Erosion

At the meeting of the Economics section of he Calcutta Literary Conference, Mr. N. N. hosh read a paper on soil erosion, of which a ummary is given below.

In Western Bengal there are no more uncultivated ds, but whatever available lands are there, they are e rendered non-productive due to excessive soil-sion during the rainy seasons. The rains, the dearth which causes famine, cause soil-erosion and deprive the ds of their fertilisers. The effect of soil-erosion is seen the rivers being silted up. That also causes great ds and those floods do not in any way increase the ductive power of the lands. The floods of East Bengal entirely different from those of West Bengal. The ds help an increased produce in the East Bengal, reas in West Bengal they do the reverse. The use of dredgers in deepening the silted rivers may stop the ds to a certain extent, but they will not prevent the erosion. The systems of cultivation as prevalent in and and other countries, if adopted here, will not but will rather hasten the erosions. This problem oil erosions in West Bengal is in no way inferior to of the question of jute cultivation in West Bengal. must bear in mind that this soil erosion is not only dering the peasants of West Bengal extremely poor but reducing the prices of the lands day by day. The ericans are now faced with the same kind of soil sion problem. In order to cope with the problem, it ll be necessary to send out educated young men of gal to America and Soviet Russia to study the methods opted in those places and to apply them here to prevent s soil erosion.

As Mr. Ghosh refers to the soil-erosion oblem of America, which is a problem in some her parts of India also besides West Bengal, me facts relating to America may be instruc-ve.

The authors of that remarkable document, e Report of the Mississippi Valey Committee, ns summarise the terrible loss through man-duced erosion of America's soil resources :

"The very land is dying. Measured by man's brief erations it is losing for ever its ability to produce od."

According to Mr. Hugh H. Bennet, Director the United States Soil Conservation Service, s caused to the country by erosion amounts to less than 400,000,000 dollars annually. The nited States Government has passed a new gricultural law based upon the necessity of nserving America's farm resources. Other easures also have been taken. The Soil Con-vation Service is now devoting all its energies the problem of erosion. The Emergency ministration of Public Works has granted 4,000,000 dollars for work on forty erosion-ontrol projects. But what is the use of giving more details? Our Government has been doing nothing to prevent erosion.

Famine in Bankura

An editorial note in our last number has informed our readers that famine has broken out in the Bankura district of Bengal and out of its total population of 11 lakhs 5 lakhs are affected. Several other districts of Bengal are also affected. Among the organizations which have been giving relief in Bankura is the Bankura Sammilani, of which the editor of this monthly is the president and Mr. R. N. Sarkar, M.A., B.L., Advocate, is the honorary secretary. Mr. Sarkar has issued an appeal for help, from which extracts are given below.

On account of the geographical condition—more than half being rocky and undulating, the rivers being sandy and dry in summer—Bankura gets a famine condition on the failure of rains in even one season. On the failure of crops in two successive years due to drought, scarcity of a very severe nature began to be felt from June last year when the Bankura Sammilani began famine relief works on a modest scale within the jurisdiction of Gangajalghati and Barjora Police Stations. Immediately after this, the great Damodar flood swept away all that the people had in large tracts of this district verging on the right bank

Some famine-stricken persons of Bankura

of the river affecting innumerable villages within the Police Stations of Mejia, Barjora, Gangajalghati, Sonamukhi, Patrasayer and Indas. This has greatly added to the misery of the people.

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A severe famine has now broken out in almost the whole area of the district within the Thanas of Onda, Raipur, Chhatna, Indpur, Gangajalghati, Barjora and in part of Indas.

People living within these areas had to sell or hypothecate all they had during these two years to keep body and soul together. They have hardly got more than a single sheet of cloth to cover their body and hide their nudity.

Men may go out in tatters to attend relief works or for other purposes. But the misfortune of the women folk of these places is of the gravest nature. These women could by their manual labour either earn money in some relief work or collect some food materials in the shape of vegetables. But want of cloth compels them to live within the four walls of their huts during the day. They go out in the evening to attend nature's call, to fetch drinking water and the like.

The suffering of the so-called "Bhadrolog" class is indescribable. They cannot, like the labouring class, earn in test works opened by the Government, partly because they are not used to such work and partly because it would wound their vanity. Want of cloths among the women of these respectable people is very very keenly felt.

The condition of the cattle is worst—no straw, no grass, no water. They are left to the mercy of nature, and God knows what is happening to these dumb creatures. Men cannot secure their own food; who would care for these creatures?

I appeal to the generous public to send us any help they can afford for their suffering brethren and dumb creatures. Any contribution, either in cash or in cloth, new or old (washed), to Mr. Rishindra Nath Sarkar, Secretary, Bankura Sammilani, 20B, Sankaritola East, Calcutta, will be thankfully received. Food grains should be despatched to the Superintendent, Bankura Sammilani Medical School, Bankura.

Manuscript of Vidyapati's Songs

During his recent visit to Nepal, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal examined its State library and found a complete manuscript of Vidyapati's songs, which he thinks is about 500 years old. It is a large palm-leaf manuscript in 109 folios. He says :

The manuscript is complete but for its cover. The last four folios record an index of the songs. Every song has its 'raga' or 'ragini' noted. It is in Maithili characters; and from its appearance it looks like a contemporary copy or a copy made soon after Vidyapati's time.

As far as I know this work has not been published. It is described in the State Catalogue as Vidyapati Gitam. Its bundle No. is 738. The text appeared to be correct, and the writing is bold and careful. Although the manuscript is old, bearing marks of age, it is wholly readable. Gentlemen interested in Vidyapati's literature may obtain a copy of the manuscript and edit it. It may settle the question of the genuineness of the doubtful pieces attributed to Vidyapati and the original language of the songs. If a competent scholar came forward, I would help him in obtaining an authentic copy from the State Library. The State is very liberal in these matters.

Years ago Mr. Nagendranath Gupta edited and published Vidyapati's *Padavali*. It would be interesting to compare the Nepal manuscript with Mr. Gupta's edition.

The Late Mr. Surendranath Mallik

Before accepting a membership of the Council of the Secretary of State for India the late Mr. Surendranath Mallik was a prominent lawyer in the front rank of his profession and an advanced Liberal known for his outspoken

Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik

political utterances. He looked upon Surendranath Banerjea as his political guru and helped him greatly in making the Calcutta Municipal Act what it became. His experience as chairman of the Calcutta Corporation in those days enabled him to render this service. He gave up the membership of the Secretary of State's Council, as he found that it afforded no scope to do good to India. After coming back to India he did not take any appreciable part in political activities, but devoted himself with his whole soul and pecuniary sources to the work of village uplift. He was very affectionate and kind-hearted and famous for his affability. In him the masses in Bengal have lost a genuine friend.

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Unveiling of Mr. D. G. Vaidya's Portrait

Mr. Dwarkanath Govind Vaidya, editor of *The Sobodha Patrika* of Bombay, is a very quiet worker and has all along, naturally, avoided the limelight. So he must have found it not a little embarrassing when his friends insisted on placing a portrait of his in oil colours in the Prarthana Mandir, Bombay. In recognition of his long services, extending over four decades, as Secretary of the Prarthana Samaj, Bombay, and Editor of *The Subodha Patrika*, Mr. S. L. Haldankar, a famous Artist of Bombay, prepared and presented this portrait of Mr. D. G. Vaidya, to the Bombay Prarthana

Mr. D. G. Vaidya

Samaj, which was unveiled before a large audience by Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar on the 31st of March, 1936. The portrait is an exact likeness of Mr. Vaidya. He is the author of the Marathi book, *Dharma and Samsar*, recently reviewed in this monthly.

World Fellowship

The World Congress of Faiths will be held in London from July 3 to 18. Several Indian scholars have been invited to attend this Congress. Sir Francis Younghusband is its British National Chairman. He has contributed to the April *Asiatic Review* an article on "World Fellowship," which it is the object of the Congress to promote. He begins the article thus :

> The Archbishop of Canterbury in his moving Armistice Sunday address showed that a power deeper than Covenants and Pacts was needed to restrain war and to establish peace. He suggested that this power must be spiritual, and he urged that the Christian spirit would prove to be the spiritual power which the world needs. . . . If God's rule of righteousness, justice, goodwill, brotherhood among men, were loyally accepted and obeyed, war would cease and peace would come to stay. Christians everywhere should seek first the Kingdom of God, put its rule above the sway of national misunderstandings, jealousies, excitement, ambitions.
>
> The same insistence on the incapacity of political covenants to provide a true and lasting foundation for the peace of the world is made by the two archbishops in their letter on "The Way to Peace," read in all churches on the first Sunday of this year.

Sir Francis proceeds to observe :

> That the power to establish peace must, in the last resort, be a spiritual power is the great truth which mankind has to learn.
>
> But for the promulgation of this truth mankind is not dependent upon the spokesmen of Christianity alone. Spokesmen of other religions also have for centuries been proclaiming the same truth and may be relied upon to continue proclaiming it in future. All the great religions of the world impress upon men the supreme value of spiritual things and the need of developing among themselves the spirit of peace and goodwill and true fellowship.

Then Sir Francis briefly summarises the truths and ideals of the principal non-Christian faiths, and observes :

> So the spokesmen not only of Christianity but of all the great religions and their offspring advocate in the strongest possible way the development of a spiritual power capable of establishing peace. It would therefore seem to be sigularly appropriate, in these anxious times when war is once more abroad in the world and certain nations are deliberately refusing to pin their faith upon the efficacy of spiritual power and are unabashedly relying upon naked force to achieve their ends, that all who have faith in the spirit, whatever may be their religion, should come together and reinforce one another in achieving the one common end which all have in view —the dominance of the spiritual over the material and the deepening of the spirit of fellowship between man and man and nation and nation.

The New I. C. S. Recruiting Arrangement

The new Indian Civil Service recruiting arrangement, recently announced, rests on the assumption that a British element in the Civil Service is indispensably necessary and that this element must be at least 50 per cent of the whole service. To meet the requirements of British imperialism, a large proportion of

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Civil Servants must, no doubt, be Britishers. But India does not require a single Britisher to accept service in the I. C. S. There are a good many Indians who are physically, intellectually and morally quite able to man the whole service quite efficiently. If Britain wishes to convince Indians and the rest of mankind that she wants India to be self-ruling, she should at once reduce the number and proportion of British recruits to the I. C. S. and stop it entirely in the course of—say, five years.

"The Abolition of Unemployment in the U.S.S.R."

This is the title of an article in the March number of *International Labour Review*. This review is published in Britain for the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, of which Britain is the most influential member. Hence, there should not be any suspicion that the article is part of anti-British Soviet propaganda, though of course "the International Labour Office is not responsible for opinions expressed in signed articles." The writer of the article is Professor Boris Markus, Chief of the Labour and Employment Section, State Planning Commission, Moscow. The article is long, covering 35 pages of the review. It is editorially introduced in the following paragraph :

> After describing the general situation of the employment market in Czarist Russia, the author shows how the transformations brought about by the revolution have gradually modified the distribution of labour in the U.S.S.R. from top to bottom. He distinguishes three periods in this process : that known as the period of "war communism" (from 1918 to the end of the first half of 1921), the period of "recovery" (from the second half of 1921, up to 1926-27), and the period of "Socialist reconstruction" (from 1927 onwards). The decisive results of the enforcement of the five-year plans and the social and economic consequences of the modifications which have taken place are especially thrown into relief. The author concludes that the experience of the last five years not only shows that unemployment has been completely abolished throughout the country, but that the root causes of unemployment have been completely extirpated.

The writer's own concluding observations are :

> After abolishing unemployment and checking the spontaneous flow of labour from the villages to the towns Soviet economy has created its own planned system of recruiting and distributing labour. To meet the enormous demand for labour of a country in the full tide of economic development, recourse has been had, under the new conditions, to the methodical training of specialists and the organised recruiting of labour from the land. By systematically improving its methods of training and steadily raising the standard of skill and the quality of its workers, the U.S.S.R. is in process of solving the fundamental problem of labour supply with which confronted at the present stage of its development.

Travancore Administration Report

The latest volume of the Travancore Administration Report (for 1934-1935 A.D.) is as full of needful and interesting information as the preceding ones. A many-coloured chart shows the percentage of expenditure under different heads. It is instructive to learn that educational expenditure is the biggest item. The percentages under different heads are shown below :

Head.	Per cent.	Head.	Per cent.
Education	23.2	Medical &c.	[illegible]
P. W. D. &c.	17.3	Subsidy	[illegible]
"Temple"	8.6	Police	[illegible]
Pension	7.7	Army	[illegible]
Administration of Justice	6.0	Genl. Adm.	[illegible]
		Miscellaneous	[illegible]

The Problem of Nutrition

The League of Nations has embarked on a far-reaching enquiry into the social, economic and hygienic problem of nutrition. In recent years, this question has attracted increasing attention from the point of view of public health, economics and particularly agriculture. On the initiative of the Australian delegate, the Assembly of the League decided that the time was ripe for a far-reaching enquiry into this question. Recent scientific discoveries have made Governments and public opinion aware of the great importance, from the point of view of public health, of diet. At the same time, the paradox of widespread malnutrition in the midst of a world suffering from a glut of agricultural products has brought out the international character of the problem and made it urgently desirable to investigate its economic as well as public health aspects.

For this purpose, the League Council appointed a Mixed Committee consisting of experts obtained through the League Health Organization and Economic Organization with the co-operation and assistance of representatives of the International Institute of Agriculture and of the International Labour Organization.

Will India derive any advantage from this inquiry?

Reduction of Grants to Indian Universities

Some statistics laid on the table of the Assembly by Sir G. S. Bajpai show that Government grants to the universities in India have been substantially reduced in the case of almost every University. Is such reduction part of a deliberate policy? Has it anything to do with the absence of any reference to education—university, collegiate, high school and elementary—in Lord Linlithgow's broadcast address?

In Britain the state grant to the universities has been raised from £1,830,000 to £2,100,000 for each year of the next five years.

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Unrest in Palestine

The Arab-Jew dissensions and riots again broke out last month in Palestine. At Nazareth the police had to fire on the disorderly Arabs. The Arab *hartal* is continuing.

Death of King Fuad

King Fuad of Egypt is dead and his minor son has succeeded to the throne. During his minority the country will be governed by a council of regency. It is doubtful how Egypt will fare under it. There is a likelihood of British influence and power increasing during the regency.

Italo-Abyssinian War

Torrential rains have lent some support to the unusually heroic Abyssinian soldiers who have been fighting with undiminished morale against the better equipped Italian army. The foreign man has not yet helped the Abyssinians effectively. If nature comes to their rescue and helps them to remain free, all liberty-loving non-imperialists will rejoice.

Assured Left Wing Victory in France

A London cable dated April 29 states that, owing to a practically assured left wing victory in the French elections, the *Echo de Paris* says that France is heading towards anarchy.

The Ramakrishna Mission

Of the 102 centres of the Ramakrishna Mission 42 are in India and the rest in Europe, North and South America, Burma, Straits Settlements and Ceylon.

Ramakrishna Centenary in London

The Ramakrishna Centenary meeting was held in London last month. Sir Francis Younghusband presided over it.

Sir Francis observed that the Master's message of 'As Many Faiths, So Many Paths' was the greatest of all messages that they had received from the East during the last century.

Sir Francis while closing the meeting declared: 'The West is now prepared to receive spiritual messages from the East and especially from Sri Ramakrishna, who is not only the greatest spiritual genius in India of the present age, but also one of the greatest men of all times.'

Austro-German Situation

LONDON, April 29.

According to reports from Vienna, Austria is preparing to move contingents of troops from Vienna and the eastern parts of Austria into Salzburg and the Tyrol.

Reticence is maintained in military circles, but it is officially stated that the movements of troops are for training purposes.

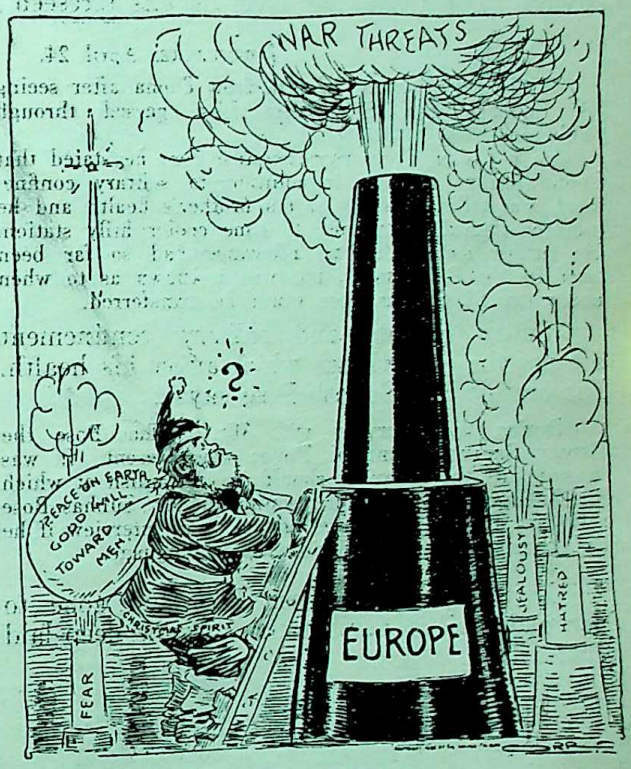
Troops are also being transferred from the plains into mountainous regions and vice versa.

These reports follow rumours that Germany is making large scale military preparations along the Bavarian and Austrian frontiers.

Preparations are being made to receive soldiers from Vienna in the frontier districts of Aussfern and Kufstein.

Nine trainboats of troops left Styria for the important railway junction of Bischofshofen, and arrangements are being made to receive several squadrons of the Austrian Air Force at the Innsbruck air port.

The rumours that Germany is making military preparations were denied in Berlin, while it was stated in Munich that the number of troops in Bavaria is now smaller than before the occupation of the Rhineland, a large portion of the Rhineland garrison having been taken from Bavaria.—*Reuter*.



Chimneys of Europe

Imprisonment of Subhas Chandra Bose

Dr. Rudolf Demel of Vienna, who treated Mr. Subhas Bose, has addressed the following letter to the Government of India and a copy of it has been released for publication by Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt, Deputy President of the Assembly:

"Mr. Subhas Bose, who had been under my treatment in April and May 1935 and also undergone a major

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operation (removal of inflamed gall bladder with stone) at my hands, is now returning to India and I think I should inform you about the condition of his health. I would have liked him to spend a year more in Europe and recover his health before returning home. When he first told me a couple of months ago that he must go, my advice was that he should be very careful about his diet, regular hours of work, and avoidance of worry and excitement. I am now informed that there is a possibility of his being put in prison on return to India. This has made me rather concerned about his health, because the advice that I gave him cannot be given effect to if he is under detention. Though his abdominal condition has improved greatly since his operation, it is still not in a satisfactory condition. Moreover the past history of his case with predisposition towards tuberculosis adds to my concern. As a medical man I can only hope that all these facts will be taken into consideration in dealing with his case."

It was not expected that the Government would give effect to the Austrian doctor's advice. The result has been as was foreseen :

JUBBULPORE, April 24.

While returning to Calcutta from Poona after seeing Sj. Subhas Bose, Sj. Sailes Bose passed through Jubbulpore.

To a *United Press* representative here he stated that Poona's sultry climate, in addition to solitary confinement, was telling heavily on his brother's health and he required immediate transfer to some cooler hilly station. He further stated that no allowance had so far been fixed by the Government, nor was it known as to when and where Sj. Subhas Bose would be transferred.

Sultry climate and solitary confinement are not the only things which affect his health. His brother Mr. Sailesh Bose says :

During the interview with Mr. Subhas Bose the Deputy Superintendent of Police was present. It was insisted that the interview should be in English at which Mr. Subhas Bose expressed resentment. Mr. Subhas Bose said that he would not have agreed to an interview if he had known of such restrictions about language.

Evidently Mr. Sailesh Bose had gone to Yeravada jail in furtherance of some deep-laid plot!

The Late Mrs. Purnima Sankhdhar

The Leader of Allahabad writes :

We deeply regret the death of Mrs. Purnima Prasad Sankhdhar, which sad event has been from Shahjahanpur. Born in the illustrious family, Srimati Purnima Devi was married to Pandit Jwala Prasad Sankhdhar, a member of the Provinces Civil Service who rose to be collector member of the Legislative Council. He was a gentleman and a reformer, and presided over the Social Conference at Benares in 1905. Mrs. Prasad was a lady highly educated and refined character, and of considerable administrative ability proved a model zamindar in the development of estate and the treatment of her tenants. She too reformer and presided over the United Provinces Conference at Allahabad in 1924. Mrs. Jwala was respected by all who knew her, and Shahjahanpur and the United Provinces have sustained a great loss her early death.

All-Bengal Teachers' Conference Resolutions

Among the more important resolutions passed last month at the Comilla session of the All-Bengal Teachers' Conference were the following :

In view of the fact that the compartmental system of examination has been introduced by some of the examining bodies in India, the authorities of the Calcutta University and the Dacca Board be requested to introduce it in their regulations also.

This Conference most emphatically protests against the threatened reduction of the number of secondary schools as proposed in the Government Educational Reorganization scheme.

That the Director of Public Health be requested to supply all health-charts to all schools, and the District Health Officer be requested to visit every school at least once a year for the health survey of the boys and to suggest some practical outlines for the physical well-being of the school-boys of the present day.

That the Government be moved to allot an adequate sum of money in the next Education Budget for distribution among non-Government secondary schools of the province to enable them to arrange for compulsory physical training of their pupils.

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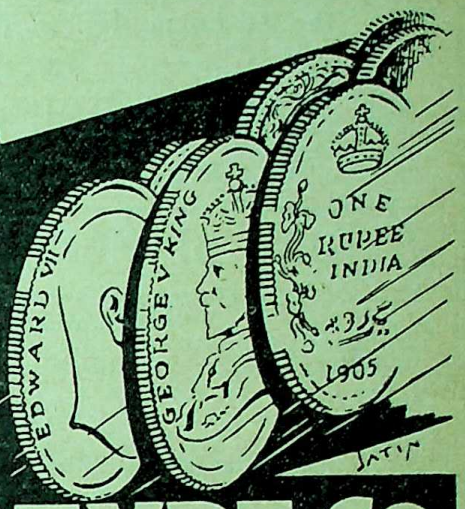

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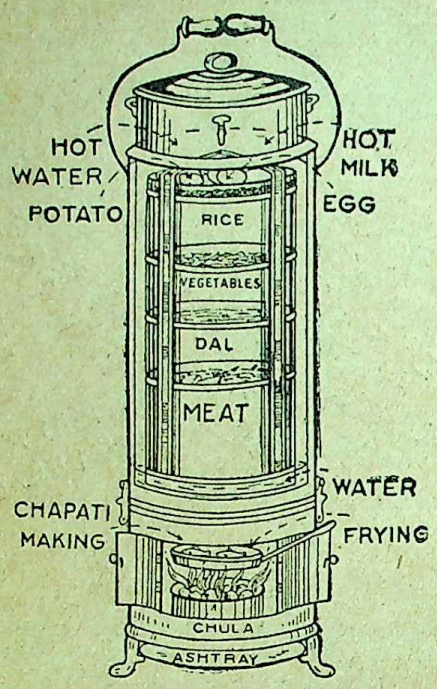

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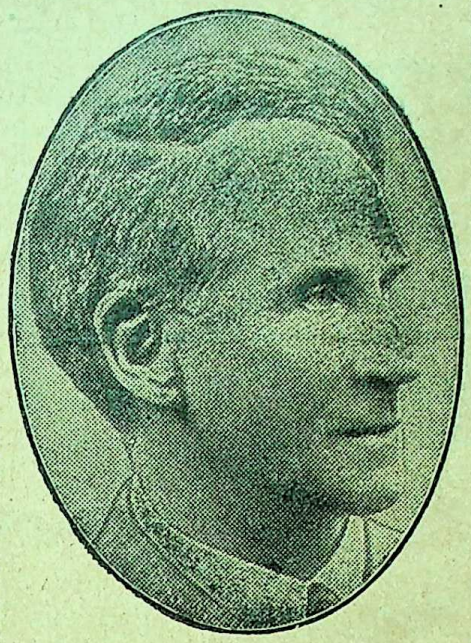

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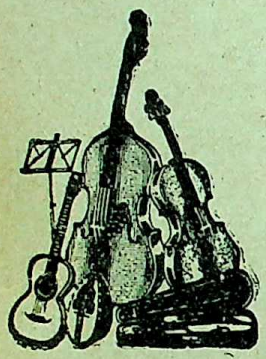

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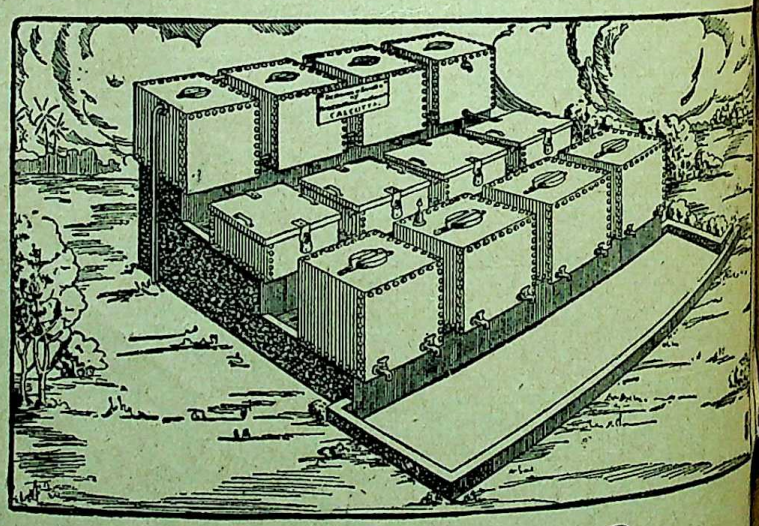

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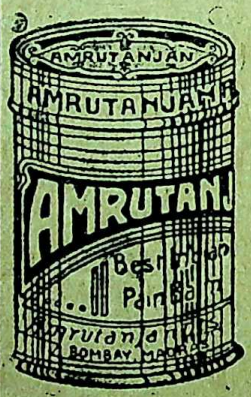

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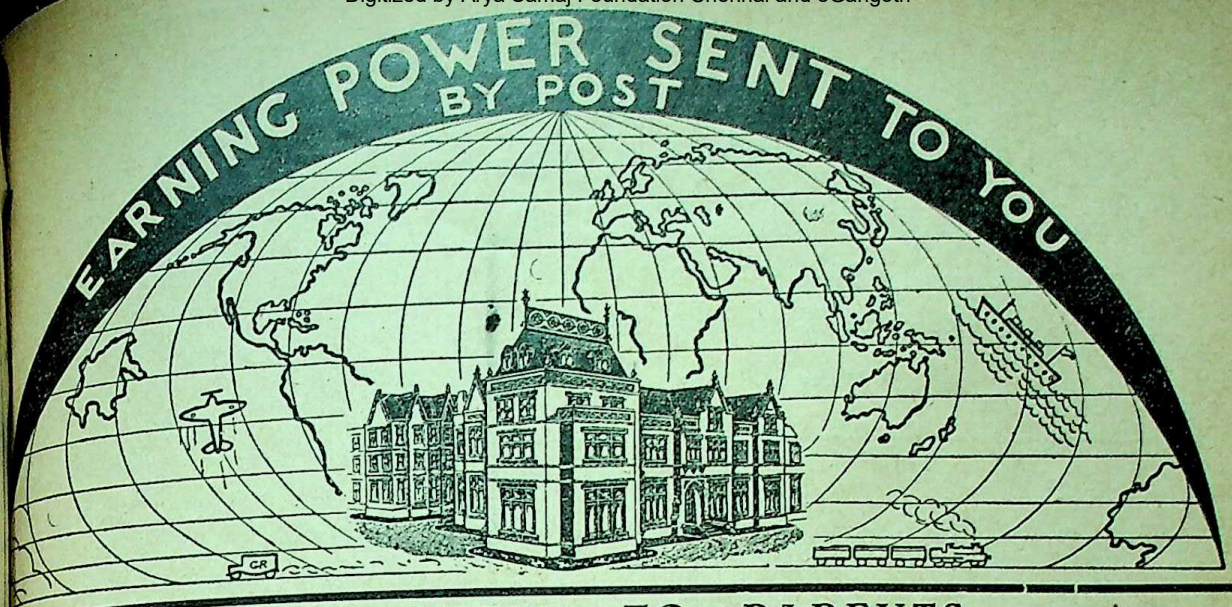

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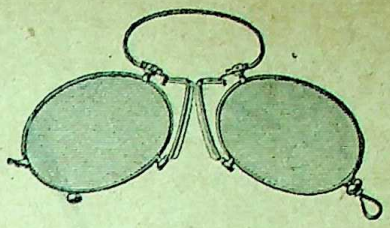

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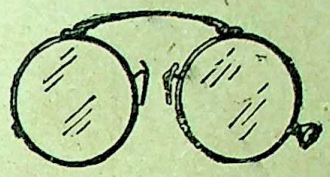

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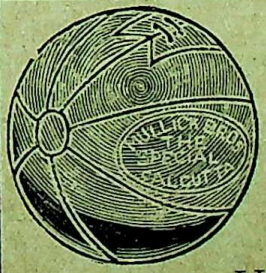

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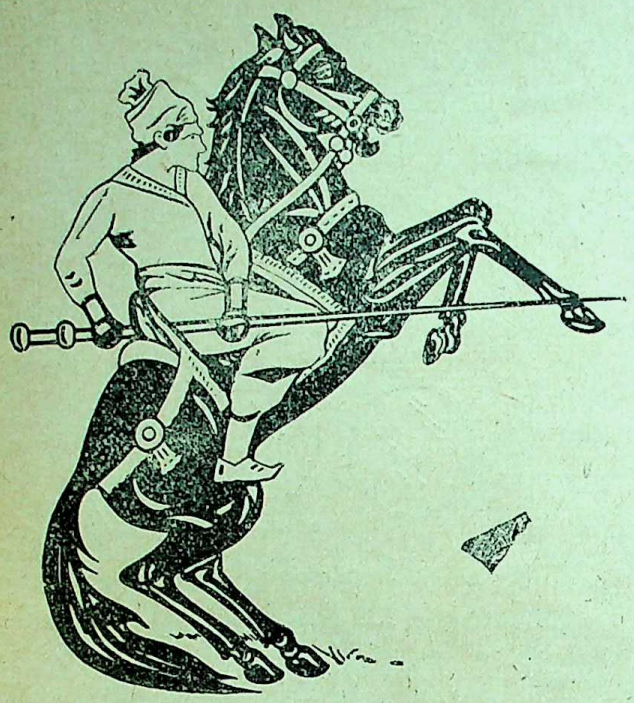

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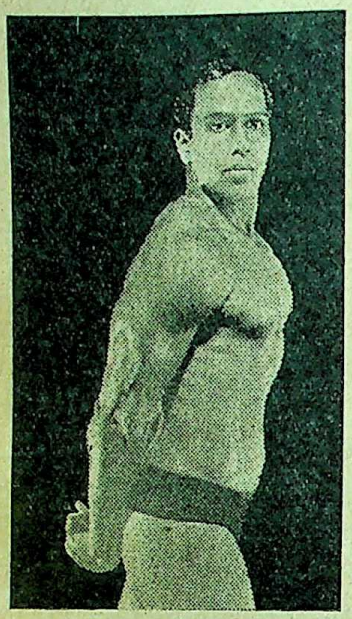

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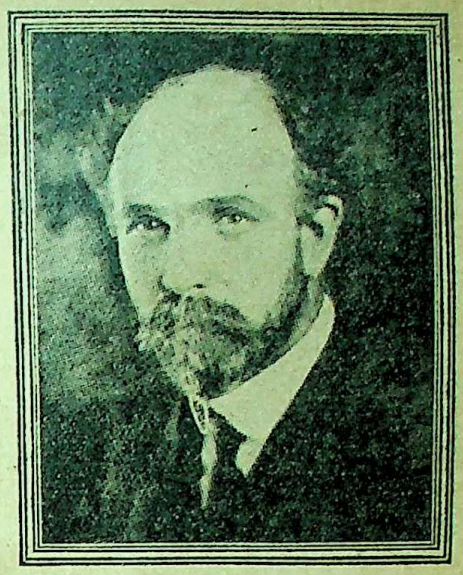

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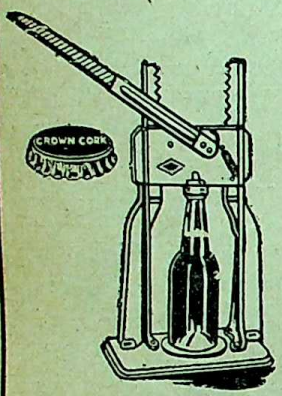

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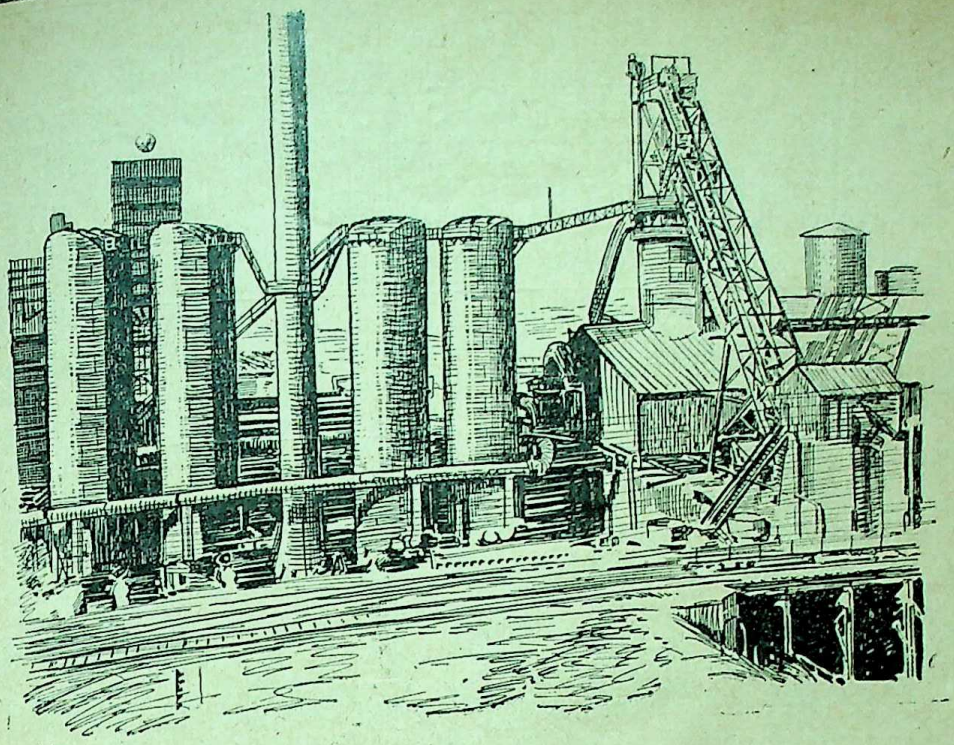

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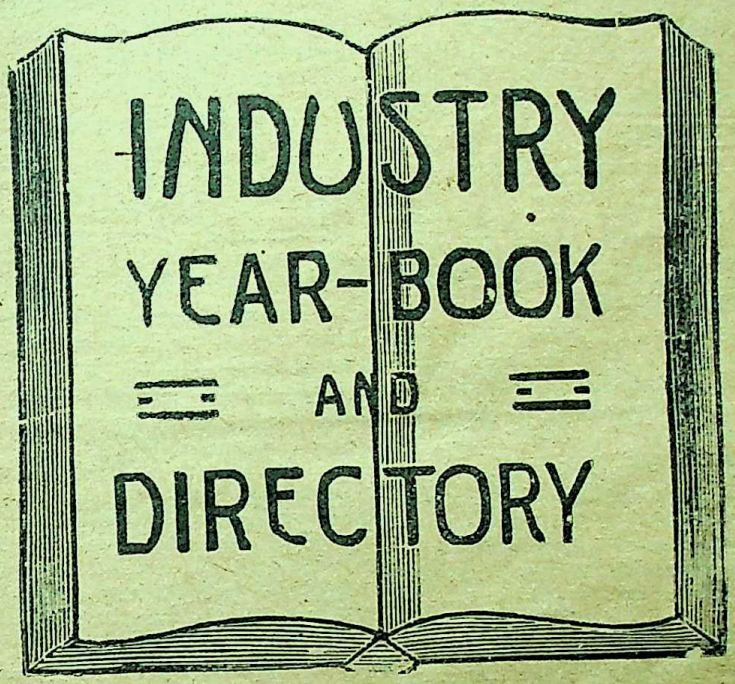

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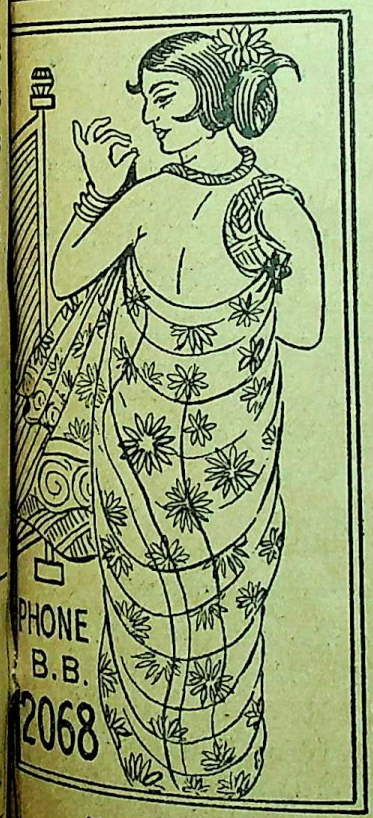

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By Nandalal Bose

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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"WHY DEPRIVE ME, MY FATE, OF MY WOMAN'S RIGHT . . . ."

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Why deprive me, my Fate, of my woman's right
boldly to conquer the best of life's prizes
with mine own arrogant power,
and not to keep gazing at emptiness
waiting for some chance drifting towards me
with the withered fruit of weary days of patience?
Send me without pity to the utter risk of my all for the treasure
guarded behind rudely forbidding barricades,
Never for me is to steal into the bridal chamber
with the timid tinkling of anklets
in a dim twilight dusk,
but recklessly to rush into the desperate danger of love
by some troubled sea
where its stormy vehemence would snatch away from my face
the veil of shrinking maidenliness
and amidst the ominous shrieks of sea-birds
could be raised to my warrior my cry—
You are mine own.

15. 5. 36

Translated from the original Bengali.

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A POET'S BIOGRAPHY

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(*Written in 1902 and republished in 1935 : specially translated for The Modern Review*)

Poet Tennyson's son has published his father's life and letters in two large volumes.

We do not come across any detailed account of the lives of our old poets. In those days our people had no *penchant* for biographies; moreover, men of old, both big and small, lived less prominent lives. Letter writing, newspaper comments, public debates, lectures on literature, were not then in vogue, so that present-day facilities did not exist for recording the various reflections of the activities of literary men.

Explorers have traversed inaccessible regions in their avidity to discover the places where important rivers take their start. We have, similarly, a natural curiosity to learn of the fountain-head of great streams of poetry; and it was to be expected that a modern poet's biography would satisfy such curiosity; for, under modern conditions, when rail-roads have been run almost up to the sources of rivers, it should hardly be possible for any poet of renown to hide the source of his inspiration from the public gaze.

It was with this hope that I eagerly went through these two volumes. But I failed to get therein any glimpse of the heights in which the spring of Tennyson's poetry had its rise. They embody the life of the man, but not of the Poet. They do not disclose when and how the poet cast his net into the sea of men's hearts to draw therefrom such wealth of wisdom and emotion, they do not show us where he sat to practise on his flute the music of the spheres.

It becomes clear that in whatsoever manner Tennyson may have created his poetry, he did not so create his own life,—that, in short, his life is not a poem. It is men of action who create their lives. Just as the poet extorts rhythm from recalcitrant words, gives to common phrases a great meaning, to ordinary sentiments a grand expression, so does the heroic man build the edifice of his life out of unpromising materials in spite of encompassing difficulties and, by dint of his genius, moulds the pettiness around him into greatness. The hero's life is his epic, whence his biography is in such request.

But what use are we to make of a poet's life ? What permanent substance is to be found therein ? To put its commonplace details on a pedestal by attaching them to the greatness of his fame, is to shame the trivial by placing it on the throne of the mighty. To the great man belongs his life, to the great poet his poems. True, there are exceptional men who are poets both in word and deed. In such case, their life and poetry elucidate each other, making the meaning of both deeper, their significance larger. Dante was such a poet whose poetry was intertwined with his life, wherefore the study of these, taken together, adds to the glory of each of them.

But such was not the case with Tennyson. His life was doubtless that of a good man, but it shows no signs of broadness, largeness, richness of variety. It cannot be given anything like the same weight as his poetical work. Only where his poetry is narrow, lacks universality, betrays the "shopkeeper" taint of English civilization, is it a reflection of his life presented in this biography; its greatness—that has created a vast world of song, where men are seen to unite with men, God with His creation,—is not there revealed.

What if the absence of any biography of our own poets of old leaves our curiosity unsatisfied,—I do not regret it. No one places in the rank of history the stories that are current about Valmiki. But I say that these tell us truly of the life of the Poet. The episodes of his life which readers of Valmiki have gathered from his poetry, are truer to his nature than his life's actual incidents may have been.

What dealt the blow that set free from the recesses of Valmiki's heart the fountain of his song ? It was Pity. The Ramayana is a stream of tears that flows from the spring of agony. The cry of the disconsolate crane whose mate the hunter's arrow had struck down, sounds as its key-note in the heart of the epic. Like the hunter, Ravana cleft asunder the lives of a loving couple, and the death blow of the wings of the bird wounded at heart, is what is heard in the great battle of Lanka. The cleavage that Ravana caused was worse

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than separation by death, for it persisted even after the outward reunion of Rama and Sita.

All circumstances had combined to foretell their living happily ever after. Rama had the love of his father, the affection of his subjects, the devotion of his brothers, and in the midst of these came his union with his beloved Sita. His recognition as heir-apparent was only intended as a ceremony to crown these favours of fortune with appropriate glory. Just at this moment Fate, the hunter, loosed his arrow,—an arrow that eventually struck home when Ravana made away with Sita. Thereafter nothing was left for Rama but a succession of the pangs of bereavement, till the deepest bliss of wedlock was finally transformed into its direst tragedy.

The story of the crane's cry of bereavement is only a brief symbolical representation of the main idea running through the Ramayana. The gist of what I want to say is this, that our people have discovered the truth that the pure strains of *anushtup* metre flowing from Valmiki are but waves of emotion proceeding from his heart melted by the warmth of pity—it was the irreparable wound dealt to glorious wedded love that stirred our sage into his outburst of poetry.

There is the other story about Valmiki as being originally Ratnakara, the robber. This amounts to a comment on the Ramayana from a different angle, moved by a different mood. This also has reference to the life of Rama. This story does not put its stress on supreme pity as being the moving force behind the epic, but gives that credit to Valmiki's appreciation of Rama's great character,—a character so high that it made of the robber a poet by dint of the reverence it compelled. This story affords, as it were, a measuring rod for estimating the immensity of what Rama means for India.

Both these stories teach us that it is not in the daily doings and sayings, letter writings and conversations, not even in the usual educational process to which he is subjected, that the origin of a poet's poetry is to be found. Its fountain-head is to be traced to some occasion of overpowering emotion, which like a conjured-up divine apparition, was beyond the poet's own control. Kavi-Kankan, the chronicler of the deeds of Chandi, is thus said to have received his inspiration in a dream, by favour of the Goddess herself.

There are similar stories about Kalidasa. He was a dense kind of fool, a subject of mockery for his cultured wife. All of a sudden, by divine grace, he was filled with poetic fervour. The Valmiki of the story was a cruel robber, Kalidasa a hopeless ignoramus,—the implication in either case being the same. It is only a way of pointing to the cleansing of Valmiki's heart by pity; of indicating the divine character of Kalidasa's pent-up fire of emotion, at length released.

These stories, as I was saying, were not taken from the lives of the poets, but from their poems. Such incidents in Valmiki's actual life as might have been ferreted out would have had no intimate or permanent relation to his poetic output, for they could not but have been trivial and temporary, while his Ramayana is the outcome of his inner, deeper nature,— a creation of his whole nature; the manifestation of some unnameable, unmeasurable force, not of trivial impulses such as give rise to every-day activities.

A poetical biography of Tennyson *could* have been written; one that would have been groundless so far as his outward life was concerned, but that would have had its roots in his life as a poet. Such a biography could not have been established in truth, except with the aid of imagination. In it there would have been a curious combination of the Lady of Shallot, and the times of King Arthur, with the Victorian age; the magic of Merlin and the magic of Science would therein have jostled each other.

How the modern age, like a step-mother, banished Tennyson in his early youth into the Forest of Imagination, how in his solitary sojourn amidst the ruins of ancient castles he happened upon Alladin's lamp, how he came to find and woo the lost Princess, and how at last, laden with the spoils of the days of old, he rode back in princely state into the present day,—this story has yet to be written.

Had any enthusiasts essayed this enterprise, their accounts would doubtless have been at variance with one another—and Tennyson's life would have been a living thing, taking on ever-fresh forms from author to author, from age to age.

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TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK AS A PROFESSION

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., S.T.B., Ph.D.,
Professor of Social Economy, The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay.

THE need of good and sound courses in social science and social training, fruitful alike on the academic and on the practical side, is so patent to any one who watches the growth of social service movements in the advanced States and Provinces of India, that the method of accomplishing this aim seems now worthy of full discussion. In the West, Social Work has already come to be considered as part of citizenship training. Social work plays an important role in national regeneration.

To begin with we may ask the question: What is Social Work? Prof. Tufts, one of the pioneer American writers to agitate for scientific training for social work, says that there are five possible methods of defining the field of social work. Functionally social work may be defined as "adding certain disadvantaged classes" such as the victims of poverty, disease, faults of character and the like; if we look at it from the point of view of its aim, then Social Work is the "detailed study and better adjustment of social relations." In our modern society where life is becoming more and more complex, certain maladjustments occur, and the "task of social work is to discover and classify the conditions of maladjustment, trace their causes, devise agencies and methods for their relief and possibly for their removal." If we adopt the historical approach to social work, then Prof. Tufts says:

> "That the increasing number of individuals, groups, and classes that need help or guidance or better opportunity, the demand for scientific methods, the enlarging vision of what is possible, the increasing resources and skill to deal with situations once hopeless, the growing conception that we are members of a single group, and that it is therefore possible to do in a concerted way what we potter with ineffectively in separate efforts—all these combine to expand the field of Social Work. Fourthly, Social Work may be defined by enumeration of present lines of activity, and, fifthly, by defining its relation to the various social institutions."

This attempt of Prof. Tufts at a definition of Social Work makes clear the vastness of Social Work as a field, and the difficulty of giving an all comprehensive definition. Nevertheless, for practical purposes we may define Social Work as that endeavour which has for its objective the development of personality and of group life through adjustments systematically effected between persons or groups and their social environment.

Social Work thus defined would include all voluntary attempts to extend benefits which are made in response to a need. The many varieties of such services may be classified under four main groups thus: (1) Case Work; (2) Institutional Work; (3) Group Work; and (4) Organization and Administration. Each of these in turn includes a number of sub-varieties indicated in the following outlines:

TYPES OF SOCIAL WORK

I. *Case Work*
- Family Welfare Work.
- Children's Aid and Protection.
- Visiting Teacher's Work.
- Hospital Social Service.
- Psychiatric Social Work.
- Probation and Parole.
- Vocational Guidance and Personnel Work.

II. *Institutional Work*
- For Children.
- For the Aged.
- For Delinquents.

III. *Group Work*
- Direction of Leisure Time Activities.
- Club Work with Small Groups.
- Neighbourhood Work.
- Community Organization.

IV. *Organization and Administration*
- Administration of Social Agencies.
- Publicity.
- Co-ordination and Supervision.
- Financing.
- Promotion of New Programmes.

Though each of the above four main types involves a rather well-defined field of human endeavour, yet they all have much in common. Differences between these groups of social work are largely matters of emphasis, of specialized training, of major responsibility and of the auspices under which one works. The social workers in the fields of case work, group work, Institutional work and social service administration share in common the philosophy, the basic knowledge and technique of social work.

IS SOCIAL WORK A PROFESSION?

Having seen what is really involved in the field of social work, we may now turn our attention to the question: Is Social Work a Profe-

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sion? In answer to this question, some may maintain that social work has not yet arrived at full professional status. While it may be true that in India social work has not yet come to that stage, there are indications that social work as such does have definite professional aspects. At the meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in America in the year 1915, Abraham Flexner presented seven criteria by which a profession may be distinguished from amateur activities on the one hand, and from business and trades on the other. The first mark of a profession is that the activities involved are essentially intellectual in character. This calls for individual responsibility for making important decisions rather than the routine application of thoughtout techniques. In the second place, the raw materials of a profession are drawn from science and arts. This distinguishes it from a trade, which may be developed by trial and error, and passed on through apprenticeship. Thirdly, however much the various professions may overlap, each has a well-defined nucleus of functions for which it is clearly responsible. Moreover, these functions involve the achievement of certain concrete, practical results, which differentiate a profession from a science or a philosophy. The fourth criterion is the possession of an "Educationally communicable technique." That is, the methods used by members of each profession have been analysed and formulated, so they can be passed systematically to competent persons desirous of entering the field. In the fifth place, a profession tends towards self-organization. Flexner speaks of it as a brotherhood, whose members are watchful of ethical standards, critical of methods, and devoted to the advancement of professional interests. In the sixth place, the interests of the public take precedence over those of the vocational group and of the individual practitioner. By implication Flexner added a seventh criterion,—that of having a literature recording development, achievement, methods and underlying philosophy of the vocation.

This was some twenty years ago. Judged by these criteria, the social work of that time was found wanting in at least three important points for claiming the status of a profession. Social work did not then bear the sole or major responsibility for making needed adjustments. It also lacked a definite and concrete aim, and so no purposefully organized educational discipline seemed possible. Furthermore, social work possessed almost no professional literature in 1915. But during the last two decades, social work has made great progress toward the achievement of professional status. The view that social work could be practised by any one with a good heart is gradually giving way to the demand for staff members with adequate professional and educational qualifications. Few now regard common sense and a desire to do good to one's fellows as sufficient equipment for social work in the modern world which requires every ounce of human thought and energy to be placed to the best advantage. There are, of course, some in India who still look upon social workers as kind-hearted but rather inferior persons who are doing a noble work, but one which is not very important, and who regard alms-giving as a passport to heaven. It is not surprising therefore if it is in the realm of "charity" that there is the most grievous waste of human effort through overlapping and inefficient management.

In spite of all these shortcomings, we must admit that the attitude toward social work and social workers is changing and men and women responsible for programmes dealing with health, poverty, social behaviour and social life in its many intimate aspects are becoming increasingly aware of the resourcefulness needed for the tasks undertaken, and of the importance of placing these tasks in the hands of disinterested, intelligent and professionally trained persons. Along side of the professional recognition social work is now receiving, there has grown up a vast amount of professional literature within the last two decades, so much so, that social work now has a body of transmissible knowledge sufficient for the use of professional training schools. Even in India there is now a growing demand for professionally trained workers. While the real services of social work are gradually becoming more widely understood, there is nothing to prevent Indian social workers from setting up for themselves the rigorous standards, the exacting discipline, unwavering faith in the humility in the performance of them which characterise a true profession. In other words, the making of a profession depends not merely on technical achievements, but on the spirit or attitude of the practitioners as well. The social worker must develop a professional spirit. What is, one may ask, a professional spirit? By this we mean that the relationship of the social worker to his client should not be friendly, benevolent or commercial, but professional. We go to a lawyer or a doctor because he possesses some knowledge and skill of which we desire to take advantage and for which we usually pay. We go to him for professional service. So also

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social work must not be considered as a matter of benevolence but of professional service. This attitude necessitates a number of important changes in viewpoint. Social work must now interpret human trouble in terms of natural processes, that is, "laws" of cause and effect. It must be viewed as resting on relative rather than on absolute standards of conduct. As means of control it must look to "insight" and manipulation of natural processes rather than to mere authority and enforcement. A professional social worker should approach the problems of persons out of the adjustment with their social environment in much the same spirit in which a physician approaches his patient, or a lawyer his client. The business of the professional social worker is not to "love" mankind or uplift the less fortunate, but place his specialized knowledge and skill at the disposal of persons who want to take advantage of them in overcoming difficulties which they cannot handle themselves. Though many social workers still find motives for service either in the religious merit of alms-giving, well-doing or in their love of mankind, yet the new professional attitude is slowly gaining ground among the more modern type of social workers. The development of these professional aspects of social work has been slow, naturally slower in some countries than in others.

Education for Social Work as a Profession

This brings us now to the third and most important part of my paper, namely, Education for Social Work as a Profession. We in India are just now beginning to think of social work as a profession, and in this, as in many other aspects of our national life, we are about half a century behind time. No doubt, even among the countries of the West, social work has made more rapid progress in some countries, like the United States and Great Britain, than in others. This rapid expansion of social work in America and Great Britain has led to the demand for professionally trained staff and to the establishment on a wide scale of professional schools of social work. The first school to give training for social work as a profession was established in America in 1898 as the New York School of Philanthropy, which is now known as the New York School of Social Work. Within three decades after the founding of that institution, there came into existence in the United States some 27 training schools of high standard for social work. According to the Report of the American Association of Social Workers there were in 1933-34 about 5,259 students enrolled for professional courses in the 29 sch[illegible] social work, and 75 per cent of this numbe[illegible] graduates.

In Europe training schools for social [illegible] were practically limited before the World [illegible] to the larger countries of the continent. [illegible] during the last two decades social work in E[illegible] has also made much progress. The Interna[illegible] Committee of Training Schools now has [illegible] its supervision 50 such schools in 17 coun[illegible] of Europe. In addition to this there are [illegible] others which are affiliated with the Internat[illegible] Catholic Union for Social Service. T[illegible] schools and many other progressive acti[illegible] in social work owe their expansion largely [illegible] influences emanating from the United States [illegible] America.

Much progress has been made in Gr[illegible] Britain also during the last twenty years [illegible] raising the standard of social work by pro[illegible] ing special training for social workers. [illegible] British public social services are remark[illegible] for their solid and gradual development, as [illegible] as for the high technical standards and ide[illegible] of their administrative staff. Now socia[illegible] search is conducted by both public and pri[illegible] agencies and by the universities,—espec[illegible] the London School of Economics, the Br[illegible] Institute of Social Service and by the Inst[illegible] of Sociology. And now there are 13 univer[illegible] departments which provide training schools [illegible] social work and confer university deg[illegible] These schools are all federated in what is kn[illegible] as the Joint University Council for So[illegible] Studies.

At first these professional schools for so[illegible] work started with training workers [illegible] specialized social service activities. But [illegible] search in social work has led these schools [illegible] to the acceptance of the unity of social w[illegible] rather than its specialized aspects as the fo[illegible] point of instruction. The curriculum of t[illegible] modern school of Social Work is, therefore, [illegible] organized as to provide the student with p[illegible] fessional education which will be as ne[illegible] adequate as possible for the practice of so[illegible] work within a specialized field on a substan[illegible] foundation of education and training in t[illegible] things that are essential to every form of so[illegible] work. The subject-matter of the curric[illegible] of the professional school of social work is the[illegible] fore more or less the same for all institution[illegible] which provide facilities for training so[illegible] workers, and may be divided under the fo[illegible] ing four main heads: (1) The Fundam[illegible] Techniques of Social Work; (2) Soci[illegible] Material and Formulations of Human Exp[illegible]

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ce Adapted to the Requirements of Social ork; (3) The Practice of Social Work and the Orientation of the Social Worker. And the courses given under each of these in heads may be classified as follows :

THE FUNDAMENTAL TECHNIQUES OF SOCIAL WORK: Social Case Work; Recording; Methods of Community Organization; Methods of Administration; Social Surveys and Community Studies; Social Investigation; Principles of Interviewing; Institutional Management; and Technique of Group Work.

SCIENTIFIC MATERIAL AND FORMULATION OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE Adapted to the Requirements of Social Work: Health and Nutrition; Problems of Diseases; Labour Problems; Problems of Modern Industry; Labour Legislation; the Nature and Varieties of Human Behaviour; Psychopathology; Statistics; Crime and Punishment; Criminal Justice; the Social Worker and the Law; Social Education; Leisure Time Problems; the Immigrant; Clinical Psychiatry; Social Implications of Mental Testing.

III. PRACTICE OF SOCIAL WORK :

Social Work with Families; Delinquent and Neglected Children; Social Worker and the Handicapped Child; Visiting Teaching; Community Organization; Rural Social Work; The Administration of Public Welfare; Child Welfare Activities; Medical Social Work, Psychiatric Social Work; The Work of Chests and Councils; Settlement and Neighbourhood Work.

IV. ORIENTATION OF THE SOCIAL WORKER :

Social Work and Social Philosophy; Orientation of the Social Science and Social Work; the Philosophy of Community; the Family; Professional Ethics; the History of Social Work; Seminar in Social Work.

While the curriculum of the professional schools of social work is more or less the same, the schools differ from each other in the emphasis laid on certain aspects of training for social work. The University of Chicago, for instance, maintains a Graduate School of Social Service Administration in which more emphasis is laid on research and less on the other techniques. On the other hand, the Western Reserve University, while combining practice with academic work, lays greater emphasis on practice. The present trend in the West is to strengthen the whole movement for professional education, as the profession itself is beginning to crystallize into a field with clearly defined policies, many of which are now properly described as belonging to the science of social welfare.

Unfortunately in India we are still half a century behind time in this matter. However, we are thankful for the new national awakening and the increasing interest in social service. There are now hundreds and hundreds of social service agencies all over India. Provincial Governments, Municipalities, and Local Boards are now showing new concern for public welfare, while private agencies are multiplying their programmes and expanding their activities. But the main weakness in our social work is that it is carried on by several independent agencies without any formulation of common purposes and principles of organization for the field as a whole. As a result, there is an immense amount of wasted effort, and futile and inefficient organization. In the field of professional social work, it is necessary to establish not only functional standards,—boundaries of social work,—but also quantitative standards,—the equipment essential for professional service in the accepted area. We must also have some organization which will give sound training in methods of social study, and professionalize social work in India. In the West the growth of professional schools of social work has not only profoundly affected social work but also raised its professional status, just as professional schools have advanced the professions of medicine, law and engineering.

During the last decade or so, there has been some agitation for a professional school of social work in India. But no heed was paid to the cry of progressive social thinkers until recently. We cannot be adequately thankful to the Trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust for taking the necessary steps to found the first Graduate School of Social Work, thus giving the lead to the rest of India. The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, which is the first one of its kind in the whole of India, will open in June next. The school offers a two year course of training in the general fields of Social Pathology, Family and Child Welfare, Public Health, Medical and Psychiatric Social Work, Juvenile and Adult Delinquency, Industrial Relations, Welfare Activities, Social Research and Public Welfare Administration.

The basic idea underlying the establishment of the School is that Social Work in India has now reached the point where it demands fully-trained workers with an adequate philosophy of social work, and the technical equipment essential to avoid both human and financial wastage. The course of study is so arranged as to bring together such materials from the social science and allied fields as will provide a knowledge as fundamental to social work as physics and mathematics are to engineering or biology and chemistry are to medicine. Although research will play its part in the work of the school, the school will not be primarily a research institution. As a Graduate School, it will maintain a high academic standard, but it will also seek to be eminently practical,—applying the best of modern social thought to the

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solution of current social problems. Classroom teaching will be coupled with actual field work, through which the student may obtain practical experience under controlled conditions. The aim of the Management is to make the work of the school compare favourably with that of similar institutions in England and America.

We are aware that India's social problems are many and complicated and that social life even in India is not becoming simpler. On the contrary, with the impact of modern industrial civilization our social life is becoming ever more complex and adjustments to the demands and conditions of social living are becoming increasingly difficult, so difficult, in fact, that even the most intelligent need assistance from time to time in their problems of personal and social adjustment. Furthermore, Indian social life is seriously affected by its excessive fragmentation and exclusiveness due to the practice of the caste system. Our literacy is also low. Then again, we must keep in mind that India is mainly rural. No single institution, under these circumstances can be expected to meet all our needs. It is also impossible to expect that every one who desires to work in this field should undergo a course of training in social service, much as that is desirable. But it is essential that there should be an increasing body of workers who will be professionally equipped to guide the current enthusiasm for service into constructive channels. The chaotic condition of many contemporary social service organizations may be traced directly to the lack of trained leadership. To make social work in India more exact, reliable and effective, we need trained leaders, and to train leaders we need professional schools of social work. They must train not only urban social workers but rural social workers also.

Teachers can do a great deal not only to enhance the status of social work as a profession but to create a public demand for schools of social work in different university centres in India. There are many advantages to be derived from affiliation of the school of social work to the University. Such affiliation will help greatly to broaden and enrich the curriculum of the school by extending the facilities for advanced courses in various related departments and professional schools of the University. Further, the School of Social Work would then be enabled to make use of a properly equipped and staffed library, particularly when research work is part of the programme. University affiliation would also help to set up high standards of work guaranteed by the reputation of a university which is regarded as a centre of advanced study. The trend in the West is clearly towards university organization for professional education in this as in other fields. In India have hitherto depended on training through experience or what might be called the apprentice method. This method has served useful purpose. But in view of the methods of training, the apprentice method seems not only costly but too narrow in scope. The time has come for us to adopt methods to put social work on a more sound scientific basis.

But then, is social work, one may ask, really necessary? Has it a function to perform in our society? Would the world be a better place to live in if it ceased to be? Such questions seem basic to the consideration of the future of social work as a profession in India. If social work has a function to perform, is necessary for a better social organization, then there is merit and justification in such attempts as one might make to raise its standards of work and to place it on a scientific foundation. If it is not necessary, the sooner the bubble is pricked the better, for the energy now spent on social work could then be utilized for other more valuable purposes. A full statement of the place of social work in our social organization would require more space and time than we could afford just now. Nor does it longer seem necessary to argue in detail the nature and value of social work, or the contribution which it has to make to society. All the progressive countries of the West consider social work indispensable for social welfare and the elimination of the social waste and wreckage resulting from the complex form of life and societal organization imposed upon us by modern civilization. In looking about for preventive and curative agencies, they find that social work is the only profession concerned with the problem as a whole, and which endeavours not only to encompass all the existing social problems but to find solutions for them. It is no wonder, therefore, if Western countries give special attention to the training of social workers. There social work has come to be considered as an important part of a citizen's duties, so much so, that even elementary schools give lessons on Social Obligations.

It is impossible to run the democratic government of a modern state without the existence of a good proportion of citizens who would be willing to work, at whatever sacrifice to themselves, for justice, enlightenment and well-being in the commonwealth. Today the social services in India are in great need of trained leaders.

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and already it is patent that the trained men and women are not there to run social services or give them the necessary guidance. The demand for social service and insistence on its high estate has to be created as well as the supply of informed and professonally trained young people. In this great task before us, we need the help and support of teachers and the public in general. We need vision to see the goal before us, courage to set out, perseverance to adhere to the programme and ability to obtain and hold the support and confidence of the public. We hope every possible effort will be made in furthering this movement for training for social work as a profession and in awakening the social conscience of our people to the advantages and the necessity of such training and leadership.

THE GATHAS

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

[On November 19th, 1935, Mr. Nagendranath Gupta delivered an address on the Gathas at the Katrak Hall, Karachi, to a large gathering of Parsi ladies and gentlemen. Shamsul-ulema Dr. M. N. Dhalla, the learned and widely known High Priest of the Parsis, presided. In introducing the lecturer of the evening Dr. Dhalla said :

"Ladies and gentlemen, we are glad to welcome our distinguished guest once again on this platform. The month of November has now come to be associated with the literary feast so sumptuously and whole-heartedly served to the Karachi public by Mr. Gupta. The subject of the lecture this evening is the Gathas. This collection of hymns that our prophet Zarathushtra chanted some three thousand years ago in Iran and through which he delivered his message to our ancestors is most sacred to us."

Mr. Gupta said :—Dustoor Dhalla and Followers of the Faith of Zarathustra :]

Why do the birds sing? Whence comes the wealth of tuneful notes in their tiny throats? From these feathered choristers comes the conception of the winged cherubim, the shining ones that sing songs of praise before the throne of the most High. The whole gamut of music, exquisite trills and notes in every octave, issue from the throats of the feathered tribe. When Usha of the Vedic Hymns, Hushbami or Ushahin of the Avesta, the Greek Eos, the nymph Urvasi of the Vedic legend, Aurora of the rosy fingers and with her rose-tipped feet opens the royal portals of the East wide for the incoming of the Sun-god, the Savita of the Veda and the Mithra of the Avesta, the Ra of the Egyptians and the Usil of the Etruscans, the winged creation hails him with full-throated music, keeping time with the rhythmic movement of his golden chariot. The sunrise is one of the incomparable splendours of nature.

And here let me pause for a moment to widen our vision, if possible, in the light of the knowledge derived from science. To the ancients, naturally enough, the earth was the hub of the universe and the sun the brightest and greatest luminary in the heavens. We know now that this terrestrial globe on which we arrogantly strut about for a brief space is an insignificant satellite of the glowing orb which, in its turn, is merely a star of the third magnitude and is no more than a mote of light in infinite space. The star Tistrya, the brilliant and majestic, whom the Greeks named Sirius, is more than three thousand times larger than the sun. The Avestan people have celebrated him in the Tistar Yasht, as the giver of rain, without knowing that compared with this magnificent orb Mithra dwindles into minute insignificance. And all these flickering, faint lights of the night, the nebulous track that is called the Milky Way, are clusters upon clusters of stars, of which more than a million have been numbered. Is it conceivable that these are moving unattended in space, with their energising and vivifying power running to waste? It would be repugnant to the economy of Nature, it would be against the inviolable and supreme Law that sustains the universe. It is more reasonable to presume that there are innumerable solar systems prodigally strewn about in space with planets teeming with life revolving round them. Multitudinous glorious sunrises are seen and hailed throughout the universe. It is an overwhelming revelation and man should feel humbled by it.

Man is not mute. He also hailed the sun and the moon and the other wonders of nature. He was endowed with intelligence of a higher

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order than that possessed by the lower beings. Among men also there were different races with varying degrees of intelligence. Of these the Aryans were the foremost and in the course of time they divided and grew up into great nations. Thousands of years ago they were filled with the spirit of adoration and worship. They gave names to the heavenly bodies; the wind was to them a living spirit; the thunder was a weapon wielded by a mighty, invisible being. They conceived of beings higher than themselves, disembodied spirits that they designated the Shining Ones. With the growing power of thought they passed from the seen to the unseen, abstractions which had no concrete manifestation and which were evolved out of their own consciousness. To these also they gave names and invoked them like living spirits. They distinguished between good and evil and wrestled in spirit to overcome the evil.

There was an unconscious appeal in the music of the spheres and the earliest utterances of adoration and invocation were chants, metrical and rhythmic in construction, intoned in a cadenced voice, now rising, now falling, emotional and solemn, impressive in diction, charged with the sanctity of the spirit. These hymns have been chanted for thousands of years and they have been memorised by a select band of men generation after generation and have been carefully and zealously preserved when everything else had been lost. These are the most precious and the most valued possession of the race. The Indian Aryans have their Vedas, the Iranian Aryans have their Avesta, both derived from a common ancient language.

The word Gatha is not a forgotten or fossilised word. It is a beautiful, living word as alive as it was when first uttered by the common ancestors of the two branches of the Aryan race. In the Rig Veda Gatha is spoken of as sacred song and praise personified. It is a current word in every Indian language derived from Sanskrit or Prakrit. The word comes from the Sanskrit root *gai*, to sing. The word Gatha means a song, a chant, a stanza. In Sanskrit the metre known as Aryachhanda is called Gatha. In Prakrit it is a lyrical metre. In quite recent times the hymns of the Maratha saint Tukaram are called Gathas. The Bhagavadgita may be quite properly called Bhagavadgatha. The words *geet, gana* are all from the same root and all mean singing.

In the Avesta the Gathas are part of the Yasna and they are distinguishable only by the names given to them and by the fact that they were chanted by Zarathushtra himself. Hence the opening fine liturgical invocation of the Gathas :

Yanim mano yanim vacho
Yanim shyothanem ashaono Zarathushtrahe
Phera Amesha Spenta
Gathao Geurvaeen
Nemo ve Gathao ashaoneesh.

'Exalted is the thought exalted is the speech, exalted is the work of the pure Zarathustra. May the Amesha Spentas accept the Gathas. Salutation to you, you Gathas!'

The word *Yanim* has been variously translated as good, inspired, the root being uncertain. One translation converts *Yanim* into the Sanskrit word *Jinam*, quite a plausible rendering, and which means spiritually mighty.

A slight illustration will show how the language of the Avesta was forgotten in India and how the genius of the Pahlavi and Pazand languages differs from that of the Avesta. The names given to the Gathas are derived from the first word of each Gatha, such as Ahunavaiti, Ushtavaiti, etc. These words are in the feminine gender and in Sanskrit they would read as Ahunavati and Ushtavati. The word Gatha belongs to the feminine gender and according to Sanskrit grammar the qualifying words, adjectives or nouns, should be of the same gender. This is forgotten in Pahlavi and Pazand and the word Ahunavaiti becomes Ahunavat in Pahlavi and Ahunavad in Pazand, that is, they are converted to the masculine gender if the rule of Sanskrit grammar is applied.

The Gathas form the oldest portion of the Avesta. The Gathic dialect differs altogether from that of the other portions of the Avesta such as the Yasna, the Visperad and the Vendidad. These hymns of Zarathushtra are closely allied to the Vedas, particularly the Rig Veda, the earliest of the Vedas. Neither in Vedic Sanskrit nor in Zend is rhyme used, the verse in which the last words have the same sound. Throughout the Gathas and the Suktas of the Rig Veda the composition is metrical and rhythmic, sometimes swinging to a stately measure. The metres of the Gathas are identical with those of the Rig Veda. The names found in the Gathas and other portions of the Avesta are the same as are mentioned in the Veda and the variation is so slight that there is no difficulty in identifying them. Every one of the Amshaspands is named in the Veda. The principal one, Asha, is Rita, Vohu Mano is Vasumanas, Armaiti is Aramati and so on. Ahura Mazda himself is Asura Varuna, who in the earlier parts of the Rig Veda, is glorified

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as the greatest among the gods, and who possesses most of the attributes ascribed to Ahura. In the list of 101 names of Ahura Mazda given in the Khordeh Avesta the 44th name is Varuna. Ahura Mazda of the Avesta is undeniably Asura Varuna of the Rig Veda. In the Avestan phrase Dadar Ahura Mazda the word Dadar is the same as Dhatar in the Veda. It is derived from the root *dha*, to maintain, to nourish. This word in the form of Dhata is still in use and means Creator. In the last but one Sukta of the Rig Veda, the subject of the hymn is Creation and the concluding Rik is this :

> Dhatar, the great Creator, then formed in due order
> Sun and Moon,
> He formed in order heaven and earth, the regions of the
> " air and light.

This establishes beyond all doubt the ultimate monotheism of the Vedas. The concept of Creation is the same as in the Book of Genesis and the Quran.

Passed through the sieves of the Huzvaresh, Pahlavi, Pazand and Persian languages Avestan names have undergone a curious contraction and diminutives have come into use. Ahura Mazda has become Hormuzd and then Ormuzd; Angre-mainyus has been converted into Ahriman; the Amesha Spentas are called Amshaspands; Ashavahishta is Ardebehisht; Vangheush Manangha becomes Vohu Mano and later Bahman; Verethraghna becomes Behram and Zarathushtra is abbreviated into Zartosht. No such liberties can be taken with Vedic names, and the Hebrew, Greek and Latin names of the Creator, Jehovah, Zeus and Jupiter, have undergone no change.

These disadvantages, important from a linguistic point of view and to the student of philology, do not in any way hamper an understanding of the Gathas. There is no difficulty in appreciating the fervour and steadfastness of faith throughout these songs of prayer and praise, the constant communing of the spirit, the supreme realization that behind the multiple manifestation of phenomena and the wonders of nature there is one dominating existence, a central creative Energy, a beneficent, omniscient being or spirit to whom words of supplication and adoration are to be addressed. Through and through are the hymns of the Gathas penetrated by an overpowering consciousness of the presence of one in whom the many merge. No less convincing is the decisive and definite recognition of the eternal and immutable Law, inviolate, resistless, which governs and sustains the universe.

It serves no purpose to attempt to exalt one religion at the expense of another, but this spirit of invidious comparisons can be resisted by very few people. There is nothing more profitless than to attempt to belittle the Veda by extolling the Gathas as certain European scholars have done. The statement that the Rig Veda does not advance beyond Nature worship is as reckless as it is ignorant. To ignore nature is to ignore God's creation; he who cannot worship nature cannot worship God. There is no direct revelation of God; nature is His temple and His mirror, the stairway leading up to the footsteps of His throne. The correlation between the Veda and the Avesta cannot be forgotten for one moment by any one who wishes an illuminating light to be thrown upon the structural basis of the Avesta and the language used as its vehicle. The songs of Zarathushtra are addressed direct to Ahura Mazda; the Rig Veda recognizes the existence of a single Creator known as Dhatar in the Veda and Dadar in the Avesta. This verse, which I have previously quoted, occurs at very nearly the end of the Rig Veda. In a much earlier part, in the first book or *Mandalam* of the Rig Veda, there is a striking hymn of which one verse has been widely quoted by scholars professing different religions. It is the 46th verse of the 164th hymn of the first *Mandalam* and is couched in language of stately and exquisite beauty. I shall quote the simpler *Pada* text instead of the more complicated *Samhita* text :

> *Indram Mitram Varunam Agnim ahuh Atho*
> *divayah sah suparnah gurutman;*
> *Ekam sat viprah bahudha vadanti Agnim*
> *Yamam Matarisvanam ahuh.*

> 'Thus is that shining One, the winged King of birds, called, Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni. One is the Truth, sages call it variously Agni, Yama, the Wind.'

Agni or Fire is named twice : the first is the sun, the second is the fire on earth. The literary distinction and the choice of words and phrases are very noticeable.

Indicative of the Teacher's catholicity of spirit is the 11th stanza of Ha 45 in the Gatha Ushtavaiti :

> *Yasta dayeveng aparo mashyanscha*
> *Tare Mansta yoi im tari manyanta*
> *Anyeng ahmat ye hoi arem manyata*
> *Saoshyanto deng patorish-spenta dayna*
> *Urvatho varata pata va Mazda Ahura*

These lines have been variously rendered but I have selected the following translation as the most satisfying :

> 'Mazda, who is loving, lord of wisdom, and pure in principles, is the friend, the protector and saviour even of those Daevas and men who, unlike ourselves who acknowledge Him, did and still do deny Him, O Ahura.'

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According to the gospel of St. Luke Christ, nailed to the cross, saw the deriding and mocking crowd around him and said, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'

In the discourses of Gautama Buddha, the blessed one, there is the Parable of the Saw. If a man is sawn in two lengthwise what should be his feelings towards the man using the saw? Said the master,

> Unsullied shall our minds remain, nor shall evil words escape our lips. Kind and compassionate ever, we will abide loving of heart, nor shall harbour secret hate. We will permeate ourselves with streams of loving thought unfailing, and forth from us proceeding, enfold and permeate the whole wide world with constant thoughts of loving kindness, ample, expanded, measureless, free from enmity and free from ill-will.'

In the *Mokshadharma* section of the *Santi-Parva* of the *Mahabharata* Rajarshi Dharmadhvaja says to the Sanyasini Sulabha, 'He who applies sandal paste to my right hand and another who cuts off my left hand with an axe are equal in my estimation.' The same sentiment is repeated by King Yudhishthira to his brother Arjuna in the *Rajdharma* section of the *Santi Parva*. Yudhishthira adds, 'I wish neither well nor ill to these two persons,' that is, the man who uses the unguent of the sandal paste and the wielder of the axe. Yudhisthira could not rise to the height of the Buddha.

Right through the Gathas Faith shines as a steady, white flame in a sacred temple wherein no breath of wind stirs or sways it. There are interrogations, searching of the soul, passionate reachings out of the heart, but never any groaning of the spirit, no flagging of faith, no note of passing despair. Even if a doubt arises, or there is a conflict in the mind it is easily dispelled as may be judged by the 16th verse of the 32nd Ha, Gatha Ahunavaiti :

> In times of doubt, O Mazda Ahura,
> In times of stress and strife, O Thou Best One,
> When the vengeful harm of the wicked threatens us,
> We shall but recall all the Best Thou hast taught us,
> In the wide bright light of the Altar flame.

The book of Psalms in the Old Testament contains hymns of wondrous beauty and depth, and the figures used are sometimes reminiscent of wide, open spaces, and the untamed beauty of wild natural life. Part of psalm 42 may be quoted by way of illustration :

> As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God,
> My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God; when shall I come and appear before God?
>
> * * * * *
>
> Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts; all thy waves and thy billows are gone over me.
> Yet the Lord will command his loving kindness in the daytime, and in the night his song shall be with me, and my prayers unto the God of my life.

Yet there are fleeting moments when [illegible] falters, the beacon light vanishes from before [illegible] eyes, the gloom of doubt descends as a [illegible] before the spirit and the soul cries out in [illegible] agony of despair as in the opening verse [illegible] psalm 22 :

> My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? Why art thou so far from helping me, and from [illegible] words of my roaring.
> O my God, I cry in the day time, but thou hear[illegible] not and in the night season, and am not silent.

On the hill of Calvary, suspended on [illegible] cross and when the agony of death was upon [illegible] Christ Jesus 'cried with a loud voice, say[illegible] *Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachthani*.' 'My God, my G[illegible] why hast thou forsaken me?' This is not a [illegible] of faith but a cry wrung from the very dep[illegible] the soul in its bitterness when he who had [illegible] without sin and without blame passed [illegible] torture to meet his Father in heaven.

Still stands the faith unflinching of Job, [illegible] patience that no trial could exhaust. God [illegible] Satan a free hand to work his will upon [illegible] and to seduce him from his loyalty to [illegible] Creator. Of this Job had no knowledge [illegible] when misfortunes suddenly crowded upon [illegible] he thought they were visitations from God. [illegible] a single day, within the hour, he lost all [illegible] property, his servants, his sons and daug[illegible]

> Then Job arose, and rent his mantle, and sh[illegible] his head, and fell down upon the ground and worship[illegible] And said, naked came I out of my mother's womb, [illegible] naked shall I return thither: the Lord gave and [illegible] Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of [illegible] Lord.

The mother he spoke of is Mother Ear[illegible] the nourisher of the race and its final res[illegible] place. When will the world witness such [illegible] again?

In the Rig Veda (X, 151,5) there is a hy[illegible] to Faith, *Sraddha*. The Rishi is *Sraddha* of [illegible] family of Kama (Love). The fifth and [illegible] verse is this :

> 'Faith in the early morning, Faith at noonday will [illegible] advocate,
> Faith at the setting of the sun,
> O Faith, endow us with belief.'

Both in the Veda and in the Avesta th[illegible] is repeated reference to the Law, the Law in [illegible] objective world and the Law in the spirit wo[illegible] In the Rig Veda it is said (X, 85,1) :

> By Law the Adityas (the heavenly bodies) [illegible] secure and Soma holds his place in heaven.

Some of these questions fall within the [illegible] vince of that Law. The earth and the heav[illegible] bodies are upheld by forces which form part [illegible] the Law. But to the eye of faith the pri[illegible] is more important than the agent and how [illegible]

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Law works is immaterial. The Supreme Intelligence behind everything is the object of the question of the spirit. Science says, what upholds the celestial bodies and the earth? The believer asks, who upholds them?

Down the centuries have come these many-tongued voices, rhythmic chants of adoration and praise, full of music, living, pulsing, vibrating, uplifting and sustaining the spirit, drawing the soul Godward. The ancients gave names to the heavenly bodies, they named the constellations of the Zodiac, through which lies the pathway of the sun. For the spirit they provided nourishment which is still the sustenance of the human race. The prayers that they uttered thousands of years ago are repeated today by millions of people. They were the pathfinders and pioneers of the way to salvation. The ancient teachers of humanity knew where the truth was to be found. Through their souls passed the travail of the world, in their ears sounded the anguished cry of humanity seeking for light and a haven of rest. Arrogant modern civilization speaks exultingly of twenty centuries of progress as if the world did not exist before two thousands years and great nations had not risen and fallen. Science triumphant points to its achievements, the conquest of distances and the air, the harnessing of flashing lightning into the service of man. Is it equally proud of the infernal machines invented by human ingenuity for the wholesale destruction of man? The nations that call themselves Christian—what maxims of Christ do they follow in their lives and in their dealings with other nations? The chancellories of Europe know nothing about Christ, the nations are perpetually arming themselves for war, and peace and goodwill among men exist only in the Gospels. Has Europe, in her distraction and distress, ever turned to him who has said, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' It is to the past that humanity has to turn to find the anchor that holds the tossing vessel of life at rest. There in the past stand the redeemers and saviours of men, serene and radiant and refulgent in the midst of their bright halos. Call the Teacher Sri Krishna, Zarathushtra, Buddha, Christ or Muhammed his voice streams down the vista of Time, bringing solace to the soul and faith to the unbelieving. To them, homage!

As I commenced so shall I conclude by repeating the prayerful and elevating invocation to the Gathas first uttered by some unknown Rishi (Ratus) of the Zoroastrian faith :

Yanim mano yanim vacho
Yanim shyothanem ashaono Zarathushtrahe
Phera Amesha Spenta
Gathao geurvaeen.
Nemo ve Gathao Ashaoneesh.

'Exalted is the thought, exalted is the speech, exalted is the work of the pure Zarathushtra. May the Amesha-Spentas accept the Gathas. Salutation to you, pure Gathas.'

[At the conclusion of the lecture Dr. Dhalla, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Gupta, said :—The learned lecturer has brought out the salient features of the teachings of Zarathushtra in lucid and eloquent language, and enriched his interpretation of several Gathic hymns with Vedic, Buddhist and Biblical parallels.

The learned lecturer sees Aryan Vedic Varuna in Gathic Ahura Mazda. Of all the early Aryan gods Varuna represented the highest moral conception. Varuna and Mitra as *dvandva*, dual gods are seen working together as Mithra and Ahura are doing in the post-Zoroastrian Avesta. The inscriptions discovered at Boghaz-Keni in Mitanni dating the fourteenth century B. C. mention Varuna, Mitra, Indra and the Nasatya twins. The generic name of these gods was Asura. In Iran it became Ahura. Zarathushtra absorbed the divine traits of Varuna-Mitra in one supreme Ahura and gave him the epithet of the Wise One. He became Ahura Mazda. The Gathas do not recognize Mithra by name. But his cult did not die. In the great religious syncretism that took place in the fourth century, B. C., he appears in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II. In later Avesta he figures most prominently. The longest Yasht is dedicated to him. Ahura Mazda says he has created Mithra as great as himself. He is spoken of as omniscient, an epithet which could be applied to Ahura Mazda alone. He wins vast dominions for himself independently of Ahura Mazda. He chooses Iranian boundaries, enters Europe and his cult, Mithraism, contests for a long time the spiritual supremacy with Christianity.

Mr. Gupta rightly observes that the six figures from Volru Manah to Ameretat are all subjective attributes of Ahura Mazda in the Gathas. They are the Amehsa Spentas in the making. It is for the first time after the passing away of Zarathushtra that they receive their collective class name in Yasna Haptanghaiti, or the Yasna of seven chapters. And it is in the later Avesta that they are numbered as seven.

Ladies and gentlemen, we offer our best thanks to Mr. Gupta for his great lecture.]

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COMMUNALISM AND FUTURE INDIAN POLITY

By DHIRES CHAKRAVARTI

Among the reactionary forces that beset the path of our political progress, communalism has come to play a very large part. So far as it related to the Hindu-Muslim question, communalism manifested itself in the past mostly in the religious and social spheres. Although mutual intercourse on rural festive occasions between the communities was by no means rare, religion alone formed the ground of possible communal tension. The importation, however, of this communal feeling into the realm of politics is a comparative recent development synchronising with the growth of representative institutions in the country.

In its political aspect the question took a definite shape on the occasion of the Minto-Morley reforms in the hue and cry raised by Muslim leaders for the protection of minority interests. Along with it came the queer political arithmetic relating to percentages of representation and of weightages, on the basis of the anti-national system of separate electorates. As it mostly fell to the lot of the Hindus to keep up the political struggle, the Muhammadans believed, or were made to believe, that any transference of political power could only mean the establishment of the 'Hindu Raj' in India. Muslim concern for their communal interests had, therefore, its roots in what may be called 'inferiority complex.' This manifested itself in mutual ill-feeling and distrust, which it was to the advantage of the interested parties to fan into fury. As a result, political quacks grew enamoured of the nostrum of communal safeguards to such an extent that at last the Lucknow Pact had the Congress itself reconciled to the communal electorates and percentages of representation.

Proportional Representation and Democracy

It was thus on the plea of protection of minorities that the systems of proportional representation and communal electorates have come into vogue. According to the proportionalists' view of democracy, there should be representation of every influential opinion in the legislature in proportion to the number of its adherents in the nation. "It was infinitely to the advantage of the House of Commons," said Mr. Asquith, "if it was to be a real reflection and mirror of the national mind, that there should be no strain of opinion honestly entertained by a substantial body of the Kingdom subjects which should not find there representation and speech." Proportional representation has its undoubted merits as a device for protection of minorities. But, then, it is a means and not an end in itself. It has its natural limitations and is useful only so far as it not only ensures, but also helps functioning democracy. Parliament, no doubt, should be the 'mirror of the national mind.' But on the account, it cannot be reduced to a debating society or to a museum with so many specimens of so many communities, without impairing its essential purpose.

In his *Law of Constitution* Prof. Dicey has well observed in this connection:

> "Where a body of men such as constitute the House of Commons are at all concerned with government, unity of action is of more consequence than variety of opinion. The idea, indeed, of representation may be, and often is, carried much too far. A Cabinet which represented all shades of opinion would be a Ministry which could not act at all. No one really supposes that a government could be formed in which two opposite parties balanced one another."

Nevertheless, the system of proportional representation commands today almost universal acceptance. It largely features in the new constitutions of the modern States. Parliament ought to be in Mirabeau's phrase a "reduced map" of the country in its political aspect. But then representation is mainly for the purpose of providing a government. Here, as in every other matter, truth lies midway between the two extremes; and Mr. Mansergh strikes the golden mean, when he observes in his *"Irish Free State"*:

> "Mathematical accuracy should always be sacrificed to stable government. To say that one must choose either mathematical accuracy or stable government is to state a dilemma which is non-existent. But once confident of the stability of the government, one would then prefer the system which secures the greater mathematical accuracy."

Obviously, the stability of the government becomes threatened most when representation is sought to be made proportional, as in India, by difference in religious creeds. Whatever may be the communistic view, nothing has hitherto so largely influenced human society as religious beliefs. In fact, one of the main strands of

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progress of civilization has been religion. If it has been the one factor that has inspired the noblest sentiments, history is replete with sordid instances how religious difference has equally roused the worst passions in the multitude. Such difference can, therefore, be made the basis of representation only at the grave risk of the unity of purpose and of action in government being jeopardised as a result of constant communal frictions. In this country, however, proportional representation has been made into a fetish; and the system of separate electorates has been devised to ensure the same. Communal frenzy unfailingly swears by it as an article of faith and never stops to inquire how the principle carried to its logical conclusion, rather than helping, militates against the principle of democracy and representative government. "What is wrong with the world today," rightly observed Mr. and Mrs. Webb, "is not too much democracy, but too little, not too many thoroughly democractic institutions but too few."

Breeding Ground of Communalism

It fact, the system of separate communal electorates is so retrograde in character that even the authors of the Montford Report condemned the same in no uncertain terms.

"Divisions by creeds and classes," according to the Report, means the creation of political camps organized against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans, not as citizens, and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is to occur."

In its Memorandum to the Indian Statutory Commission the Ahmadyya community, as well, endorsed that view, when it stated :

"We do concede that if India is to advance politically it shall ultimately have to adopt this system (joint electorate); for there can hardly be any cultivation of political or civic sense nor any political education without it (joint electorate). . . ."

Recent events fully bear out how the worst apprehensions in this connection have come true. Creation of communal electorates has been instrumental in bringing into being communal leaders and communal newspapers, whose activities threaten the peaceful and orderly progress of the country. Then, again, from the legislature the virus of communalism has spread to the Ministry and the Services, necessarily impairing efficiency of the administration. The Punjab Government Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, 1924, throws some interesting light upon the situation in its following observations :

"The main criticism which has been made against the departments administered as 'transferred subjects' is that the Ministry of Education (Sir Fazl-i-Hussain) has subordinated the interests of his department to the support of the communal interests of the Muhammadans. It was not unreasonable that the Minister should attempt to secure definite opportunities to the community which constitutes his chief support in the Council."

It is no wonder, then, that separate electorates as a device for proportional representation has been condemned by all right-thinking persons. Joint electorate alone helps the growth of nationalism; and in its place separate electorates breed rank communalism.

Minority vs. Majority

It is but a truism that democracy demands for its growth a sufficient degree of national consciousness in the people. As a general rule, such feeling of nationalism develops in a people out of identity of race, community of language and religion, sameness of geographical boundaries, identity of political antecedents and national history, and the sense of collective pride and humiliation. Each of the factors may not be everywhere present. As a matter of fact, among the communities in our country there are points of agreements, as well as of difference. The situation is somewhat similar to what obtains in most of the newer States of post-war Europe. There may be found, as in India, the existence of a minority, some times several hostile minorities, with no homogeneity in language, race or religion with the governing majority. Every effort is being made there under constitutional safeguards, guaranteed by the League of Nations, to create a vigorous national consciousness out of the heterogeneous elements. Because, free institutions are next to impossibile in a country made up of different nationalities.

How in such a country mutual jealousy between nationalities frustrates freedom movement to the perpetuation of absolutism, Mill thus narrates in his *Representative Government* :

"Their mutual antipathies are generally stronger than jealousy of the government. That any one of them feels aggrieved by the policy of the common ruler is sufficient to determine another to support that policy. Even if all are aggrieved, none feel that they can rely on the other for fidelity in a joint resistance; the strength of none is sufficient to resist alone, and each may reasonably think that it can suit its own advantage most by bidding for favour of the government against the rest."

Mill, further, adds :

"But when there are either free institutions or desire for them, in any of the peoples artificially tied together, the interest of the government lies in an exactly opposite direction. It is there interested in keeping up and envenoming their antipathies that they may be prevented from coalescing, and it may be enabled to use some of them as tools for the enslavement of others."

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If we only read 'communities' in place of 'nationalities' the above quotations bear an exact replica of the state of inter-communal relations at present obtaining in India. The cure for this malady lies assuredly in the growth of national feeling. An exaggerated sense of autonomy for minorities can only end by transforming them into a privileged class, a foreign element reluctant to coalesce into the body politic. Nor does the so-called 'divine right of majority' give the State, as against a disruptive force or civil war, a complete security. Political safeguards, however, all-embracing and ingenious, or the strength of numbers are equally unavailing for the purpose. Stability of a state depends more on the growth of public opinion, mutual understanding and toleration among the citizens. Prof. Sidgwick has rightly observed :

> "Such security, if attained, must rest more on moral than a political basis; it must be maintained by the moderation and justice, the comprehensive sympathy and enlightened public spirit of the better citizens, keeping within bounds the fanaticism of sects, the cupidities of classes, and the violence of victorious partisanship; it cannot be found in any indisputable right of a numerical majority of persons inhabiting any part of the earth's surface, to be obeyed by the minority who live within the same district."

Communal Decision

We have discussed the question at length; because the imperialists have chosen to take always a wrong perspective of the communal problem in India and its solution. The authors of the present constitutional reforms, for example, in the process of constitution-making, have been as much indifferent to political theories, as to lessons of history. The entire super-structure of the reforms has been based on the 'Communal Decision.' Yet what can be the effects of its communal electorates and percentages of representation but to stereotype communal divisions in the people? The representative system has its roots in the sense of common citizenship; and never can a people aspire after such a consummation with its body politic furrowed by community-tight divisions. The Decision, as it is, has for the nation no justification whatsoever, save for imperialistic purposes. The cultural rights of the minorities do not require communal electorates for their protection. Constitutional guarantees, like 'Fundamental Rights,' may provide ample safeguards on that account. Soviet Russia has granted her minorities full cultural autonomy and freedom to teach, write and print in their own languages, without having recourse to any anti-national electoral device. The 'Communal Decision' constitutes a grave menace for the future; and our political aspiration, as a nation, can never be a reality, so long that Decision remains.

But, then, the question arises how to [illegible] the Decision? As a political issue, it is [illegible] bound up with the broader question of Hindu-Muslim unity, which till now continued to be one of the burning topics in Congress politics. For communal unity hitherto Congress has [illegible] the abolition of separate electorates. Nevertheless, in the name of Hindu-Muslim unity, the Congress has now adopted the queer attitude of neither accepting nor rejecting the Decision. In support of this policy it has been argued that the Constitution going, the 'Communal Decision' goes with it; and that a future Constituent Assembly would adopt a national solution of the communal problem.

Economic Solution

Whether we have faith in the meeting of the Constituent Assembly sooner or later, the proposal at least showed that the object of undoing the 'Decision' had a place in our political programme. But, perhaps, with the political situation getting more and more murky, Congress seems to veer towards *economic* rather than *political* solutions of the communal problem. This change of attitude has been all the more marked with the possible left swing of Congress under the present socialist guidance. Thus according to the present Congress President, Pandit Jawaharlal, the communal question is no more than a 'side issue' and "it can have no real importance in the larger scheme of things." In his opinion the "real solution of the problem will only come when economic issues affecting all religious groups and cutting across communal boundaries arise."

Panditji would have us postpone the solution of the problem till economic forces gain sufficient strength to obliterate communal divisions. This is, of course, quite in keeping with the Congress attitude of sitting on the fence. Nobody ever knows when that millennium would come. But, at present, we are faced with the stark reality of every instalment of reform driving deeper the wedge between communities. The separate electoral device of the Minto-Morley days have by now widened so much that the communities, devoid of communal national feeling, have well-nigh fallen apart. By a process of vivisection the 'Decision' threatens the solidarity of the nation to be further broken beyond repair. What should

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chance is there for economic forces effectively to counteract this disintegrating force and gather together the component parts into a living organism?

So far as the present is concerned, there is nothing in the prevailing economic situation to fill us with any degree of hope for the future. For economic issues to cut across communal barriers is nothing unusual. In each of the separate economic groups, say of the 'haves' and the 'have-nots,' all the members are more or less equally susceptible to any economic change, irrespective of the communities to which they belong. Economic forces are by their nature respecters of class, and not communal, divisions. But on that account have the communities in any economic group been brought any the closer? Poverty, unemployment, low wages and like economic ills have victims among the 'have-nots,' Hindus and Muslims alike. But it would be a misreading of the situation to conclude the communal urge to be any the less among them on that account. Hindu-Muslim riots,—by no means an unusual phenomenon in the interior of the muffassil, tell a wholly different tale. So long, therefore, there is the bar sinister, like the Decision towards the growth of common citizenship, there is no getting rid of the communal feeling, despite sameness of economic issues.

Joint Legislative Action

It is also suggested that we may make the effects of the Decision nugatory by forming parties in the legislatures, not on communal but economic issues of socialistic import. Those who have faith in the economic solution build high hopes on such a move. This is also not without appeal for people, in general. But, then, it is but a comon experience that under communal electorates the chances of success at the polls are far greater for a communalist than one with nationalistic outlook. This is bound to happen, particularly among uneducated or half-educated electors naturally prone to religious fanaticism. They are apt to be more powerfully swayed by communal than by socialistic slogans. Obviously, therefore, no such joint work between the communities is possible at the time of election, as may neutralise forces of communalism for the triumph of the nationalistic cause. If communalists be thus returned in larger numbers, what chance there may remain for joint work among the representatives of different communities inside the legislature, may best be conjectured. Does not the recent attitude of the Muslim councillors in the Calcutta Corporation in connection with the boycott move conclusively prove, that on communal issues the so-called Nationalist Muslims are no match for the blatant communalists. If under joint electorate, as there exists in the Calcutta Corporation, this be the state of things, what better things may one expect under separate electorates?

We must not be misunderstood as underrating any the least the importance of economic forces, much less, of the socialistic theories, like the economic interpretation of history. But, then today we are in the midst of regulated economy and planning with the state everywhere controlling economic forces as best they may. The third party consolidates itself amongst ourselves with the 'Decision' perpetuating our division; and retaining political power the third party would assuredly be in a better position to shape and guide India's economic policy. There may be no occasion, therefore, for such economic issues soon to arise as may successfully bring the communities together. Economic issues may, and do well affect communities alike; but how can these, unless the 'Decision' be scrapped, get over the spirit of communalism? He, indeed, is a bold prophet who presumes that sameness of economic issues would by itself remove the vertical communal divisions, which the Decision accentuates.

Conclusion

There is, therefore, not much to get enthused over the much-talked of economic solution of the 'Communal Decision' issue, necessarily conditioned by all its elements of futurity and uncertainty of bearings. In the quest for freedom, the country can ill afford complacently to trust in the future, however pleasant. Congress has definitely set its face against the forging of fresh shackles in the name of reforms. Yet of this much-condemned Constitution what are the provisions that portend more vital and abiding ills than the 'Decision?' The struggle for Independence would be meaningless unless fighting the 'Decision.' For the imperialists this is the safeguard of all safeguards. If under the 'Decision' the process of vivisection be complete, good-bye for the time being to nationalism and with it other popular 'isms.' It can only mean complete triumph of Imperialism over the debris of our total disruption.

In fact, the 'Decision' is a masterpiece of Machiavellian politics aimed at disintegrating our body politic into numberless warring factions. It is idle to talk of economic forces

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successfully withstanding the fissiperous tendency of this highly disruptive electoral device. There is no getting over the stark reality by mere ostrich-like hiding of the head in sands. That can only mean political suicide. If for Complete Independence the Constitution must be wrecked, the more so should the 'Decision' on which the Constitution itself is based. There can be no shirking the issue it for fear of Muslim defection. Let us face situation boldly and squarely without 'hush' 'hush' policy or raising false Our freedom movement is sufficiently grounded to need any surrender of the principle of nationalism to the uncertain expediency the hour.

THE NEW ARMY OF THE PHILIPPINES

By JAMES G. WINGO

With the recent transfer of the colorful, khaki-clad, Moro outlaw-hunting Philippine Constabulary to an army on paper this week, the first armed defense force of the islands since Filipino General Emilio Aguinaldo surrendered to General Frederick Funston, of the United States Army, at the turn of the century, became a reality.

The transfer of the Constabulary was a part of the elaborate Philippine defense plan drawn up by General Douglas MacArthur, former chief of staff of the United States Army and at present detailed as military adviser to his personal friend President Manuel Luis Quezon of the new commonwealth.

The Philippine Constabulary must not be confused with the Philippine Scouts, a part of the United States Army which is manned by 6,000 Filipinos and officered by both Americans and Filipinos. The Constabulary was organized and officered by American soldiers in the early days of the United States occupation of the Philippines.

Before its transfer to the newly-organized Philippine Army, the Constabulary was a national police force composed of 7,000 Filipinos, headed by Brigadier-General Basilio Valdes. This young doctor who was appointed by Governor-General Frank Murphy to be the first chief of the Constabulary to have the rank of general was the butt of much criticism for the inefficient handling of the Sakdalist uprising last May, in which 60 persons were unnecessarily killed. Last November, the Constabulary succeeded in killing the most famous bandit in Moroland, Dimakaling, thus bringing back some of the national police's lost glory.

The transfer of the Constabulary to the huge Philippine army, which was still on p was but one step in the national defense which, if realized, will make the islands proud possessor of a standing army of 1 enlisted men and 1,500 officers. Provided MacArthur-Quezon plan approved recently enthusiastically by the Quezon-contr Philippine Assembly is universal military ing reminiscent of Italian Fascist conscri with its Balilla groups of urchins under drillmasters.

Universal military training will be effe through the schools and through automatic listment of all male citizens upon reaching years of age. Regimentation of 10-year-ol provided in the National Defense Act, states :

> "The obligation to undergo military training begin with youth in school, commencing at the age of years, and shall extend through his schooling until he reach the age of eighteen years: Provided, that school girls shall receive such instruction and training the Chief of Staff may deem necessary for auxi service. At this age he shall enter the Junior Reserve which he shall be assigned until he is twenty-one years age when he shall become subject to service with colors, and thereafter with the Reserve Force until shall reach fifty years of age."

The national defense law provides for "employment of all citizens, without distinction of age or sex, and all resources, in ensuring the territorial integrity of the Philippines." "all Filipinos are liable to military service."

The defense plan embodies a Council National Defense, composed of appointees the President of the Philippines and headed him. This council shall advise with President on all matters of national policy.

The President has been empowered to

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technical advisers from the Army of the United States. President Quezon asked his legislature for "authority to confer upon General MacArthur and his assistants the rank and emoluments that I deem in keeping with their important duties and dignity of this nation." He got the authority, and conferred upon MacArthur the rank of Field-Marshal General.

The Army of the Philippines consists of the regular force and the reserve force. The strength recommended by President Quezon for the initial Army of the Philippines was 19,000 men and 1,500 officers, including the Constabulary. The reserve force's strength will be 40,000 men. The entire citizenry, both male and female, will be trained to do war work. The estimated annual cost of this vast army is only $8,000,000 but one-fourth of the total national budget.

In the defense act no detailed mention of an air service is made, which would seem important to the archipelago, considering that the Philippines is composed of 7,091 islands. Of a navy there is no mention at all. The defense planners believe that the establishment of a navy is untimely, that the country cannot afford it and the lack of it "emphasizes the defensive character of our military establishment." Under the Philippine Independence Act the United States can retain all her naval bases when the islands get their freedom ten years hence.

President Quezon is the constitutional commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Philippines. His legislature made him chairman of the Council of National Defense. The chief of staff is directly subordinate to no one but the President. Some observers see in the national defense plan a strong Quezon personal defense plan, which makes it almost impossible for any military clique to overthrow or dominate the President.

General Emilio Aguinaldo, head of the revolutionary army of the Philippines which almost succeeded in overthrowing Spanish rule in 1898 and last year's defeated candidate for President, is against the national defense plan. He says the cost will be too much for the Philippines. "Moreover, in the present status in which we find ourselves, with the American flag still floating over our country and being under the sovereignty of that great nation, its army and navy are the forces called upon to defend these islands against aggression," reasons out the man described in the journals at the turn of the century as the rebel who chewed glass and spat blood with gusto. "If it is the desire to have this obligation fall upon the shoulders of the able men of our country, then we should be given our complete and absolute independence."

Members of Congress expect General MacArthur to make a thorough study of the strategic situation of the Philippines. They expect him to be able to tell them whether or not he honestly believes that an independent Philippines can withstand aggression of a major power like Japan.

In fact, when asked to comment on Roy Howard's statement that "the Filipino dream of independence is fading fast," some senators and congressmen pointed out that MacArthur's findings and recommendations would have mighty influence on Congress in making any changes in the McDuffie-Tydings Act, the measure which enabled the Filipinos to elect their own president last year and will make them completely independent on July 4, 1946.

March 6, 1936.

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RUPA-PATI : 'THE MASTER OF FORM'

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI,
Professor, Calcutta University

'Verily, the Arts are for the Culture of the Soul': *atma-samskrtir vava s'ilpani,* so say the Vedic seers. The Arts exalt the Emotions, they improve the Mind. The Senses and the finer Sensibilities find their culmination in the Arts.

Raso vai sah: rasam hy eva ayam labdhva anandi bhavati:.

'He verily is *rasa*—aesthetic sentiment; a person receiving this *rasa* becomes blissful.'

The Fine Arts, with their medium of form, colour, words, musical sounds, and rhythm of movement, are a means of evoking this *rasa,* this aesthetic sentiment, in the soul. Music, Poetry, Dance and the Drama, Architecture, Sculpture and Painting—these are born out of the exuberance of the human spirit when it has raised itself from its primitive level. Like Philosophy and Meditation, and Great Action that is selfless, they help Man to ascend to God. They purge the Mind and the Emotions of baser elements; they bring Man to a vision of the Eternal Verities.

* * * *

The Fine Arts often melt into each other, like the senses. There are form and rhythm inherent in all of them. But each art has its special function and its special appeal. Music has been declared by the Greeks, past masters of the plastic arts, to be the most divine of the arts. Music is, more than any other art, free from the limitations of word and form and colour. Poetry cannot be great or real if it does not transcend the words by which it is apparently limited : it evokes its pictures which have as much a subjective as an objective truth. The Drama is a borderland art linking up Poetry and the Dance, the world of words and the world of shape and movement. Dance is sculpture and music in motion. Architecture, Sculpture and Painting are from the nature of their mediums tied down to the limitations imposed upon them. It is difficult for these to soar into the regions of the Limitless, like what Music and Poetry can easily do.

* * * *

Music has been almost universally ad[illegible] as a powerful agent for emotional uplift. [illegible] perhaps the oldest of the Fine Arts. [illegible] wizard's incantation, and the drum that [illegible] the warrior to the fight and men and wom[illegible] the dance in primitive society, are behind [illegible] sacred music, all religious chanting, all [illegible] reading of the present day.

Kaner bhitar diya marame pas'ila go,
akul karila mor pran :

'through the ear, ah me! it entered the [illegible] it made my life ecstatic': as the old Po[illegible] Bengal has sung.

Ecstasy through the auditory sense is [illegible] mitted and even encouraged by religions [illegible] will not understand or tolerate ecstasy th[illegible] the visual sense. Is it due to a certain prim[illegible] ness of outlook, which deep down in its [illegible] conscious mind has a fear and a mistrust o[illegible] picture and the image as the result of an un[illegible] uncanny magic? It is indeed strange that [illegible] spiritual exaltation should be permitted th[illegible] one sense, *viz.*, hearing, it should be shut [illegible] through another, *viz.*, sight.

* * * *

The civilized peoples of the ancient w[illegible] before the creation of the jealous god, perm[illegible] the play of the senses as a source of emoti[illegible] exaltation, of religious ecstasy: in M[illegible] potamia, in Egypt, in India pre-Aryan as [illegible] as Aryan, in Greece, in China and in Japan [illegible] Mexico, Central America, and Peru. Orth[illegible] Christianity wisely permitted the use of [illegible] sight and smell as much as of hearing [illegible] devotional exercise; hence side by side [illegible] organ music and singing, there is incense in [illegible] church,—and icons in Eastern ritual, and im[illegible] (one should say *idols*) in the Roman Cath[illegible] faith. The great art of the Ancient East, [illegible] Greece, of India and the Far East, and [illegible] Byzantine and Roman Christianity achi[illegible] whatever spiritual quality they possess thro[illegible] this acceptance of the image and the pi[illegible] in religion.

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In India, from time immemorial, the s[illegible] of sight was allowed free play in spi[illegible]

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SANTINIKETAN
By Nandalal Bose

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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A VILLAGE MUSICIAN

Etching By Nandalal Bose

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matters, as a necessary aid for the many. The result was the great Art of India—the beginnings of which go back to the pre-historic art of the pre-Aryan peoples, and which became established as a National Hindu Art, although in its primitive and formative stage, a few centuries before the Christian era. The greatest achievement of Hindu Art occurred many centuries after that of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and is younger even than Greek Art—it is contemporaneous with the Greco-Roman, Byzantine and Romanesque phases of European Art. But it produced masters who are unique in their own sphere, and are to be reckoned among the greatest artists of the world: whose influence extended far beyond the frontiers of their own country, into Central Asia and Tibet, into the Far East, and into South-eastern Asia—Indo-China and Indonesia. These artists made their genius serve the religious aspirations of their race, as well as of other races. Taking the human figure as a symbol of the Divinity, they achieved what was but rarely achieved elsewhere—and that, too, under their own inspiration in certain lands—*viz.*, the transfiguration of the human into the divine, or the transformation of the divine into the human.

* * * *

In India, we have echoes of a primitive naturalism at Bharhut and Sanchi, a naturalism which seems to have grown out of the soil of the land. Mathura and Amaravati sing a plastic paean to the spirit of romance and sensuous beauty in a simple and noble style, with the transitoriness of this romance and beauty (implied by its themes from the life of the Jinas and the Buddha) suffusing it with a deep and a subtle vigour and giving it a meaning and a message. Then we have the synthesis of the elements, both native and foreign (Greco-Roman, some Chinese and some Persian), in the great national art of the Guptas in which Hindu India found itself for the first time. The culminating development of Gupta Art was in the frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh and the sculpture of Mahabalipuram, Ellora and Elephanta, when some of the finest masterpieces of the plastic and pictorial arts were produced. The 'Grand Style' of the sculptures of the 7th-8th centuries then gave place to a number of ornate schools of the later medieval Hindu age, in which simplicity and strength were replaced by complex ornament and skill, robustness by cleverness. The old tradition in sculpture has continued in the South down to our day, while it has practically died out in Northern India, largely through the hostility of the aniconic Mohammadan religion of the ruling houses. In North India, however, it has survived in a few places like Rajputana and Orissa, and Nepal, where the Hindu world of ideas was not much disturbed. Painting also languished. In the South, it became lifeless; but in the North, a thin stream continued through Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical book-illustration, which was later reinforced by a new tradition of miniature-painting from Persia. This gave rise to the great pictorial art of the Moguls in the 16th century; and the Hindu tradition, popular, religious and courtly, was also revived, particularly in the courts of the Rajput princes in Rajputana and the Panjab hills. After three centuries of a vigorous if somewhat restricted life, impact with the west almost swept away Rajput and Mogul art. Barring a few craftsmen in some of the important centres of art and religion in both North and South India, India towards the end of the 19th century practically became bankrupt in matters of art, with not even the understanding or courage to draw upon the resources of her ancestral art or the reserves of her folk-art, the very existence of both of which she forgot.

* * * *

The inevitable revival came with the 20th century. The sympathetic encouragement of European art-lovers and connoisseurs of Indian Art, and the example of Japan, made Indian artistic sense and artistic talent rehabilitate themselves once again, in a new sense of self-discovery and a new spirit of endeavour. Calcutta was the home of this revival, E. B. Havell and Sister Nivedita were among its sponsors. Its leader was Abanindranath Tagore, happily still continuing to be at the head of the movement; and its greatest artist has been Nandalal Bose, Abanindranath's pupil.

* * * *

Nandalal's position is unique in the history of Indian Art. In the art of our country, not only he is a supreme master, but a great inspirer as well. More than anybody else, he has been able to breathe in the atmosphere of the greatest Hindu art of the classical times, and to make its spirit manifest itself in new settings which he has evoked both out of the old and out of his own creative genius. With the surest control over his hand and his materials, he has successfully essayed many languages: diversity is as much a feature of his art as originality. Rajput

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and Mogul painting and Ajanta formed his early inspiration. Indeed, these stately schools of the past gave the primary impetus to the new or revived Indian School of Painting. But he did not confine himself to a revival of a few old stylistic *cachets* merely. He essayed everything, and, like all great creators, took, out of the abundance left by his predecessors as well as lying scattered round about him, whatever he needed. The folk-art of Bengal—the virile terracotta carving on the walls of its temples, its strong line work and brush work in the Kalighat and other *pats* and in painting on cloth and on earthenware plates and dishes, its decorative colour-scheme on the old lacquered *patas* or book-covers, and its brass and woodwork he appreciated, and applied to his purposes of self-expression. He studied and assimilated elements from Chinese and Japanese painting. All great art—Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, Chinese, Byzantine or Gothic,—has its appeal and message for him; and the folk-art of all nations. A highly cultured personality, with a close and intimate knowledge of the art history of the world, and an artist of rare genius, there is nothing of the highbrow about him. He still considers himself in all sincerity as a craftsman, and he would like to feel like a craftsman of the past (who was often a great master unconsciously), having his definite position of utility and responsibility in society. And although he is distinguished as a painter mainly, he has tried, and tried successfully, quite a number of the artistic crafts: the fresco in the old Rajputana style, clay-modelling, the wood-cut and lino-cut, leather-work and batik, textile designing, wood-carving, and lithography and etching, besides stage decoration and costuming, and architectural decoration.

* * * *

I should say that Nandalal Bose's greatest achievement in Art has been both in rediscovering the Spirit of Ancient and Medieval Indian Art and in expressing what Modern India wishes to say through Art, in a manner that is distinctly national for India, and yet it is, like all truly national things, international and universal at the same time—has in fact its appeal for all those who irrespective of race and period can appreciate great things in Art.

One of the profoundest things evolved by the spirit of India under the stress of non-Aryan and Aryan impact has been the twin-conception of the divinity as Siva and Uma. This has been nobly represented in Gupta Art, in Mahabalipuram, Ellora and Elephanta, in late medieval Hindu sculpture and in the South Indian bronzes, and in Rajput painting. Nandalal Bose in a series of masterpieces on this theme has given what may be described as the most spiritual set of pictures produced in present-day India: his *Siva Dance, Siva drinking the World-Poison, Siva Head, Siva and the dead Sati, Siva and Uma, Kailasa, Siva wooing Uma, Love and Death, Uma and Siva, Heads of Siva and Uma in profile*, and a number of others.

The power of the artist lies in evoking the spirit through the form. It is not in Greece alone that a Pheidias gave the stamp of his genius on the conception of Zeus and Athena and his people gladly accepted his vision of the majesty and sweetness of the divinity as truly visualising their own ideal. It undoubtedly happened also in Egypt and in Babylon, in China, in Japan, and in Java, as well as in India—wherever religion sought the aid of definite anthropomorphic conceptions for the visualisation of the divine. The prehistoric conception of Siva, as at Mohen-jo-Daro, was carried down to the Gupta period, to be suffused by the faith, the imagination and the skill of the Gupta masters, and then by those at Mahabalipuram, Ellora and Elephanta; the Chola bronze-founders gave of their best to the conception as they received it from their Pallava predecessors. It passed on to Indo-China and Java, to be modified by the vision which was granted to the Khmer and Cham and Javanese artists. The Rajput painters added an ineffable grace and sweetness, an exquisite aroma of romance, to their Siva and Uma figures, and this was their special contribution. The folk-painters of Bengal brought down these blessed deities from their pedestal of superhuman majesty and beauty to the rusticity of the village homes of Early Bengal, like the Bengali poets of the late medieval period: and we have the Bengalised Siva and Uma of the Bengali artists and clay-modellers as a result.

Nandalal, true Hindu that he is, realised the meaning of Siva and Uma, understood the language of the previous sculptors and painters as he understood and realized the stories and figures and the philosophy, saw the vision of Siva and Uma in a way that was given but to few amongst the artists of the present day, and in his inimitable manner he gave us a glimpse of what he saw. The result has been a fresh exaltation of the Siva-Uma idea in Art and a fresh possibility of emotional and spiritual uplift through this figure by contem-

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plating his creations. The artist has here fulfilled one supreme function of his craft.

* * * *

Nandalal has created noble figures, and he has also depicted through his brush and pencil the humdrum everyday life. The romance underlying this everyday life, with its very apparently uninspiring commonplace facts, has touched him as much as the mystery behind it. A dog lying curled on the ground; a goat suckling its kids; animal studies of all sorts—cows, buffaloes, horses, donkeys: a child playing with a kitten; a mother lying prone on her back, dandling her baby, holding it aloft with her hands—the baby crowing with delight; aboriginal Santal girls coming back home from work, singing, and with flowers in their hair; a boy running with a hoop; an eighty-years old priest with trembling hands, teaching the rite of *aratrika*, or waving the light before the image of a god, to a young boy acolyte of ten years; and sketches of flowers and trees, of attitudes of men and women, and of animals and birds, in profusion: hundreds of pencil and brush sketches like these, all meant to be ephemeral records of life as a kaleidoscope, show one side of his vision and his mastery of form. These speak out as much as do his bigger compositions—the dance offering of the *Nati* (he has spiritualised, following the poet Rabindranath's creation of the character, what in Anglo-Indian and continental European parlance would be described as the Spirit of the *Nautch Girl* or the *Bayadere*); the Return—a large-sized black and white picture of the young villager received at the threshold of his hut by his glad young wife; scenes from the life of Chaitanya, Vaishnava Saint and Mystic of Bengal; episodes from the life of the Buddha; episodes from the grand old stories of the Epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata (I am reminded among other things of the great picture in black and white of the Pandava heroes with Draupadi and the dog resting under an age-old pine tree on a ledge of the Himalayas while on their way to Indra's heaven); and the Siva-Uma pictures. He has penetrated into the nature of the Gods, of the heroes and heroic women of the ancient epics and the medieval romances, of common-place men and women, of saints and simple rustics; he has felt for the animals and the birds; and he has even caught the spirit of the plants and trees: in spite of decorative treatment, the way in which has painted the trees in many of his pictures (e.g., in the picture of the Buddha under a *S'ala* tree) is something entirely new in Indian art, something which bears the stamp of his genius. He has eyes to see such as few men have; he has a strength, a truth, a mystic touch which all artists will envy and he is great in his realism, as he is great in his decorative treatment of human themes.

* * * *

The direct study of Indian painting in the grandest style, *viz.*, the frescoes at Ajanta and Bagh, which he copied with some other Indian artists, has imprinted his mind with a specious quality that brought a new note in Modern Indian Art. And yet he did not think too low of the miniature. His series of small Ramayana panels, reminiscent of the language of Ajanta (these, I hear, have gone to enrich a Russian collection), has succeeded in putting the Sanskrit epic story in a series of Japanese *tanka* lyrics.

* * * *

Nandalal Bose sent his son, who studied under him, to Japan to learn the technique of the Japanese coloured wood-cut. Many of his pupils are now finished artists, who are in the forefront of artistic education and artistic progress in different parts of India. A fellow-student and colleague of Nandalal's, Surendranath Kar, has become the creator of a new style of Indian Architecture which runs parallel to the new Indian School of Art, a style which is also another noteworthy contribution of Santiniketan, Rabindranath's Institution where Nandalal now is, to the culture of Modern India.

* * * *

The name Nandalal Bose is of course well-known to all who have watched the history of Art in India during the last quarter of a century, and thousands of people love and admire his pictures. But as the greatest painter of Modern India who has given the truest expression to India's spirit through line and colour and form, he ought to be known to millions. A greater publicity is necessary, in the public's own interest. But one great obstacle to this necessary publicity is the personality of the artist himself. He has the innate shyness of the true genius in art,—a shyness which is also the result of the artist-creator, like all leaders of men, being an aristocrat among men. But the public —the friends and admirers of the artist—might do one thing. They ought to arrange for a Nandalal Bose Exhibition of original works and of reproductions. There ought to be good and cheap albums of reproductions of his work

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chronologically arranged. His sketches and drawings, wonderful in their spontaneity and variety and in their truth, form a rich mine among his productions, recalling the works of Hokusai and their peers in Japan. These are scattered among his friends and admirers: a representative collection should be made for album purposes.

It will be necessary to have one or more representative albums of his work for a study of the evolution of Nandalal Bose's artistic career, which can now be described as being in its fullest vigour: he is 55 years old this year, and we hope and pray that he will continue his creative artistic life for at least a couple of decades more.

* * * *

An appreciation of the work of a great artist who has moved us by his art is bound to be subjective to some extent. But judging from the way in which Nandalal's compositions have moved and shall move him, and considering also the mastery of his craft, as well as the position Nandalal has in the Art of India, the present writer has no hesitation in considering Nandalal Bose as one of the greatest and most significant names in the history of Art. Although he has expressed himself mostly through painting (as Rabindranath has expressed himself largely through lyrics and the short story), I would place him in the same rank with the Egyptian masters, with Pheidias and his peers, with the master artists of Ajanta, with the sculptors of Mahabalipuram, Ellora and Elephanta, and with the Buddhist painters and sculptors of early China and Japan,—when I consider his breadth of treatment, his repose, and his success in making the divine incarnate itself in the human. With the masters of medieval Hindu art, he has also shown his power in transcending conventions while sticking to them; with the Chinese and Japanese landscape painters, he shows his feeling for nature, with his special manner in grasping the inner spirit of the trees and plants; with the Japanese *Ukiyo-ye* painters, he [illegible] a wide sympathy and a robust quality in [illegible] ing life around him. He has attained [illegible] aim of his art: speaking in the Indian [illegible] one might say that he has achieved *Siddhi* [illegible] the goal of his endeavours in Art—he [illegible] called, truly, a *Siddha Silpin*, a past [illegible] in Art.

* * * *

Tvashtar, 'the Fashioner, the Artifice[illegible] the divine craftsman in the Vedas: he is [illegible] Vedic counterpart of Visva-karma, 'the [illegible] worker,' a manifestation of the supreme [illegible] who is Prajapati-Brahman, 'the Spirit [illegible] the Lord of Creatures,'—who is recognised [illegible] patron deity of architects, artists and craft[illegible] in later, Puranic Hindu mythology. Among [illegible] epithets of Tvashtar there is one which I [illegible] sider singularly appropriate for an artist of [illegible] eminence of Nandalal Bose: it is *Rupa-[illegible]* 'the Master of Form;' even as Rabindr[illegible] is *Vak-pati*, 'the Master of Speech.'

* * * *

May the deity, who is Visva-rupa, '[illegible] Form,' whom we in India have worshipped [illegible] still love to worship in the form of Siva-Uma [illegible] Sri-Vishnu, grant to our beloved *Rupa-pati*, [illegible] 'Master of Form,' Nandalal Bose, long life [illegible] prosperity, and higher and subtler powers [illegible] vision and of expression; so that he might [illegible] up to us newer and newer vistas of the S[illegible] and of Life, to the service of Humanity, and [illegible] the eternal glory of Mother India; so that [illegible] may continue to speak of him in all gratefulness [illegible] even as the Vedic sage spoke of Ushas, the D[illegible] Goddess, the Revealer of life, that—

Nodhah iva avir akrta priyani:

'Like a Poet, he has revealed to us [illegible] things that we love.'

[Contributed to the Birth-day Book of Nandalal B[illegible] to be published by his Pupils and Friends, [illegible] Santiniketan.]

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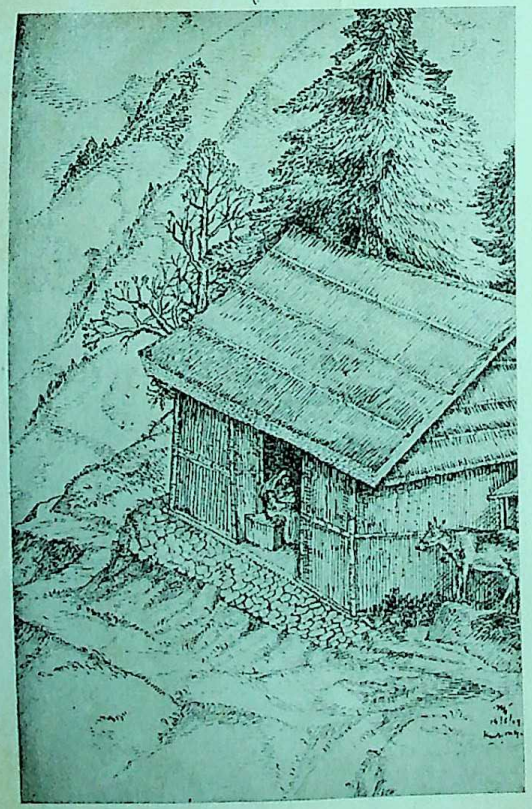

The Cottage
Pen and Ink Sketch By Nandalal Bose
[Collection : R. N. Chakravarti]

Stage of a Tagore Drama
Etching By Nandalal Bose

Her Burden
Pen and Ink Sketch By Nandalal Bose
[Collection : R. N. Chakravarti]

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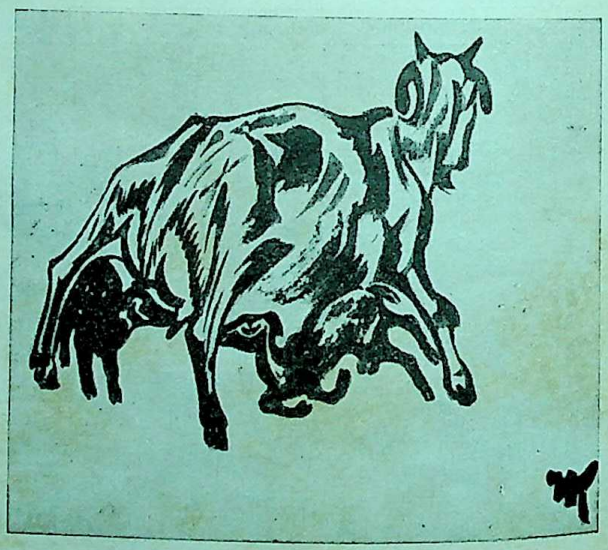
The Traine.
Ink Sketch By Nandalal Bose
[Collection : R. N. Chakravarti]

The Story-teller
Ink Sketch By Nandalal Bose
[Collection : M. B. Gupta]



The Mother
Ink Sketch By Nandalal Bose
[Collection : R. N. Chakravarti]

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STORIES FROM THE LIFE OF GURU NANAK

By BALWANT SINGH, M.A., B.T.

Bala, a Hindu Jat, and Mardana, a Muslim musician, accompanied Guru Nanak in his travels. Once the trio proceeded towards Multan, "city of dust, heat, Faqirs and graveyards." As the trio stood at the city gates, there came one with a brimming pail of milk and put it before the Guru. The brimming pail signified that the town was already full of Faqirs and could contain no more. Guru Nanak smilingly dropped a jasmine flower on the surface of the milk to signify thereby that he would dwell among them like a flower, giving off sweet odour, causing offence to none. A sublime ideal!

Once, while he was a store-keeper of Daulat Khan Lodhi, he started weighing out grain. He weighed out twelve measures and when he began weighing the thirteenth, he said 'Tera' (a Punjabi word which means thirteen, as also "I am thine"). And then in a state of ecstatic trance he went on uttering for a long while, "Tera, Tera, Tera," or "I am Thine, I am Thine, I am Thine."

At Hardwar, he found people throwing handfuls of water from the sacred Ganges towards the east. He doffed his clothes and started throwing water with might and main towards the west. The wondering crowd enquired of him the meaning of his strange freak. The Guru in turn enquired of them as to what *they* were doing. They said that they were offering oblations of the Ganges water to the souls of their deceased forbears. The Guru said that he had a farm at home and was watering it. The astonished crowd enquired: "How would your water reach so far off?" The Guru smilingly asked, "How would yours reach the souls of your ancestors?"

There was a miserly millionaire who had amassed a fortune by fair means and foul. Hoarding was his forte. The Guru approached him and handing over a needle to him said, "Here, keep it in deposit for me and when you go over into the next world, carry it for me, I shall receive it from you there." "How would this be possible," said the man. "Just as you would carry your hoarded wealth," rejoined the Guru. The millionaire's millions, we are told, were thereafter freely spent to help the needy.

At Mecca, some of the 'Hajis' enquired of him, "Who are superior, the Hindus or the Muslims?" The Guru said, "Without good deeds, both are naught."

At Mecca, he lay down with his feet towards the holy 'Kaaba.' The infuriated 'Mujawars' (guardians of the Kaaba) upbraided the Guru for turning his feet towards the "House of God." The Guru smilingly said, "Then turn my feet where the House of God is not; I find it everywhere."

A Yogi spoke sneeringly of householders and dilated upon the supposed virtues of the renunciation of the world. The Guru said, "You renounce the world and despise the householders and yet you resort to *them* for your daily bread!"

Some one enquired of the Guru the chief traits of a good man. The Guru said, "A good soul feels delighted when others fare well and are happy; he serves one and all, never picks quarrels with others; is ever humble and sweet; and loves God and man."

Whenever Mardana, the Guru's Muslim companion, lost heart, was footsore and weary, or was troubled with hunger and thirst, the Guru, with a cheering smile, would say, "Mardana, patiently wait and watch the wondrous ways of the Lord. Do not lose heart. What He does is for the best."

The people of a certain village did not receive the Guru well. On leaving the village, the Guru said, "Let these people ever dwell here in their native home." They visited another village and the Guru found them good souls. On departing, the Guru said, "What a good thing it would be, if these people migrated far and wide, and this village became deserted." Mardana cried out, "Baba, how strange you are! You blessed the accursed villagers, who treated us ill and you wished that they might continue to dwell where they were and now that these good people have treated us so well, you wish that the village should become deserted and the inmates scatter far and wide." The Guru said, "Yes, if perverse people remain where they are, they would not spoil others, and if good people scatter far and wide, they would spread the leaven of goodness wherever they go."

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THE WITCH

By CHARULAL MUKHERJEA, M.A., B.L.

(A short story based on Santhal witch-craft)

The grey dawn stole into the heart of Santalia, revealing a rolling country of long ridges with intervening depressions. In some places, the surface is overgrown with jungles, in others, the soil is too rocky to admit of cultivation.

Lines of *Palas* and Pipul trees offer a scanty back-ground for a Santhal rural seat, midway between Hansdiha and Godda. It seems that the hamlet is a temporary settlement of a migratory tribe. The pigs squeal in the *kuli* (village lane) and a savage-looking dog snarls at them.

Sitting on a rocky seat, a Santhal lad plays on his flute. It appears that the slabs beneath him, measuring 40 square feet each, were placed one over the other by giant hands. If you question a Santhal, "How could these be so naturally arranged?" he would reply with a bland smile, "O, the *Bongas* did it." Everything unusual is done by the *Bongas*, the spirit-deities of the tribe.

"Where is Chumni?" the lad queried the dog.

He replied with a growl.

Left to himself, the lad began to admire the pictures drawn on the mud-plastered walls of the thatched cottage before him. Mohua and Sal-flowers were painted in profusion, while in a corner a Brobdingnagian deity was aiming a shaft at them from a bow. A shrub of china-roses covered the rest. But the sight of the flowers transported our hero to the scenes of the day before.

She came to the *Jahirthan* (holy-grove in the village) along with the procession of ebony-beauties, their arms entwined round the next woman's shoulders. She was the queen of all with her mass of dark hair gathered into a large knot, decked with china-roses and tufts of silk. Her hands and feet were small and her eyes like those of a fawn. The arms, throats and ankles gleamed with shining brass ornaments.

The *Sohrai*, (the December Harvest-festival) was on full swing. The young men of the village, all playing on lutes, had come there to take part in the Olympics of the tribe. Numbers of cow-boys, with Lokhua (for such was our hero's name), had stood in a line. a egg was placed on the ground and the cows made to walk thereon. He remembered cheering which followed when his cow broke egg and he was voted as the "Lucky boy" "Lokhua has won," she screamed in deli Her eyes beamed with evident pleasure and congratulatory glances followed Lokhua chaired by his friends up to the Headm house.

Towards evening a voice had acco Lokhua, "I am glad," she said.

"Are you?"

"How nice! You beat the imp Hopa carries the prize every year."

"Lokhua . . . . . ."

"Chumni . . . ."

"O, I have forgotten. The priest asked to cleanse the winnowing fan." She ran a like a vanishing apparition.

Next they met at the dances . . . The k drum . . . pipes . . . cymbals . . . dan villages . . . mohua wine . . . and Chu She danced as if she was swaying in the w like the green paddy of the field. His eyes hers times without number . . But why did blush? . . "Lucky dog that I am. Here is coming with a heap of grass on her head." rose to greet her.

"Ch-h-h-," he stopped suddenly and not accost her. Her mother was behind. watched her vanish into the fields.

"I know that Lokhua has laid a siege the heart of Chumni," said Gochchu Tudu, Witch-doctor of Latapahari, as he peered at guest full in the face. The man had come him with a proposal from Lokhua's mother marriage between Lokhua and Chumni, as understood her son's marital intentions enough.

Wavy locks of hair, coarse straight black, fell on the Witch-doctor's shoulders profusion. He had a blubbery style of face a figure inclined to corpulency; cheek-bo moderately prominent and a nose of some retroussee style.

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The man to whom this was addressed was a Negroid-looking old man. He wore a turban on his head from which descended locks of flaxen hair setting off a wart on his chin. He said that he had come from Gumrea Bunglow, Lokhua's village, and explained his mission in detail.

"Lokhua is a Hemrom (a sub-sept of Santhals). Isn't it?" said the Witch-doctor.

"Yes."

He watched her vanish into the fields

"That's good. But mind that we have no common relations. Enquire of Parua *Mostagir* (headman). He keeps a list of our relations. Otherwise they will socially ostracise us, although we are Tudus. And you know what a horrible business that boycott (*Bitlaha*) is."

The conversation was interrupted by the burst of a middle-aged Santhal. "*Johur*, sir (salutation)," said he as he knelt in a picturesque bent and then clasped the hands towards the Witch-doctor. "I want to talk to you for a moment."

"Sit down," said the Witch-doctor as he pointed out a *khatia*.

The man felt visibly uncomfortable, as the bugs were biting him; but he stuck to the job . . "My grand-child is dead these fourteen days. My mother died yesterday. Now my son is ill. What are all these due to? Tell me *Jan-guru*. I offered a fowl at the Jahirthan, another at the Bonga-than. But all these calamities have unnerved me."

Gochchu Tudu was in deep thought. His countenence changed to a pale hue. His eyes became blood-shot. A hypnotic spell emitted from his eyes as he began to shake his hair in a frenzy. As if possessed by a spirit he walked on, took a leaf of a Sal-tree, pasted oil and vermilion on it, and then began to divine.

The two men present were watching the procedure with eyes starting from their heads.

At last the oracle spoke in mumbling tones . . . . "Your house has got a witch. She quarrelled with you during the gathering of the *arpa* paddy at the time of the last *Sohrai*. She claimed all the paddy as her personal property. You did not want to apart with them . . . . She loves to wear *Sal*-flowers in her hair, even before the Spring Festival . . . Has a beautiful mass of hair . . . . ."

"Why, she is my sister, Barki! Impossible Jan-guru. She a witch? Never."

"Yes, she is," the Witch-doctor said with emphasis.

The man became crest-fallen, paid his fees, which were a bundle of *janra* (maize) and a pot of *ghee* and departed.

The Witch-doctor's guest was fumbling for the thread of his last conversation.

"O yes, what were we talking about?" said the Witch-doctor. "Chumni's marriage. . . . .So Chumni will be married," said he, extending an earthen bowl of *pochoi* (rice-beer) to the guest, while he began to drink bowls after bowls . . . "I sometimes wonder if I am the fish, Thakur Jiu (Creator) made when he first created the world. Why man, that's our genesis . . . In the beginning there was only water. Then came the fish, then crab, then *Raghab-boal* (a big fish) . .There was o-n-l-y water. Like this Pochoi. Take another . . . I wish, I could swim in this Pochoi, like the first fish of Thakur Jiu . . . Why do you look so grave? . . . I have not forgotten your business. Chumni's marriage . . . With Lokhua . . Y-E-S. It shall be done. But I shall keep Lokhua here and keep him as my Ghardi-jawae. He will be just as my son. I cannot bear the idea of not seeing my Chumni. Bring Lokhua today to the Lakshmanpur hatia for china-chini with Chumni (first recognition between bride and bridegroom), although no such recognition is necessary. They....saw....each other su-f-f-i-

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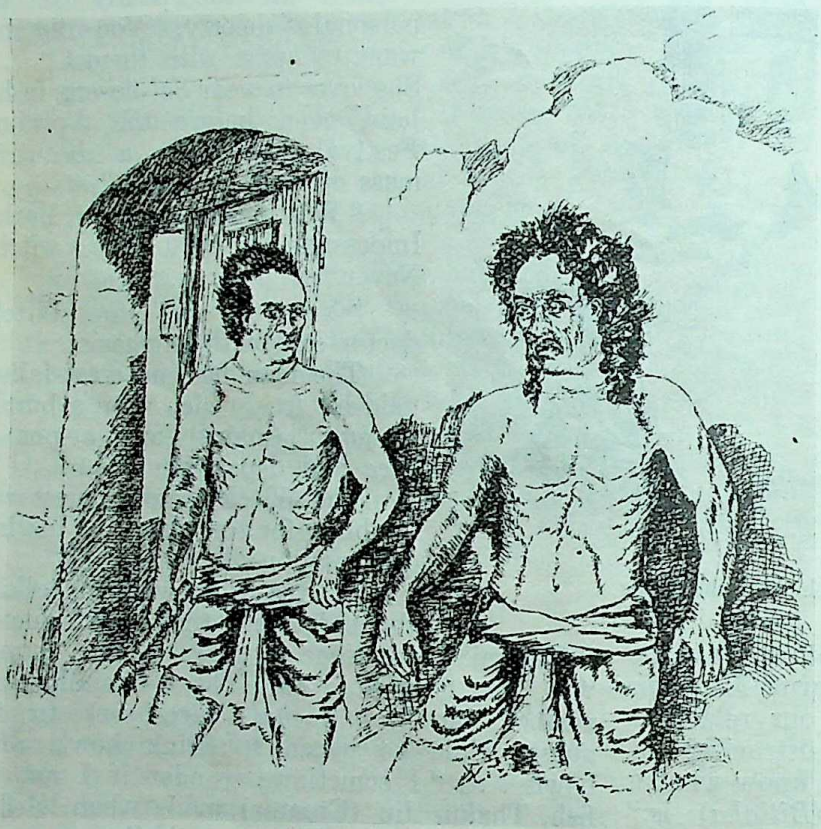
ciently at the dances, the other night," he pronounced the last words with a loud guffaw.

The old man left the outskirts of the Witch-doctor's village and as soon as he crossed the open fields, at the fringe of the next hamlet, he saw the Perganait (tribal police chief) with two choukidars conveying the man he had seen last at the Witch-doctor's house, arrested.

"What's the matter?" he questioned.

"He tried to burn his sister Barki to death. He tied her to a rope and set fire to her cottage. Poor girl! She is half-dead. But she will survive, I'm sure."



"I have killed Chumni. She is a witch."

There was a ghastly pallor in the prisoner's face, the eyes wore a far-off look.

Today Lokhua is as shy as the bride herself. The bride-price will be fixed at a conference of the elders of the village. He will live in the house of Chumni herself.

Very soon both the parties met, talked and harangued. Technically Lokhua will have to pay Rs. 25 in all but that will be paid in kind by his work at his father-in-law's place. This is a slight matter. He can pluck all the stars from heaven to make a shining necklace for his love. The date was fixed and the parties kept a string knotted with the number of days that intervened between the marriage.

And if you enquired subsequently as to what was Lokhua doing the very first thing every morning, his people would invariably reply, "The impatient lover hides himself behind the mohua tree and removes a knot daily."

Very soon the last knot was loosened. With musical accompaniments a bridal procession with Lokhua as the central figure, reached the house of the Witch-doctor of Latapahari. The village chiefs came to receive the party. Songs and dances followed in the intervals of community feasts and drinks of rice-beer. Lokhua was chaired in duly by his friends and he daubed his lady-love with vermilion on her crown and brow.

He was in his seventh heaven.

Three years have elapsed since Chumni and Lokhua's marriage. The Witch-doctor's house was *en fete* on the occasion of his grandchild's birth. Today Lokhua and Chumni will undergo purification five days after the child's birth. A kind of gruel was prepared and offered to Maran Buru, the chief presiding deity and later served to the proud mother of the son and other members of the family.

The son was named after his grand-father. The whole village was treated to a feast by the Witch-doctor, whose joy exceeded everything he had ever experienced . . . But the very night the child died.

Chumni was struck dumb. Lokhua was disconsolate. The Witch-doctor went to the *Bonga-than* (the shrine of evil spirits), offered propitiatory libations and returned home sobbing.

Three years later, Chumni had twins.... "Maran Buru in his grace has compensated for the first child," thought the Witch-doctor. So thought the parents . . . On the fifth day both the children fell ill of whooping cough. First the one, then the other dropped off like ripe fruit.

Stygian darkness relieved by a dimly burning lamp reigns in the toddy-shop at Nani-bari. Pairs of Santhals totter in comic mutual support

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and babble about the festivals and the hunt. In an adjoining room a jargon of voices, male and female, sing aloud.

Lokhua has just returned from the famous "Jan-guru" of Nanihat. He went to consult the Witch-doctor as to why his children died. He dared not ask his father-in-law, for he was too much of a doctor to diagnose and prescribe in his own house. His affections might play false with his divinations.

The Witch-doctor of Nanihat had given him the cruelest of shocks in his life. He said, "Your wife is a witch. As long as she lives she will kill her children thus."

He had drunk as many bowls of spirit as he could. His friend Sagram Baski had put courage in his heart. "The Dikkus (non-Santhals) say that there is the greatest of darkness under the light itself. If there is a ghost or the charmed mustard itself with which it will be exorcised, one is helpless. . . . . Your father-in-law might be a doctor himself but he might fail in his own house . . . ." The words rang in his ears.

At mid-night, the Witch-doctor heard a sharp cry of pain. . . . there followed a deep groan and sounds of hushed foot-steps. . . . Then all was silent.

He came out and in the ghostly moon-light saw his son-in-law standing like a statue.

"I have killed Chumni. She is a witch," he said in distinct accents of a judge pronouncing his sentence.

Two months later.

In the Scandinavian Mission at Maharo, a man had come for baptism. His eyes wore a savage look, but he fell at the Father's feet to name him the Bonga who had taken his Chumni away. The Father knew the story of the Witch-doctor's daughter. He sent him to the Medical Officer who kept the man in the mental ward.

A PLEA FOR A REGULAR BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN PERIODICALS

By MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA Pandit GOPINATH KAVIRAJ, M.A.
Principal, Government Sanskrit College, Benares

The invariable pre-requisite of a scientific study of a particular subject is a knowledge as complete as possible of all that has yet been written upon it or upon any of its phases from different points of view. It is in the highest degree unprofitable, for instance, to try to investigate a problem in the hope either of appreciating its value in terms of current thought or of its historical evolution, before acquainting oneself with the manner in which, and the extent to which the subject has been tackled by different thinkers. The specialization of learning in a particular field can only be possible on the assumption of a general knowledge relating to it; and for this as well as for the specialized knowledge a good and up-to-date bibliography is indispensable.

There is a paucity of bibliographical literature in our country. In the west bibliography has acquired the position of a science (sastra), but in India it does not seem to have yet outgrown its infantile stages. It is therefore necessary, in the interest of advanced studies in a subject, that, apart from a general bibliography of the different branches of knowledge, based on Indian publications kept up-to-date by annual supplements, there ought to be a separate compilation dealing with the same subject, but based upon the periodical literature of the country.

Authors sometimes give in their works names of important reference books on particular subjects, on the basis of which students seeking after advanced knowledge are able to prepare their individual courses of study. But as a rule such lists are neither complete nor always quite up-to-date, so that they have almost always to be supplemented by further information received from learned scholars. But specialists interested in and possessed of an up-to-date knowledge of the subject in which the students are particularly interested are not easily accessible; and even when they are found to be within reach, it is not usually possible to induce them to take the trouble of preparing for them a thorough and up-to-date bibliography of the subjects concerned, except when the students happen to be closely associated with them. Such difficulties are felt by every student working in the field of specialized knowledge.

In the interest of higher studies, therefore, a periodical bulletin of Indian bibliography dealing with published books as well as journals is one of the greatest desiderata of the present times. Hence it is gratifying to note that some earnest and self-sacrificing young men of Benares have joined together in a laudable attempt to remove this long-felt want by bringing out a

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bulletin of Indian bibliography, entitled *Indiana*, with special reference to Indian journalistic literature in the form of a regular periodical under the general editorial supervision of Mr. S. C. Guha of Benares. It is expected that Mr. Guha, who was long associated with several well-known Indian periodicals, including the far-famed *Dawn* Magazine of Calcutta, and who worked for years as Chief Librarian of the Raj Library at Darbhanga, and has made a special study of the science of library organization in general, and that of organizing Oriental libraries in particular—a subject on which he has made certain original contributions—will be able to do full justice to the noble work taken in hand.

The scope of the present periodical is extended to the whole of India, including Burma and Ceylon, and is not to be limited by any linguistic consideration. The bulletin is proposed to be based on current volumes of about 100 selected periodicals of India published in different languages. It proposes also to incorporate the names of books etc., reviewed or noticed in the periodicals taken up. Consequently, it will incidentally serve the purpose of a reference-index to book-reviews also.

Opinion does not vary as to the desirability of such a work in our country. *The Oriental Bibilography*, published from Leipzig; Vogel's *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, published from Holland; and several other works of similar nature are certainly very useful publications. But their scope being limited to subjects of specific character they cannot serve the purpose of a general bibliographical dictionary of Indian periodical publications to be used for purposes of reference as a reliable register of the progress of contemporary thought in the country.

That a reference book of this nature is immensely beneficial to the scientific study of a particular subject will be evident to those scholars who have made use of the monumental work of Dr. Aufrecht, named *Catalogus catalogorum*,* registering the names of manuscripts of all Sanskrit works and of their authors available up to the time of its publication. In western countries, however, bibliographical publications of a high order are available on almost every subject, besides a number of general bibliographical publications* dealing with all subjects. The existence of such works in almost every good library of a moderate size in the west is an indication of their general usefulness.

Well-established periodicals in the west often issue a general index to the post volumes covering twenty-five, fifty or even a hundred years of record, *e.g.*, J. R. A. S., Nature, Journal of the Chemical Society, etc. Periodicals in our country are generally short-lived, and those that pass the test of time, again, as a rule, content themselves by using a most ordinary type of author-index, a few giving in addition a title index and a list of plates or illustrations, etc. in the annual or half-yearly volumes. An exception is however found in the case of *Indian Antiquary*† a monthly from Bombay, which has published an additional 50 years' index in two volumes, compiled by Miss Lavinia Mary Anstey. Even the veteran editor of our successful monthlies, *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*, after having undertaken a 25-years' general index to *Prabasi* had ultimately to give up the project. The learned societies sometimes give a short list of works published and papers read in the past. But a regular index of a general nature prepared on scientific lines has not been attempted.

The idea of bringing out regularly a bibliographical periodical is certainly a most welcome one. If the project succeeds—and its success depends on the patronage and co-operation of scholars—there is no doubt that every section of the community of scholars will be equally benefited by it, and all literary and scientific workers as well as all serious students will be able to keep themselves informed of the progress of scholarship in their respective fields of activity.

It is but natural that such a useful piece of work should be published from a cultural centre like Benares, which is an epitome of India. The success of the undertaking requires the co-operation of a band of diligent workers, which

* Dr. Aufrecht's *magnum opus* was published in 3 vols., of which the last appeared in 1903. Thanks to the efforts of Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., and his co-workers, the compilation of a revised and up-to-date *Catalogus catalogorum* of Sanskrit MSS. has been recently taken in hand under the auspices of the University of Madras.

* Such as, J. Minto's *Reference Books*, 1929; *A.L.A. Catalogue* and *Booklist*; *Bookreview Digest*; I. C. Mudge's *New Guide to Reference Books*, 1923; Sonnenschein's *Best Books*, Nelson's *Standard Books*; Whitekar's *Reference Books*; H. W. Wilson Co.'s *Catalogue of Current Literature*; H. W. Wilson Co.'s *Cumulative Book-index*, etc. In addition to these informative volumes for books there are reference works on magazine articles and notes. Wilson Co.'s *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* (treating about 75 chosen periodicals of Europe and America) and *Abridged Reader's Guide* (about 22 periodicals) are both published in New York City.

† It is regrettable that this useful periodical has after all stopped publication.

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hope will be forthcoming as the work makes continued progress. I have no doubt that all scholars interested in Indian publications will appreciate the value and importance of the undertaking, and will extend to it such sympathy and patronage as the nature of the work deserves.

PRESENT-DAY COTTON INDUSTRY OF JAPAN

By S. BAGCHI

The success of the present-day Cotton Industry of Japan is chiefly due to rationalisation, efficiency, new machinery, and low wages.

Japanese cotton industrialists have introduced extensive improvements to increase the efficiency of their industrial enterprises, and they have put forth immense effort to derive the maximum benefit from the least sacrifice. One may describe it as thorough-going betterment effected in mechanical equipment.

Spinning Machinery: The number of ring spindles is rapidly increasing, while that of the mule is not; their respective increasing ratio is 99.6 per cent for the ring against 0.4 per cent for the mule. More high draught spinning machinery is being installed to replace the intermediate frame. In this process of mechanical improvement, Casablanca's new type machinery and automatic looms are always given preference.

In Japan the replacement of old-fashioned machinery with new, highly efficient equipment is carried out with unusual enthusiasm. Moreover, the necessity to restrict the output to avoid oversupply by means of agreed limitation of spindle operation eventually put old machinery out of service and it incidentally resulted in the material betterment of working conditions. It is by this process of constant improvement that Japan's cotton spinning industry has surpassed many countries in point of mechanical equipment.

As regards textile weavings: The volume of waste yarn has decreased to about one-third in its percentage to cotton yarn consumption during the past twenty years. This is attributed mainly to the use of Japan-made automatic looms which rank amongst the best in the world today. "Taoda Automatic Looms" have the greatest improvements, and are being largely exported to Manchester, because they surpass English machines and this fact sufficiently proves the efficiency of these looms. Very peculiarly our country people have got a misconceived idea that whatever is produced in Japan must be below par, and they are spending naturally more money in purchasing machinery from other countries at an unreasonably high cost for which there is no justification. The manufacture of these highly efficient weaving machinery has placed Japan in a superior position over other countries, where the operation of automatic looms is even now in an experimental stage, compared to Japan.

Side by side with mechanical improvement, the operatives' efficiency too has enormously increased in Japan. Convincing proof of this fact is that the mills, aggregate total working hours (which is figured out by multiplying each individual operative's working hours by the number of operatives in employment) have increased by about 20 per cent while the yarn output has advanced by 80 per cent during the past twenty years. Meanwhile in the weaving industry the mills' aggregate total working hours have increased by sixty per cent and the textile output has risen by $4\frac{1}{2}$ times during the period under review.

Operatives' efficiency must be taken into consideration in accounting for the success of the cotton industry, and this efficiency has followed the abolition of midnight operation of the mills since 1st July, 1929. According to the statistical investigation it is found that the individual operative's working hours during the year immediately following the suspension of night-working decreased by 1.1 per cent while the production rose by 13.8 per cent. While this efficiency is considered, mention must be made of the fact that a mill-hand in Japan may attend from 30 to 40 looms today, because of the instalment of automatic looms of improved type. This is another point wherein the cotton industry of Japan is superior to that of many countries, where one operative cannot take care of more than three or four looms. Even in the case of ordinary machinery, other than the the automatic, a Japanese mill-hand can operate ten, while in India one operative can only look after two looms. This efficiency is also due to their training from very young age in technical institutions, which are most well equipped with up-to-date modern machinery, and the knowledge that they acquire there is quite helpful in their future life.

Wages in Japan are low in comparison to

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Europe and America, but they are much higher than in India, and mill-hands are not ill-paid at any rate.

Many people accuse Japan of the "exchange dumping." The depreciation of the exchange rate is no doubt convenient in promoting the export trade, but it must be admitted at the same time that it renders the import trade quite disadvantageous. Japan does not raise cotton within her empire and she buys cotton from other countries. As far as the exchange issue is concerned, Britain is decidedly in a more advantageous position than Japan in raw cotton imports from India and her other colonies.

About ninety per cent of the operatives in Japan's cotton spinning and weaving mills are unmarried girls in their teens, and they are doing just as great a volume of work as the full-fledged men (who head their respective families) in other countries. They are doing several times more work than the male operatives of the world. The girl workers are more attentive and can do better work with their agile fingers.

In Japan female operatives need only to earn the funds with which to buy their marriage "kimono" (dress) and other items. They leave the factory after two or three years service on the average for their respective farming villages. At intervals of their work, these girl operatives study at the girls' secondary grade school within the factory where scholastic lessons, religion, music, etiquette etc., are taught free of charge.

Japan also studies very minutely how her products are being consumed in overseas markets and appeal to the customers by catering to their convenience and reducing the cost.

How have Japanese manufacturers reduced the cost of competition with foreign rivals in dealing with the present world-wide depression —this is another question of importance.

At the time of the world war boom, it required 50 Yen to spin one bell of 20s yarn, but the cost has been reduced to 25 Yen at the present time. The reduction has resulted from the increase of efficiency, coupled with a cut in wages. Wages as a rule do not fall in proportion to the decline in the price of commodities.

One of the fundamental factors which enabled the Japanese cotton industry to carry out substantial improvements of the operating conditions as outlined above is spiritual. It can be described as the "Japan Spirit" or the family principle, or paternalism, which is peculiar to Japan alone.

The strong point of the principle is that the unit of living in Japan is not the individual but the family, and in Japan by becoming a member of the family, living under the same roof, one may carry on with less income than other foreign countries.

An important thing worthy of mention is that in the other countries when the spinning and the weaving companies reap high profit, they dispose of their enterprises to others while the selling is good to add to their profits, but in Japan the same enterprisers have continued to manage the mills with the big profits of bygone days accumulated within the company instead of being divided away.

Another point is the Japanese sellers, the influential exporters, are the manufacturers, distributors and not merely agents; and therefore they can afford to be content with a small margin of profit. They are active and attentive to reach the consumers. Their attitude is "having the pleasure to cater to the needs of foreign buyers" and the British attitude is one of giving the colonial people the pleasure and honour to buy British products. They constantly study ways to improve their service in each particular market abroad.

At the Japanese cotton mills, the arrangement of machinery is so efficient that the entire process from spinning to the finishing touches is completed within the same factory. Female operatives work on the two shift system, and they work seven days a week, but they all look healthy and happy. Their ages range from 15 to 22 years, and up to eighty per cent of them are living in dormitories of the mill to which they are attached, with a hospital, theatre and dining hall. The operatives undergo a physical examination casually. They are given free lectures on matters of machinery and technical points.

In tracing back the past history of Japan's cotton industry, which now occupies the foremost place amongst the most important industries of Japan, it is revealed that she imported cotton spinning machinery at first from England and modelled everything after English patterns. While learning the industry, she studied very hard all aspects of the industry and made improvements step by step, and finally invented perfect machinery, which now has no equal in he world.

All business in Japan is well organized and guided under the auspices of Associations, which is essential for the development of trade and commerce.

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TRAVELLERS IN THE NIGHT

By SITA DEBI

(7)

A week had passed off after Satyasaran's return to Calcutta, but there was no likelihood as yet of his finding employment. He knew that he would get nothing within such a short time, but how long could he hang on to Nikhil like this? Nikhil was treating him very well, and Sarojini too was behaving as a perfect hostess; but Satyasaran felt more and more ill at ease at this state of affairs. He could not put his mind to rest. Nikhil was a rich man, and a guest, whether he stayed ten days or ten months, mattered nothing to him. As long as Shaktisaran had been alive, both Akhil and Nikhil had received help munificently from him, whenever they had wanted it. So Satyasaran should not have minded this situation so much. But he could not forget his penniless position even for one moment, and this feeling made him over-sensitive on most points.

He was having tea on the eighth morning after his arrival. "If I stay on much longer, I won't get such cordial treatment from you any more, I am afraid," he said to Sarojini.

"What a thing to say!" cried Sarojini, "You have been here only for a week. Relatives often stay on for months together."

"Why not become a relative in right earnest?" asked Nikhil rather jocosely. "You can become a son-in-law of the family."

"How can I?" asked Satyasaran in surprise. "You have not got a daughter."

"I may not have got one," replied Nikhil, "but others have. My father-in-law has got two unmarried daughters yet."

Sarojini was about to say something, but she restrained herself. "You are talking nonsense," said Satyasaran, who was feeling very much embarrassed. "How am I to support a wife? She cannot live on air."

"She won't have to," said Nikhil. "Have you forgotten that marriage is a very good career for many men in Bengal? You have lost your father's money, but you have not lost the family name, which is worth a good deal. If you marry now, you can get a very good dowry in cash, or if you prefer a good job, that too can be arranged."

"You must not encourage me in this," said Satyasaran. "But if you can arrange some sort of a job for me, without the marriage, I shall be eternally grateful to you."

Nikhil got up from the tea table. "I am trying my best," he said. "I shall send in a few reminders today."

Satyasaran too had got up. "I think I too shall take a stroll now," he said. "Since you are going out and your wife will soon depart for the kitchen and the storeroom, I shall find it impossible to pass the time alone."

"I can drop you on my way," said Nikhil. "Where do you want to go?"

"Not anywhere in particular," said Satyasaran. "You can drop me in Harrison Road."

As soon as the two men had gone out, Sarojini screwed up her face and cried to herself. "The man is a fool! He is devoid of all sense!" Having delivered this judgment on her lord and husband, she went down to the kitchen.

But though Nikhil had spoken foolishly, Sarojini could not forget those foolish words. At night, as soon as Nikhil had come into the bedroom, Sarojini called out to him, "Now, listen to me for a bit."

"I am all attention," replied Nikhil, bringing his head down to hers. "Don't play the clown all the time," said Sarojini, rather angrily pushing away his head. "Can you never be serious?" Nikhil sat down in an arm-chair and said, "Is it so very important that I must be serious in order to listen to it?"

"Cannot we have anything important to say?" asked Sarojini. "Are we too shallow for it? But to come to the point. Why did you make such a monstrous proposal to your friend? He might think that you were serious."

"What's the harm if he does?" asked Nikhil. "There are very few young men in the marriage market, who can be mentioned in the same breath with Satyasaran."

"He may be a good boy, I am saying nothing against him," said Sarojini. "But mere goodness is not sufficient, one cannot live on that. Father would never agree to give my sister in marriage to him."

"Well, he may not," replied Nikhil coldly. "The loss would be his, not Satyasaran's."

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"Opinions would differ on that point," said Sarojini angrily. "But I tell you one thing. Leave my sisters' name out of it, when you talk to your friend. I don't like it. They are not depending on any one for their daily bread and they have a reputation to preserve. If mother comes to hear about it, she would hold me responsible."

"She will never hear about it, unless you carry the tale to her ears," said Nikhil. "You are a queer family. You take every thing amiss. I was really trying to do you a service."

"Oh indeed!" cried Sarojini. "Would you have cared to marry your own sister to such a penniless beggar?"

"Certainly I would," replied Nikhil. "But unfortunately I have got no sister."

"You may not have got sisters, but you have got cousins, any number of them," said Sarojini. "Why don't you select one of them as his bride?"

Nikhil laid himself down to sleep, without making any reply. Sarojini waited a while for him to speak, then she too laid herself down to sleep, saying, "Now it is your turn to get angry I suppose? But others too may have sensitive skins as you have." Nikhil remained awake with closed eyes for a time. He was formulating some plan. But before it was fully mature, he had fallen asleep.

Nikhil used to drop Satyasaran somewhere on his way to the office. The family had their lunch at twelve, or at one, so for three or four hours, Satyasaran would roam about Harrison Road, College Street and Bowbazar Street at random. If he felt too tired, he would get into the second class compartment of a tram This walking about served no useful purpose. But the sights and sound of the busy metropolis diverted his mind considerably from thoughts of his own useless existence and the agonising thought of Kanakamma.

But suddenly one morning, Nikhil said, "What is the use of getting roasted in this heat? You are not a rich American in need of a sun bath. Why don't you come over to my office instead?"

"I like to go about," said Satyasaran. "I might be in the way, in your office."

"I don't work there all the time," said Nikhil. "There are long and refreshing intervals. I would like to have someone to talk to at those moments. Otherwise I have to spend them smoking incessantly, which makes my wife very angry."

"Oh, much you care for your wife's anger!" cried Sarojini sarcastically. "Such are the ways of your sex. The more you displ[illegible] others, the more you like to do it."

"Then you should not accuse me of [illegible] getting your existence as soon as I go out of [illegible] house. I remember you all day, at least [illegible] displease you," said Nikhil.

"Oh, a fine way of remembering [illegible] said Sarojini tossing her head.

Satyasaran began to feel ill at ease, at [illegible] display of conjugal differences. "Very w[illegible] he said, "I shall come with you, to your [illegible] Whenever a client comes, I shall go away."

As their car started, Nikhil said, "Do [illegible] know why I brought you over? I want to [illegible] to you in private. In the house, we [illegible] never be alone together. My wife is alw[illegible] there."

"But what can you say to me, that [illegible] wife cannot hear?" asked Satyasaran.

"Do you think there are no such thin[illegible] said Nikhil. "Catch me telling everything [illegible] the wife. I keep all my business secrets f[illegible] her."

The car stopped at the office door. T[illegible] got down and entered Nikhil's room. It [illegible] empty as yet, no client had come in. Ni[illegible] pushed back his chair and put up his feet [illegible] the table, making himself thoroughly com[illegible] able. Then he said, "Have you any objec[illegible] to going out of Calcutta?"

"Not a bit of it," replied Satyasaran. [illegible] rather object to staying in it. I have no ob[illegible] tion to going anywhere on earth."

"I was reminded of something yesterd[illegible] said Nikhil. "As it is not a regular job, I [illegible] not think of it before. But it is a job to [illegible] intents and purposes."

"If it carries a salary, then it is all ri[illegible] said Satyasaran. "That is the only poi[illegible] am concerned about."

"Of course it carries a salary with it," s[illegible] Nikhil. "It might be a small one at first, b[illegible] if you stick to it, it will go on increasing. B[illegible] the job is rather complex, and you might obj[illegible] on that account."

Satyasaran smiled sadly. "I am not lik[illegible] to object," he said. "Beggars cannot [illegible] choosers."

"You seem rather desperate," laug[illegible] Nikhil. "Very well then. One of my un[illegible] lives in Allahabad. He had been there for [illegible] last twenty years, doing big business. He h[illegible] got four daughters and no son. The three [illegible] girls had been married off, the youngest [illegible] remaining on his hands. He used to look [illegible] the business himself, but recently his he[illegible] has broken down considerably and he c[illegible]

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manage. He wants an able and energetic man who can look after every thing for him."

"But this is a regular job," said Satyasaran.

"Why did you say it was not?"

"There is some difference," said Nikhil. "You will have to look after his household affairs as well, to some extent."

"How is that?" asked Satyasaran, rather taken aback.

"Now, don't get frightened at the mere mention of the thing," said Nikhil. "Hear everything in detail first. You won't be placed in charge of the stores, neither would you be sent to the bazar. But my uncle's eyesight is failing, he cannot read or write without help. My aunt is bedridden with rheumatism, she cannot even look after the household, let alone helping her husband. There is only Tapati left, their youngest daughter. Up to this time she was helping her parents to look after their respective business and carrying on her studies as well. But recently she too has begun to run an evening temperature and doctors are advising complete rest for her."

"That is too bad," said Satyasaran.

"It really is," said Nikhil. "They are in a terrible fix. My uncle is writing to me every day to go over to Allahabad or to send one of his sons-in-law. But none of us are sitting idle. Everyone has business of his own as well as a family of his own to look after. Who can be spared? For me, it is impossible. So we must accept outside help and that without delay. We have delayed enough, as it is."

"You must be very careful in choosing your man," said Satyasaran; "the responsibility is too great."

"I know that," said Nikhil. "The man must be a manager, a private secretary and a guardian tutor for Tapati rolled into one. A sort of guide, philosopher and friend."

Satyasaran remained silent. "There is only one person I can recommend for the job and that is yourself," said Nikhil. "I know you won't ever harm a fly. I cannot trust anybody else. The man will live like one of the family. I must see that he is of sound character and would never abuse confidence. Now, what do you say to it?"

"I am not in a position to refuse any kind of work," said Satyasaran. "I shall do my best. But they need help in so many directions, that I don't know whether I shall be able to satisfy them."

"You can try and see," said Nikhil. "You won't have to do everything singlehanded. There will be men under you, whom you must guide. Then shall I write to uncle saying that you are going over?"

"You may do so," said Satyasaran. "What are their terms?"

"My uncle has not said anything about it," said Nikhil. "He wanted a relative, as I said before. But I am writing to inform him that he will have to pay you one hundred rupees, besides board and lodging. Afterwards if you suit them, you can dictate your own terms."

"All right," said Satyasaran.

Just then a client arrived and they had to stop. Satyasaran got up and said, "I think I shall have my daily round as usual. It is only half-past ten."

"Please yourself," said Nikhil.

Satyasaran went out. Perhaps the days of hopeless drifting were over for him. He had no objection to leaving Calcutta. He rather liked the prospect. He wanted to find out what fate held in store for him, in a new land and amongst new people. He had done it once before, when fate had been adverse. He wanted to try a second time.

He had very little packing to do. As soon as the wire came from Allahabad, asking him to come over, he prepared to go. He had to borrow fifty rupees from Nikhil to buy certain necessaries. He was removing himself farther off from Kanakamma, but perhaps he would find means now of rescuing her from her living grave.

As the car rolled off for the Howrah station, with Satyasaran, Sarojini asked with a smile, "Are you arranging for the wedding of your cousin?"

"We are but mere instruments in the hand of fate," replied her husband.

(8)

Nikhil's uncle Bireswar Babu had done rather well in business. But most of the hoarded money he had to spend in marrying off three of his daughters. He had decided to give college education to his youngest daughter Tapati, and so she remained unmarried as yet. His wife was a confirmed invalid—her rheumatism kept her so busy all the time, that she had no leisure to attend to her household or her family. They had no relatives and few friends in Allahabad, so the unmarried state of Tapati passed rather unnoticed by her parents. There was none to administer constant reminders. Tapati was a studious girl, she was in the Third Year class now. Just at this time

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her health broke down and the doctor ordered her complete rest.

But this prescription did not have the desired result. Tapati fretted over her interrupted studies so much that she got positively ill and she made her parents thoroughly uncomfortable, too.

"Is this how you rest?" cried her father angrily. "How are you going to get well, if you behave like this?"

"But I am not Kumbhakarna of the epic, that I can go on sleeping for ever, even if a doctor tells me to do so," said Tapati. "You must give me some sort of work to keep my mind engaged. And your house is situated in such a fine quarter that you never see another human being from one end of the year to the other."

They were seated in her mother's bedroom. The old lady pushed off her pillow rather pettishly with her foot and said, "You are still in the land of the living, thanks to this quarter. Such fine health you have got! In any other place, you would have long ceased to speak."

Tapati was really very delicate to look at. She was nearly twenty years of age, but one would take her to be in her early teens from her soft and childlike features. Her eyes were large and innocent like a fawn's. Her three elder sisters had very fair complexions and were reputed beauties. Tapati was darker than the others, but to some people she appeared to be the most beautiful of the four girls.

"What you say is true," said Bireswar Babu. "But you can read novels and go out in the car. It is lying useless in the garage."

"Where can I go alone?" said Tapati with a pout. "You are determined not to stir out of the house."

"Now, don't be so childish," said her mother. "You should not behave as a Khooki (baby) because we call you one. You know very well why we cannot go out."

"Then engage a tutor for me to help me with my studies at home," said Tapati. "I tell you again I cannot remain idle like this."

Her father was busy with his letters and newspapers. "I have written again and again to Nikhil, explaining everything" he said. "I can't understand why he is silent like this. Had Akhil been here, I would not have suffered so much trouble over this."

"The elder boy is more intelligent and knows the world," said his wife. "But both Nikhil and his wife are utterly useless. They are old in years but not in wisdom. So God has not sent them any children."

Bireswar Babu was opening an envelope. "Let me see what he writes today. He has dawdled over the matter long enough."

He went through the letter, then threw it before his wife, saying, "At last he is serious over a man. The fellow is well known to me; he is good in character, but I doubt whether he would be of much use. He is a rich man's son and never accustomed to hard work."

Tapati bent over the letter, saying "What can this rich man's son be?" Then she cried out excitedly, "Oh, is it that Satyasaran Babu? The youngest brother of our sister-in-law? Good lord!"

"A man may experience strange vicissitudes of fortune, my child," said her mother. "One never knows when the goddess of fortune will turn away her face. It is praiseworthy that he is not ashamed to work for his living. Then is he going to put up here?"

"Where else should he go?" said her husband. "He is coming to work here, besides he is a sort of relative. The outer rooms are never used, the servants have full possession of them. Get one of those rooms ready for him."

His wife looked round to find Tapati no longer there. "I am not speaking of wanting room," she said. "You have got a grown-up girl in the house, and must be very careful about admitting strangers here."

"It was because I was too careful, that such a long time had passed before a suitable person could be found," said Bireswar. "But Satyasaran is not a stranger and he is not like every Tom, Dick and Harry. He is the son of a very rich man. There was a time when his family had eaten from plates of gold and had driven a dozen cars. He won't go after your plates and spoons. And as regards our girl, he won't take it as a calamity, if he becomes partial to her. Such a good boy is a rare match. We won't have to send our Khooki away from us then."

"The very thought of sending her away makes you ready to faint," said his wife with a frown. "A daughter cannot live with her parents for ever, and it is not desireable either that she should. The day a girl child is born you should know that you have to send her away to another's home."

"We have already sent away three of them," said Bireswar Babu. "Cannot you wait till you have sent away the last one, too? And how would this house look then? It would look far more like a home for old and disabled

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animals, than like a home for human beings. You could not bear me a son even, that I might have a daughter-in-law to delight my eyes in my old age."

His wife smiled rather sadly and said, "These things are beyond human endeavours," she said. "Don't you think I desired a son too?"

"Let that be," said Bireswar Babu. "Are you going to get up and go out on the verandah, or do you intend to keep to your room?"

"I shall get up later on, at the time of my bath," said his wife. "My limbs are aching too much now."

"Then I think I shall move on and sit in the garden for a while," said Bireswar. "It is very pleasant there in the morning. Khooki, oh Khooki!"

Tapati came out of the next room and asked, "Do you want to go to the garden, father?"

"Yes, my little mother," said her father. "Come on."

Tapati put his stick in his right hand and took hold of his left. "Shall I take a book father?" she asked.

"No," said her father, "I don't need books now. I can see a bit in the morning, though hazily and I can walk about in the garden. But in the evening I am blind to all intents and purposes. That is the time for listening to books.

Father and daughter passed out into the garden. "These two are content with their child's play," murmured Tapati's mother. "I had become the mother of two children at her age."

Bireswar Babu's house was situated in the Civil Lines at Allahabad. There was a large compound round the house. A good sized lawn lay in front of the house, which was used as a tennis court. There was a garden, behind. It was a flower garden and a kitchen garden combined, with a bit of orchard thrown in. There were no Bengalis in the vicinity, which was a standing grievance with Tapati. The house was a bungalow, with solid brick built walls and tiled roof. There was a white ceiling in the inner side, so it looked neat enough. There were many rooms. Had Bireswar Babu been called upon to accommodate all his children and grand-children together, he could have easily managed it. But his married daughters lived far off from Allahabad, and visited their parents but seldom. So the greater part of the house remained empty year in and year out. There were many servants also. There was not enough work for them and no one to supervise their work. So the greater part of the day they spent in quarreling with one another and sleeping. The mistress of the house shouted abuse at them from her bed, but this they could ignore.

Satyasaran arrived in the afternoon. He had been to Allahabad twice before on pleasure trips, when his father had been alive. So he was confident that he would be able to find out the house of his employer quite easily. But fortunately for himself he did not have to do any searching. Bireswar Babu's driver found him out first and said, "Master has sent the car for you sir."

Satyasaran had not expected so cordial a welcome. He was nothing but a paid employee, and he would not have minded, if the car had not been sent for him. But as the car was there, he got into it.

It took him some time to reach Bireswar Babu's house. He was shown into a well furnished room and his luggage too was carried there. The driver then went off to inform the master of the house.

Satyasaran sat down in a chair and began to look about him. The room was big and the furniture was good. There were pictures on the wall and curtains on the doors and windows. But everything looked rather uncared for, and not scrupulously clean. Satyasaran could understand very well that everything had been left too much to the tender mercies of the servants.

A servant now came in and led Satyasaran to the drawing room. Bireswar Babu was seated there. He could see Satyasaran hazily and greeted him cordially, "Come in, my boy, come in," he said. "You are like a son to me and are going to live in my house like one. So I am not standing on ceremony with you."

Satyasaran bowed down to him and drew up a chair by his side. "When your revered father was alive," continued Bireswar Babu, "I had gone to your house once or twice. You were a young boy then, and don't remember me perhaps."

Satyasaran did not, but courtesy demanded an answer in the affirmative. "No, no, I remember you quite well," he said. "I was not so very small then."

"Now you must take charge of the business as well as of the household," said Bireswar Babu, "and manage them properly. I have nearly lost the use of my eyes and am unable to look after anything. My daughter too has become unwell and there is no one to manage the establishment. My wife is an invalid, so

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you can well understand the straits we had been reduced to. I am engaging servant after servant at home, and one man after another at the shop, but everything is in disorder."

Satyasaran remained silent, as he did not know what reply was expected of him. He was not feeling very confident about restoring order in this chaos, either here or in the business.

At this moment a maid-servant came in, her face half veiled. "Mother wants the gentleman to have his bath and lunch now, as it is getting late," she said.

"Yes I am going," said Satyasaran. Then he turned to his host and asked, "Do you get Bengali servants here?"

"Not very easily," replied he. "I have got this maid-servant from Calcutta by offering her a fancy salary, yet she is wanting to go away everyday. But my wife does not like Hindustani servants, so I have no option but to keep her at any costs. But you must have your bath and lunch now."

A servant showed Satyasaran the way to a bathroom and after he had his bath, a Brahmin cook served him a very cold lunch. Satyasaran thus received first-hand information about the state of the household.

He went back to the drawingroom after his lunch, but found that Bireswar Babu had left that room. He was feeling a bit drowsy after a long journey by train and wanted a short nap badly. But the maid-servant again came in and said, "Mother asks you to come to her room for a moment."

So Satyasaran had to give up his plan of sleeping and followed the maid-servant. Bireswar Babu's wife spent the greater part of the day in her bed and she was lying there now. But she was nearly an old woman, besides being an invalid. So there was nothing for a young man to feel perturbed about. But the sight of a young girl sitting at the foot of the bed, was some what disconcerting to Satyasaran. He guessed that this was Tapati. But he had expected her to be like this. He had once the position of a very rich man's son Calcutta, and as such, had come across a number of young society girls. Most of reminded him of enamelled gold orna He had to take it for granted that there gold inside, but only the enamelling apparent to the eyes. The abundance of ward polish concealed very successfully inner treasure there might have been. Sa saran had expected Tapati to be like But now he was amazed to find that resembled a wild flower far more. She young woman in years, yet she gazed at with such frank candour, that Satyasar shyness, too, began to wear off.

He was going to bow down to the old when she interrupted him hastily. "Pl don't do that, my boy," she cried, "I bless without that. I cannot even sit up, so how I accept anyone's salutations? It is a omen, accepting them lying down."

Tapati smiled. "The girl is very sophisticated," thought Satyasaran. "It be hard to teach her." This part of his had been weighing rather heavily on his

The old lady introduced them. "Th my youngest daughter Tapati. She is called Khooki."

Tapati got up and bowed down to Sa saran's feet. He started in fearful embarr ment, but his hostess put him at his e "Don't be shy, my boy," she said. "She like a younger sister to you, and may bow down to you. We don't like our gir become Anglicised. Education is very good them, but they need not give up the natio manners and customs."

Tapati resumed her old seat ag Satyasaran took a chair by the side of the and began to converse with her mother.

(To be continued)

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YOUNG INDIA AND INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP

By NIHAR RANJAN RAY, M.A., Ph.D.

Young India believes in international fellowship, in the brotherhood of peoples of diverse races and cultures and in one common ideal that teaches men to rise above the limitations imposed by sectarian, communal, racial, political or national considerations. We believe in one common goal for all people, namely, man's fullest scope for self-expression, a right that belongs to man of all ages and climes, of all races and creeds and for whose realisation man's striving has never ceased. We believe, in a word, in humanity, in peace, in amity and in goodwill. To us, Indians, this belief comes as a matter of course; it is in our blood. The history of India from the earliest times down to till as late as the 18th century, is in fact a study in internationalism. It is the story of the process of assimilation of apparently conflicting creeds and cultures into the great ocean of what is known as Indian culture. It is also the story of the absorption of alien races and peoples into what has now gone to make the Indian people.

Struggles and conflicts had there been indeed, oppositions had to be met, but eventually the idea of internationalism, of brotherhood, and of humanity prevailed, and what is now seen in India as the Indian people, and known as Indian culture and civilization is the product of that triumph of the idea of brotherhood and fellowship. India once built up an empire beyond the seas, comprising the modern British, French and Dutch possessions in south-east Asia. But this Greater India was built not on conquest as we now understand it, and thrived not on political and economic exploitation as empires thrive now in modern times. These islands and sea-bordering countries were won over by Indian cultural enterprise on principles of fellowship and brotherhood. India did not grow fat on their riches nor fed herself on them, but merely acted as a civilizing influence and planted here traditions and cultures which won over the local people there. Those who have cared to acquaint themselves with this fascinating chapter of Indian history know what Imperialism meant according to Indian ideals; it had never in Indian history a political significance. Asoka, one of our greatest heroes, was our arch-imperialist, but his imperialism was quite of a different order. His ideal was "Sabe munisa me paja"—all men are my children; indeed he wanted to bind the world in one common bond of humanity by what is known as the "Law of Piety." But this is a digression. What I wanted to say is that this idea of brotherhood and fellowship which Europe is beginning to recognize slowly, but I hope surely, comes easily to us, Indians. That has indeed been the teaching of our religion, of our traditions, of our cultural heritage. Stock exchange has never been our church, land-grabbing had never been our profession, battle-fields were never the place where we won our laurels, mad race after power and material prosperity and all that follows in its trail, and which are the greatest barriers against peace and international goodwill, had never been the path of life that we loved to tread. That was the reason why in a world of different values, I mean different from modern times, India was at the vanguard of progress and civilization; that is the reason why in a world with changed values when bombs and poison gases, airships and armaments, money and material prosperity determine one's place in the race for leadership, we Indians have fallen far behind from where our cries for justice to ourselves and for those that are of the same fate as ourselves are drowned in the din and clash of arms of major powers that sit as arbiters in the international association for promoting mutual political and economic interests.

Internationalism in India is not a pious hope alone. There are youth organizations in India that are seriously striving after a better understanding between nation and nation, between man and man, and attempts are being made to acquaint young students in the universities with the cultures of different peoples and countries, a sure way of promoting fellowship and goodwill. In the University of Calcutta, of which I have personal knowledge and to which I am proud to belong, the imagination of the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, the greatest Vice-Chancellor an Indian University has ever had, brought into existence a regular series of

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extension and Readership lectures by master-minds of the East and West on subjects of cultural importance to eastern peoples. In the same University there is a cultural Institute with the professed aim of promoting knowledge of national and international culture and fellow-feeling. Outside the University but conducted by one of the teachers belonging to it, Dr. Kalidas Nag, is the India Bureau with its journal *India and the World*, that is slowly and steadily working for the ideal in common with other international organizations for peace and fellowship, at home and outside. More significant than any of these is the Visva-Bharati, the international university at Santiniketan (the abode of peace) under the direct guidance and inspiring personality of our national poet, Rabindranath Tagore. He has fought valiantly, often in opposition to the surging tide of aggressive nationalism, and in defiance of many of those whom he considers as intimate personal friends and holds in respect and admiration, for the cause of international goodwill, for peace and fellowship. His open-air school and university is a place where an unceasing effort has been and is being made for bringing the master-minds of the world striving after better-understanding between people and people in contact with the mind of young India, where West comes to offer greetings and East stands in all goodwill to accept what West has to offer and to give what she has in her store. Besides, there are also other scattered organizations in Calcutta and other places of Bengal that foster in their own way the idea of cultural fellowship by organizing lectures and study-circles intended to promote knowledge and understanding of different countries, peoples and cultures. I should make a special mention of the network of Y. M. C. A. organizations that are doing splendid work in this respect. I think it is indeed a happy and more fruitful idea the Christian missionary organizations in India have now come to realize that there is more real and beneficial scope of work to do in international friendship and goodwill by organizing educational and other humanitarian activities than by trying to bring simple village-folk, or rude jungle-tribes into the fold of Christianity and civilization. Civilization is a word of such doubtful value and significance!

I have referred above to only a handful of organizations striving after international goodwill and fellowship, and only those of Bengal with which I am, myself, connected in some way or other. There are similar organiz[illegible] in other provinces as well, and around [illegible] there are slowly and steadily growing a [illegible] of young men and women who, in spite [illegible] circumstances in India that militate a[illegible] all ideas of brotherhood and fellowship, [illegible] to obvious reasons, sincerely believe in a [illegible] order of things, in a more equitable ord[illegible] society and in a more humanitarian, poli[illegible] and economic organization, based on a b[illegible] and more thorough understanding between [illegible] and man, between creed and creed, race [illegible] race, country and country. That has ever b[illegible] the ideal of India, the teaching of In[illegible] history and her cultural heritage, and it is [illegible] sincere aspiration to live up to it.

But I would be stopping only half-way [illegible] I did not mention the real and almost [illegible] surmountable difficulties that internation[illegible] faces today in India. Circumstances, na[illegible] political and economic, but cultural also [illegible] great extent are taking such a turn that y[illegible] India finds it difficult to keep her faith in [illegible] idea of a universal brotherhood of nati[illegible] the fond hope of an Indian youth of seeing [illegible] own country a member of the internati[illegible] federation of peoples, with equal rights [illegible] privileges, living in amity and goodwill [illegible] fostering the idea of creative comradeship [illegible] being rudely shaken every day. Right [illegible] wrong he feels sometimes that in a world [illegible] greedy vultures always ready to pounce u[illegible] an easy prey, his love for the idea and work [illegible] the cause of universal brotherhood and in[illegible] national goodwill may be just a plea for [illegible] escape from the trials and sufferings that [illegible] spirit of nationalism in India today dema[illegible] from him, or is an utopia, a dream unreali[illegible] and unrealisable. A number of factors has [illegible] him to this feeling, and I can touch on only [illegible] few of them.

First of all, young India shares with [illegible] other freedom-loving persons the pessimi[illegible] roused by the Italo-Abyssinian war—a m[illegible] brutal war that history has any record of. [illegible] this, then, what western civilization aims a[illegible] is this the sign of their change of attitude—[illegible] brutal mass murder of a people whose o[illegible] fault is that they cannot manufacture poison[illegible] gas and build aeroplanes for throwing bom[illegible] on innocent women and children? Is this [illegible] western peoples want to fulfil their m[illegible] vaunted mission of civilizing the East? Th[illegible] have all in the past done the same thing. [illegible] they going to do it again and fulfil th[illegible] political and economic conquest of the E[illegible] Look at the ridiculousness, the tragedy of [illegible]

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situation: seven months from now, a member of the League of Nations flouted the organization to whose aims it professed and still professes to subscribe, and began its campaign of mass murder of a people who subscribe to the same organization, and for the last six months the League has been trying to take action against the aggressor, we are asked to believe, by way of stopping the war, while news all the time is pouring in daily of bombing of towns and red-cross units, massacre of women and children, and the most inhuman throwing of poison gas on a civil population! The beasts and man-eaters in the wilds of Africa do not speak of civilization. Are they worse than ourselves? The matter in our eyes is simply this. We have had no lessons at the European school of diplomacy; we do not know the intricacies of international statecraft. We really do not believe that the major powers were ever sincere in their attempts to stop Italy from playing the part of aggressor; they made no determined effort to do so. For us, it is idle to speculate that Great Britain was really willing to go the whole length in her attempt to secure peace, which was only thwarted by French willingness not to alienate Italy. We in India simply see in it another game in European diplomacy; that the great powers simply acted only according to their own political and economic interests, and not according to any idea of international justice. And how could they? Do they not lack a moral background? Did not Britain do the same thing elsewhere? Did not France act in the same way in Africa, and in what is now called French Indo-China? I have heard it said from many a platform and read in many a column of newspapers in Italy and France that the Italians are only repeating the lessons they silently learned from their elder colleagues, and if they came late into the field of imperial aggression it was not their fault and any way the major powers could not blame them.

I cannot really make Britons feel the depth of the feeling of indignation this Italo-Abyssinian affair has awakened in Indian youth—what a distrust, not only of the Italian people but of the white civilized powers of the West! It is a rude shock to the growing idea of international justice and fellowship. The white campaign against the coloured races of the east is not then yet at an end! Its history is to be repeated in Abyssinia! Who knows whose turn comes next? The War then taught Europe no lessons at all, or the new generation in its greed of power and conquest has managed to forget them all! The talk of change of attitude, of international justice is then all mere shibboleths worthy of rhetoric alone! Is then internationalism worth fighting for,—the young Indian asks in despair and utter confusion. The Indian National Congress, the mouthpiece and central political organization of the Indian people, which held its last annual sitting at Lucknow during the Easter Week adopted unanimously a resolution strongly condemning Italian aggression in Abyssinia, and the major powers in the League for their half-hearted attempts. I know it does not mean much, as India has no effective voice in International affairs—she only plays second fiddle to her overlord in the League—but I can only say that it is significant and shows India's attitude not only towards Italy and the League, but the entire campaign of systematic Western aggression in the East.

So much with regard to the Indian attitude towards European powers in general, and the pessimism it engenders towards International goodwill, but as we in India have come to know the West through the English people and English institutions, by which I mean institutions created by English initiative and run more or less on English lines, it is fruitful to try to understand how our relations with our ruling race is reacting on our ideas of international fellowship and goodwill.

It is strange that even after more than a century and a half of British rule in India, the Englishman in India knows so little of the Indian amongst whom he lives; in fact he hardly cares to know. The case was a bit different in the days of John Company when Englishmen and with them Europeans out in India used to mix more freely than now with the Indian people, living in the midst of typical Indian life and manners, which naturally resulted in a freer and better atmosphere, fostering mutual understanding. But with the taking over of the reins of administration by the Crown and later the opening of the Suez Canal, a change set in and evidently for the worse, as a result of which the Englishman in India, as ruler or businessman, to which latter class the majority belonged and still belongs, began to keep himself aloof from the people and carved out a society for himself with his own brethren, whose number was gradually on the increase. Today, in every city and town, Englishmen and their European brethren occupy a quarter generally set off at a distance from Indian quarters, go to buy their provisions in shops owned by their brethren, play

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golf and go to clubs where they dine and dance with the members of their own fraternity, and where the only Indian they see and talk to when needed is their turbaned and aproned waiter. In offices the Englishman or European in India is the callous, stiff-necked and dauntless 'Burrasahib,' the lion lording it over a flock of meek lambs. In services he is the stiff and unapproachable king of the region under his control. In social parties or official gatherings or in some Indo-European clubs he meets Indians of course, sometimes though rarely the best of our people, but mostly those who are part and parcel of the machine he controls and regulates, and these clubs and meetings, too, are shameful in their unreality, in their utter formality. The white man we see around us in our own country airs himself as a superior being, who comes or likes to come hardly in any contact with us. Indeed, it is strange, but nevertheless true, that an Englishman in England and the same Englishman in India are two different individuals—different in attitude, different in outlook, and perhaps also different in ideas and ideals. I have nothing but sincere admiration for all the nice Englishmen and women and also Europeans I and like myself my host of friends have met in England and on the contenent. They are so good and inspiring to make friends with and to learn from. But what a different picture have we of an Englishman in India! He is far removed from us, and seems to live on such Olympic heights! From the salesman in a European shop to the head of a province—they all seem to belong to the race of rulers and are therefore exalted! Are brotherhood and fellowship ideals that can thrive in such an atmosphere? I am sure that this unreality of the situation is at the root of all the suspicion and distrust with which the Indian youth views not only the relationship of the English people with us Indians but the Western political and economic advance in the East.

And this is but natural in the circumstances we are in. The entire office of Anglo-Indian, and as a matter of fact Indo-European relations, is based on unr... It lacks a moral foundation. Internat... fellow-feeling, mutual understanding and ... will can only thrive on a footing of equ... not in an atmosphere fouled by the sup... air of the ruler, and consequent suspicion ... distrust of the ruled and exploited. T... cannot thrive in a country where each ... every young and conscious individual is fo... to think, at one time or other in course of ... day's work, that he hardly counts for anyth... in his own land, and the white people who ... sees around him are there only to help in ... perpetuation of his political and econo... bondage. One is therefore, had to doubt if ... idea of internationalism will ever be a ... ideal with the growing youth movement of I... so long as India is not able to find for her... a footing of equality and comradeship with ... nations and countries of the rest of the w... so long as she cannot determine for herself ... her own interests her own political and econ... and cultural future. The time is rapi... coming to realize that the present political ... economic position of India is a hindrance ... the cause of international fellowship and mu... understanding between nation and na... country and country. British India is a ... precedent in the cause of international good... which a war-worn world is striving ... Many an Indian youth, when spoken to ... the necessity of international fellowship ... goodwill, have said: "We can be internati... list only by being intensely nationalist." T... is today the feeling amongst young Indians.

Adapted from a lecture delivered at an ordi... meeting of the Colchester Rotary Club and Y. M. C. ... (England, Eastern Division), on April 21, 1936. ... contributed to *The Modern Review*. The Mayor ... Colchester, President of the Rotary Club, was in ... Chair.

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THE NIEMEYER REPORT

By Professor BHABATOSH DATTA, M.A., B.L.

The Indian Financial Enquiry Report, recently presented to Parliament by Sir Otto Niemeyer, has once again proved the truth of the dictum that few official reports are able to earn the support of the public opinion in India. In a strict sense, however, Sir Otto Niemeyer's report is not an official one. The author of the report is an expert on financial subjects whose advice has been sought by many countries in times of difficulty. It was naturally expected that he would be able to give the maximum amount of satisfaction to the conflicting claims that have arisen with regard to financial adjustment under certain sections of the new Government of India Act.

This Act has introduced a financial system which is fundamentally different from the one now operating. But, it has at the same time left undetermined many details the adjustment of which requires expert enquiry. The proportion above 50 per cent of the jute-export duty to be transferred to the jute-growing provinces, the proportion of the income-tax receipts to be ultimately allocated to the units, the amount to be retained by the Centre during the first few years out of the provincial share of the income-tax receipts, the time-limit for this retention and for the final transference of the provincial share to the provinces, the rate of distribution of the above amount among the units, and lastly, the subventions to be made by the Federal Centre to the provinces were all to be determined by an expert agency, and Sir Otto Niemeyer's task was to give clear and definite directions on these points.

Naturally, there are many valuable findings in Sir Otto's report. While criticisms against the report have been flowing in freely, all seem to be agreed upon the fact that it is a definite improvement upon the mill-store settlement of Lord Meston. Meston's award crippled the finances of many provinces, including Bengal, and the injustice of fifteen years will, to some extent, be rectified under the new system. Even if the provinces do not become prosperous, they will at least be able to start with balanced budgets and have something to look up to.

Besides, the concise report of Sir Otto Niemeyer contains observations which, coming from a recognized authority, ought to engage the attention of intelligent public opinion in India. When he says that at the inauguration of provincial autonomy each of the provinces should be so equipped as to enjoy a reasonable prospect of maintaining financial equilibrium, and, in particular, that the chronic state of deficit into which some of them had fallen should be brought to an end, he puts the stamp of authority on an opinion which might have come from the opposition benches in the Legislature. The emphasis he places on the maintenance of the financial stability and credit of India, and on the necessary connection between provincial autonomy and autonomous responsibility will be accepted by all shades of public opinion in India. And, in spite of protest from many quarters, the average Indian will appreciate Sir Otto's remarks upon the lightness of the tax-burden on higher incomes in our country.

II

A preliminary objection against the Niemeyer recommendations can, however, be pointed out even after the first cursory glance through the Report. One may find oneself able to agree with the optimistic anticipation of a continuation of the recent rise in prices at a moderate pace. But, every Indian will hesitate to accept the contention made in the Report that expenditure at the Centre cannot be expected, consistently with safety, to decrease much below the point to which it has now been reduced. Even if there are any savings, these will, according to Sir Otto, go to make good the decreased debt-redemption allocation. It is needless in these days to argue against such a contention. The Central Expenditure in India has always been criticized by Indian public opinion, and, it is really sad to find that a financial expert holds an opinion which might have come from a crusty member of the Indian Civil Service. It is strange that Sir Otto Niemeyer is optimistic in spite of this, for, the success of the new system clearly depends upon the possibility of reducing central expenditure.

It is similarly possible to eliminate another contention made in the Report. In considering the claim of Assam to the proceeds of the excise

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duty on Assam oil, the author remarks that the incidence of the tax does not fall on the producing province and that there is no economic justification for this claim. It ought to be pointed out that, from the viewpoint of applied economics, incidence of a tax is not always a good index of justification to appropriate the receipts. If the rest of India can appropriate the excise duty on Assam oil on the ground that Assam does not bear the tax, India should also be able to claim the duty levied on oil by Burma after her separation, on the same ground. The incidence of the forest charges does not fall on the province when the forest products are sent out outside. If a tobacco excise is levied in Madras, the incidence will partly fall on Bengal; but, that will not certainly be a ground for asking Madras to relinquish the claim on the total receipts. As the incidence of an export duty falls sometimes on the purchasers, the receipts from such duties, on Sir Otto's reasonings ought not to form part of the revenues of the duty-levying contrary. In view of the assistance granted to Assam (which, by the way, taken together with the decreased provision for the cost of the Assam Rifles, will hardly satisfy the needs of that province), it is unnecessary to press this point further; but one feels that Sir Otto Niemeyer's obiter dictum is not justified by economic practice anywhere. Perhaps, from the standpoint of broad equity, Sir Otto is right; but, it is unjust to ask Assam to observe equity, when equity in other spheres is far from being attained.

III

The general scheme of the Niemeyer report is based upon the principles laid down by the new Act. After making special recommendations for Sind, Orissa, Assam and the Frontier Province, he states the results of his enquires as regards the assistance to be required by the provinces as from the date on which provincial autonomy commences. Irrespective of the ultimate allocation of the income-tax receipts, a definite scale of assistance is recommended. This assistance, however, is not necessarily to take the firm of a direct transference of cash from the Centre to the provinces. In the cases of Bengal, Bihar, Assam, the N.-W. F. P. and Orissa, the whole, and in the case of the Central Provinces, a part of the debts contracted to the Centre prior to the 1st April, 1936, are to be wiped off, and this will mean a net annual saving of some lakhs in each province.* Together with this, is to be operative a further increase in the provincial share of the jute-export duty above the prescribed minimum of 50 per cent. This share, under the Niemeyer recommendation is to be raised to 62½ per cent and this will give the jute-growing provinces an increase in the annual revenue. Bengal, for example, has been receiving about 160 lakhs for the last two years as the result of the transference of half of the net proceeds of the export duty on jute. The operation of the Niemeyer recommendation will give Bengal a further sum of 42 lakhs annually. These assistances, in the shape of remission of debt-charges and of an increased share in the jute-export duty, do not go the whole length in all cases. And, to completely fill the gaps, and to assist the provinces which will not benefit from the above provisions, cash grants will have to be made. The substance of the "award", looked at as a whole, will be clear from the following table:

(In lakhs)

Province	Amount of Assistance	Saving on debt-cancellation	Further revenue from jute-export duty	Cash grant
Bengal ..	75	33	42	nil.
Bihar ..	25	22	2.5	nil.
C. P. ..	15	15	nil.	nil.
Assam ..	45	15.5	2.25	30*
N.-W.F.P. ..	110	12	nil.	100†
Orissa ..	50	9.5	0.25	40‡
Sind ..	105	nil.	nil.	105§
U. P. ..	25	nil.	nil.	25§§
Punjab, Madras and Bombay ..	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.

It will be apparent from the above that in making his recommendations, Sir Otto Niemeyer has sacrificed principle to expediency. If, for example, the principle of debt-cancellation is to be accepted, it is natural that every province will want to benefit from its adoption. Sir Otto, on the other hand, has extended the benefits only to those provinces which would require assistance permanently. The reason why only a part of the debts of the Central Provinces has been cancelled is that no more relief is necessary for that province. Similarly, the fact that the U. P. will require assistance

* As regards other provinces, the debts, after deduction of the provincial balances, will be consolidated at a separate uniform rate of interest for each province. The rate is between 4 p.c. and 4.5 p.c.

* Subject to special provisions for the Assam Rifles.

† To be reconsidered after five years.

‡ With some additional non-recurrent grants.

§ For ten years. The grant is gradually to diminish and to disappear with the extinction of the Barrage debt in about 45 years.

§§ For five years only.

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for five years only, and Sind for 45 years has led Sir Otto to refuse them the benefit of debt-cancellation and to grant them relief by cash-subventions for limited periods.

Viewed from the standpoint of financial arithmetic, there ought not to be any objection against Sir Otto's scheme. If it is once admitted that one province requires assistance, while another does not, differential treatment must come to exist. If the debts of the deficit provinces are not cancelled, they will require cash grants, and there is in essence no difference between these two alternatives if the assistance is going to be permanent. But, even then, there is reason to be afraid that differences in principles will lead to unfriendly jealousies in the Federal Legislature under the reforms.

IV

The main objections against the scale of assistance and the ways of granting them have been two-fold. On the one hand, the provinces of the Punjab, Madras and Bombay have all objected against the absence of any provision for them. In the report, Sir Otto's main contention has been that all these three provinces have received some help in one way or another. The constitution of the separate province of Orissa has given an annual relief of 20 lakhs to Madras and of 8 lakhs to Bihar, while Bombay will be able to save nearly 90 lakhs a year as the result of separation of Sind. In the case of the Punjab, the argument, as stated in a press communique, seems to be that the province had received relief when the N.-W. F. P. was separated from it. While the treatment accorded to Bombay has been characterised by Sir H. P. Mody as "a subvention from the provinces which have made the largest sacrifices to those which have made the least," the argument put forth with regard to the Punjab is regarded by the Punjabees as little short of an unkind hit. The changes that have taken place in the finances of the Punjab during the 35 years following the separation of the Frontier province have been given little consideration, and Punjabee public opinion anticipates a continuous series of deficit years under the coming reforms.

Here, in Bengal, however, the criticism centres mainly around the jute-export duty, (and also around the allocation of the income-tax, to which we shall refer later). While the 12½ per cent increase in the distributable share of the proceeds of the jute-export duty has been welcomed, it has been almost unanimously recognized that Sir Otto Niemeyer has put forth unsound arguments in connection with his recommendations. He doubts whether the argument that the incidence of this duty falls wholly on the producer can be maintained. It is true that no concrete statistical proof of this contention can at present be adduced. But, it is at the same time an undoubted fact that, if the incidence of the export duty is not upon the producers, it is neither upon anybody else in India. If on the score of incidence no case can be made out for the jute-growing areas, it is neither possible to justify the appropriation of the duty by the other parts of the country.

The claim of Bengal to the whole of the jute-export duty is based on other grounds. The main argument would be that jute is the mainstay of the finances of Bengal, and the land-revenue realization, the excise, registration and judicial receipts all depend on efficient and effective cultivation of jute. If Bengal is merely to remain content with a share of the export duty, the Federal Legislature, in which members from other provinces will preponderate, may raise or lower the duty according to the varying needs of the Central exchequer. An alteration of the duty in favour of the central finances will undoubtedly affect the industry as well as the revenues of Bengal. If on the other hand the whole of the export duty is transferred to the growing areas, the Federal Legislature will have no interest of its own in altering the duty and it is only in that case that the interest of the jute-growing areas will be fully served. The main reason why the arguments that are strongly advocated in Bengal receive a none too warm reception elsewhere is to be found in the failure of the outsiders to realize the supreme importance of jute in the economy of Bengal.

V

The most complicated part of the Niemeyer report deals with the distribution of the income-tax receipts. The amount of income-tax receipts after the separation of Burma will be about 13.6 crores, of which 1.75 crores will represent receipts from companies, Chief Commissioner's Provinces and salaries of the servants of the federal governments. An amount of nearly 12 crores will thus be available to be shared in by the Centre and the units. The White Paper suggested that the amount to be transferred to the provinces should be between 50 and 75 per cent of the amount available for distribution, but the Act has left the exact proportion to be determined by an order-in-council. Sir Otto's

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recommendation is that the shares to be distributed to the provinces should be 50 per cent of the net amount available.

For the first few years this, however, will mean little, on account of the provision that a block amount shall be retained by the Centre out of the provincial share. Instead of fixing a definite amount for annual retention, Sir Otto has made the amount to be retained, (and consequently, the amount to be transferred to the provinces), dependent upon an improvement in the railway-finance. The author of the report remarks as follows :

> "The power of the Central Government to surrender a share of its revenues will in fact largely depend on the extent to which its main expansive revenue head, *viz.*, Income-Tax, progresses, and on the extent to which the Railways move towards attaining a surplus, as contemplated by the Railway Administration at the time of the Percy Committee. It is in my view very desirable to give both the Central Government and the Provinces an interest in securing these results and a share in their advantages if and as soon as they are achieved."

He recommends therefore that the amount to be retained under section 138 (*2*) should be for the first five years, in each year, the whole or such amount as, together with the net Railway contributions, will bring the Central Government's share in the divisible total upto 13 crores, whichever is less. For the next five years, the amount retained will be gradually diminished by an equal amount every year, until it disappears.

The implication of these recommendations will be different under different circumstances. If the total of the divisible portion of the income-tax receipts and the budget receipts from the railways does not come up to 13 crores, the provinces will get nothing at all. If the railway-receipts increase, the amount to be retained out of the provincial share will be necessarily smaller, and the provinces will accordingly get a portion each. If, for example in any year within the next quinquennium the railway-contribution amounts to 4 crores and the divisible total of the income-tax receipts to 12 crores, the Centre will keep 6 crores as its own 50 per cent share and 3 crores out of the provincial share. The provinces will thus have 3 crores only to share among themselves.

It is difficult to realize why the provinces' share of the income-tax has been made contingent upon the improvement of the railway-receipts. It is no doubt true that the Centre, saddled with a burden of nearly 4.50 crores on account of the assistance to be given to the provinces in other forms, will not be able to distribute any considerable amount of the income-tax receipts unless its revenues increase. But, there is little justification for making the transference dependent on the railway-finance alone. In such a case the provinces' share would depend upon the efficient management of a service over which they will have no control and over which the influence of even the Federal Legislature will be practically all. It would have been better perhaps to make the transference dependent upon a general improvement in the finances of the Federal government. If the railway-receipts do not improve, but other revenues do, there is no reason why the Federal government should still retain more than its fair share of the income-tax receipts.

While this arrangement is thus not free from objection, stronger protests have been raised in Bengal against the relative proportion in which the provincial share, if any, is to be distributed among the provinces *inter se*. The fact that Bombay and Bengal have been placed on the same level has been received with misgivings. The arguments given by Sir Otto Niemeyer are nowhere very explicit and in this case in particular, they are absolutely unconvincing. Even if there had been an adverse movement in the collection figures, Bengal's large population is not a negligible factor, and, so, if residence and population have both been adopted as bases of distribution, Bengal ought to have been given the higher percentage (24 per cent) recommended by the Percy Committee. There is however, no justification for the hue and cry that has been raised in Bengal. It ought to be remembered that the only benefit that Bombay is to secure from the Federal government will come through this channel.

VI

All these may appear to be strong grounds for altering the Niemeyer recommendations. In fairness, however, to Sir Otto, it must be admitted that his has been a very difficult task. It goes to the credit of the author that the amount of satisfaction which he has been able to accord to the conflicting claims is undoubtedly large, and his plan will certainly work infinitely better than the system that is soon coming to a close.

Parliament, it appears, has a great faith in Sir Otto Niemeyer, and it is consequent

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* The percentage are the following : Madras 15, Bombay 20, Bengal 20, U. P. 15. Punjab 8. Bihar 10, C. P. 5, Assam 2, N.-W. F. P. 1, Orissa 2. Sind 2. Total, 100.

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expected that every recommendation of his will be translated into an order-in-council. We can therefore take the Niemeyer report as the final touch to the system introduced by the Act of 1935, and the best that can be done under the circumstances is to emphasize its defects while the system is in working. With the Congress in the legislature, the popular viewpoint is likely to be adequately represented, and it may be expected that an actual observation of the shortcomings of the plan will make for alterations in the orders-in-council.

May 16, 1936.

THE TREATMENT OF DISEASE

By the late Rao Bahadur Pandit
K. VEERESALINGAM PANTULU,
Rajahmundry

Enter—Sankara Rao garu[1], while Somasundara Sastri and others are in their seats.

Sanka. Well, sir, how is your boy's health? So you haven't called in the physician named by me?

Soma. The boy's only growing worse and worse in health; there's no improvement at all. The foreigner's[2] system of treatment, sir, will *not* agree with our people. That's why I haven't called in the doctor recommended by you.

Sanka. If not the foreign treatment, by whom are you getting even the 'black'[3] treatment carried on? At least in that, a somewhat good hand will have to be secured with care.

Soma. No medicine is being got administered by anybody as yet. When there was an attack of fever for three days at the very start, no medicine was given in, since there was *Ammavaru*[4] in the town and she might possibly come over with her visitation, in which case medical treatment would do harm all the more. On the night of the third day, the grandame in our family examined the boy's pulse and said distinctly that it indicated possession by a devil. Then, I gave up all thought of medical treatment, considering that it was no good going in for it after she had spoken to that effect. She is a person of over eighty years of age. Nobody knows pulse-examination in the way she does. Her observation cannot be false. She has borne some ten sons and daughters, who have all passed away. Seeing that they all fell ill and she used to watch by their side, we must believe (in her diagnosis) without fail.

Sanka. What, are you getting the art of exorcism tried?

Soma. Just something like it I am getting done. Our Vemuri Sambanna repeated certain incantations, gave sacred 'ashes' to be taken in and smeared some quantity of it all over the body. That night, our boy set up cries all the fiercer and went on talking away in sleep till day-break; he fell on the bed and rolled about this side and that. We understood that, by reason of those ashes being enchanted ashes, the devil within had undergone agony in that way through consuming heat. Afterwards, Sambanna turned up, felt the pulse and remarked to the same effect. What we thought and what he said tallied; and that brought in verification.

Sanka. What, Sambanna gadu's[5] treatment! And that, for your boy! Up to last year, he was a cook in my elder brother's household and used to behave like a supreme scoundrel.

Soma. Ah, don't you say so, sir. Who knows what snake finds harbour in what hole? After he had stolen and run away with a silver vessel from your home and got discharged from jail, Sambayya repaired to Malayalam and stayed there for six months, acquiring knowledge of not a few spells. Oh, in how many homes in this town do you think he has been plying his devil-driving practice? Thoroughly reliable people have stated that several folks have been healed. If he owned no proficiency at all, could he, sir, so much as dare to move about fearlessly like that in the streets with a beard overgrown and a crimson forehead-mark on, a margosa cudgel in hand and a pair of sandals for the feet? I'll just put one query; you answer me that. If his were sheer pretence, would all the exorcists round about us—and there are so many of them—simply look on and hold their peace in tolerance? That Sambanna is possessed of mighty powers is strongly borne out by the very fact of

(1) An honorific in Telugu.
(2) Allopathic.
(3) Native (Ayurvedic).
(4) The Mother-goddess (of Small-pox).
(5) A term of contempt in colloquial Telugu.

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our boy rolling about in bed till dawn after the administration of sacred ashes by him.

SANKA. Is this all the evidence in verification, or has anything else turned up before you? On the whole, those who put on appearances in the name of spells are all humbugs.

SOMA. Hari! Hari! Don't you say such a word; it will entail sin. This Sambanna effected a cure in three days, when Venkappa Somayazulu garu's wife was afflicted with devil-possession and the same would not leave her by any means. Only since then, Somayazulu garu has been granting admission into his quarters to Sambayya without let or hindrance and treating him as one with his own life-breath. Why would an old 'widow's son'[6] who was past seventy years of age and had performed oblations and sacrifices show him any regard, unless there existed any special merit manifest in him? I hear, too, that, after treatment by Sambanna, Somayazulu garu's wife has had her health thoroughly restored and has also come to be in the family way. Thanks to his good luck, Somayazulu garu is to be presented with a son or daughter though he has married late in life.

SANKA. Well, well! Is that it? I know all the antecedents of this affair better than yourself. Isn't Venkappa Somayazulu's house situated just behind my own? His wife is below twenty years of age. The husband is an old 'widow's son' advanced in age beyond seventy. So the two wouldn't agree together but used to go on quarrelling with each other. The old 'widow's son' was all suspicion. What a ruinous act on the part of that aged fellow of a Venkappa Somayazulu to have married again while he had a tree-like stalwart of a son forty years old! Even when engaged as a cook in my elder brother's household, this Sambayya gadu quietly attached himself to that Somidevamma.[7] Of late, on account of her getting little scope for outside game owing to the presence of Venkappa Somayazulu's younger sister in the family, that devil took possession of her for a month's time in order to bring about the expulsion of the sister-in-law. The devils possessing her are living ones only and not dead ones! This is all there is about Sambayya casting out a devil in their house.

SOMA. Never mind; what matters it to us what all transpires in whose house? Be it but a clay-made cat, the essential thing for it is to catch the mouse. If only our boy's health be cured by this man's powers of exorcism, [illegible] will just do for us.

SANKA. How is the cure to be e[illegible] unless medical treatment is given? Do g[illegible] these fond fancies and call in a good phy[illegible] and get him to apply medicines now at [illegible] These exorcist practices are of no avail.

SOMA. A fresh treatment has to be e[illegible] upon only after we have waited and watched [illegible] some four days from the commencement [illegible] present treatment) and found no effect. [illegible] it's no good our getting impatient. W[illegible] relying exclusively on our grandame's word [illegible] have sent to consult the soothsayer pa[illegible] woman at Koonalamma's[8] Temple. She too s[illegible] that, ten days back, while the boy was pa[illegible] along the street after an oil-bath, a *kam*[illegible] *graham*[9] haunting the 'holy fig' tree be[illegible] enamoured and took possession of him. T[illegible] pariah-woman's word is amply veri[illegible] Besides, as we questioned the fortune-te[illegible] gypsy-woman who called at our house the o[illegible] day for alms, she also just observed in the [illegible] though with some slight discrepancies, th[illegible] was the touch of a devil. She, too, is a pe[illegible] making verifiable divinations. Even th[illegible] devils, for their part, don't give out their [illegible] names correctly: they say one thing to one [illegible] another thing to another. Don't you see, wh[illegible] as at Koonalamma's Temple it was given ou[illegible] be a *kamineegraham*, the gypsy stated it [illegible] a *brahmarakshasi*.[10] Whichever of these tw[illegible] be, the treatment is the same. Therefore o[illegible] the day before yesterday night, they gave [illegible] boy a bath, seated him within the colou[illegible] powder diagram of sorcery and went throug[illegible] lot of ritual with the chanting of spells. Perh[illegible] by reason of the devil having been exorci[illegible] the boy, unable to sit up, fell into a swoon [illegible] drooped down to the rear.

SANKA. Now, there's neither devil n[illegible] demon for your chap. Do abandon that con[illegible] at this stage at least, and look to medi[illegible] treatment.

SOMA. Everything was clean gone with th[illegible] day before yesterday night's rites of the sacrifi[illegible] of a fowl after its being passed round the bo[illegible] person, the abstraction of the devil into a bo[illegible] and its internment amidst the ceremony of gh[illegible] slaughter. Now, the boy is quite free fr[illegible] that malady of devil-possession. A fri[illegible] having remarked that it looked like the m[illegible] chief of black magic, I am getting *Veerabh*[illegible]

(6) A common term of reference.
(7) The title applied to the wife of a 'Somayazulu' (one who has performed a *yagnam* or sacrifice).
(8) The goddess of younglings.
(9) A female ghost.
(10) The vile or fierce ghost of a Brahmin w[illegible]

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mantajapam[11] performed and 'sacred ashes' applied to the boy in that connection. I have none of that suspicion at present. Only, another thing has cropped up meanwhile. As we just tried to see what the woman at Perantalu's Temple would declare on consultation, she averred a new thing to the effect that (God) Venkateswarlu had taken possession of the boy and had been harassing him. While we were wondering, 'Oh dear, what's this? One trouble out, another trouble is in!', Venkateswarlu possessed the boy's aunt at home and disclosed himself as the cause (of the whole trouble). At that point, the mother set apart in dedication two of the jewels on her person as an intended offering to the deity and vowed that, should the boy's ailment be cured and his health restored, she would proceed (on a pilgrimage) to the summit of Tirupati Hill and offer up her hair-braid and the entire set of ornaments taken off from all over her body. I vowed, too, that I would brand a bull as a 'sacred bull' and let him off at large in the name of (God) Venkateswarlu.

SANKA. How long soever you speak, you speak only of devils, deities and enchantments; but you don't so much as think of medicine! Never mind the expense of some ten rupees. Do go over at once and fetch the doctor and get medicine administered.

SOMA. From your remarks, it looks as though you imagine I am fighting shy of expense. Mamon—the curse of widowhood be on his consort! Is lucre, sir, dearer than life? If the boy gets all right, I'll, if so wanted, give away for an offering to the god all my possessions without reservation. In my heart of hearts, I purpose to cover over with a plate of silver at the cost of a thousand rupees the southern threshold of the god's temple at Tirupati after the boy recovers his health. I've shelled out fifty rupees exclusively to Sambanna. At present, there is no end of expenditure for enchantment rites and oblations. Tomorrow, it will mean a hundred rupees at the lowest in connection with the propitiation of the planets. I have been paying so much to the Brahmins engaged in *Suryanamaskaram*.[12] As *Siddhemti*[13] garu examined the horoscope and pronounced the planet of Saturn to be adverse, I got *Navagrahajapam*[14] also started today and have been going on with it. So the boy slept last night in bed, motionless and quiet. In this behalf, it will go up to the true of one bag[15] all told from start to finish, and not fall short of it.

SANKA. However much you spend, you are not spending it in the right way.

SOMA. What, sir? They are raising some commotion inside. Well, Venkayya, what's that hubbub about?

VENKA. Oh, what more is there? The boy has developed hiccup and put on wild looks. The pulse in the hand is drawing upward. And the hands and the feet have turned cold.

SOMA. Venkayya, you will run up forthwith and fetch Rudrayya garu. We'll get '*chintamani*' or '*amritam*' administered. There has, of course, been no lack of effort on our part; we have taken pains freely to the best of our power. Without any stint at all in regard to money, we have expended every rupee as if it were a broken cowry. All our trials are bound to go in vain in the absence of Divine grace. When life's lease has run out, can so many as a thousand physicians impart (further) life, supposing they come over? You run up quickly for the physician. I'll go in.

(*Exit.*)

SANKA. Poor boy! They have withheld medicine and killed him for no reason! It were well to seize and punish the devil-mongers and these folks for having committed murder. It is not six months since the marriage was perpetrated! I feel so stricken with grief at the sight of that girl. Out of ignorance, many people in the world do not employ medical treatment when diseases occur, but set up outcries against ghosts and demons, take the patients through baths, keep them with wet clothes on, get them to be thrashed, starve them without nourishment, apply smothering smoke to them out of earthen pots and kill out even those promising to survive. Ah, when will this land of Hindustan be rid of this ignorance? When will people understand the rules of physical health, shake off superstition and thrive? Now I go.

(*Exit.*)

[Translated from Telugu by Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D.]

(11) Recital of a spell in the name of Hanuman the Valiant.
(12) Propitiatory salutation to the Sun.
(13) Astrologer.
(14) Recital of *mantrams* in propitiation of the nine planets.
(15) A thousand rupees.

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A SIDE-LIGHT ON THE MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS

Being the record of an interview of a distinguished Indian with John Morley

(The stormy days preceding the Morley-Minto Reforms—the fiery days of the Swadeshi Movement—have now shed off much of their controversial aspect and are indeed memories. But to students of politics who delight in reading between the lines of great constitutional documents, they are still things of abiding interest. The following interview is a patriotic effort made by a distinguished Indian of the old Congress Group, then a law student in England, to place the case of Bengal and India as it was in those days before the celebrated Liberal Secretary of State. It affords further, *inter alia*, an intimate insight into the character of that statesman and shows what meagre knowledge of India and the Indian situation a Secretary of State of the intellectual calibre of John Morley possessed. It also shows how British statesmen considered compliance with even the most modest requests of Indians very risky.

Fullerism in Eastern Bengal and Assam is shown here to have outrun the whole gamut of its usefulness as an instrument of repression without much success, ending significantly with the acceptance of Fuller's resignation by the Secretary of State and the consequent consideration of a more liberal policy towards the vocal section of Indian opinion.

The distinguished Indian referred to in the title was no other than the late Sir Charu Chunder Ghose, Kt., who later in life acted on several occasions as Chief Justice of Bengal and was in his earlier years an energetic member of the Indian National Congress. Sir Charu was at that time in England and, as the interview shows, on the eve of his departure for India after winning laurels in Lincoln's Inn. The interview took place at the India Office, London, on Wednesday the 17th April, 1907.

This interview was found among the unpublished MSS. of the late Sir Charu Chunder Ghose, and has been received from his son, Mr. R. C. Ghose, Barrister-at-Law.)

Mr. Morley: Mr. Ghose, I am very pleased to see you. Sir David Barr (then a Member of the Secretary of State for India's Council—Ed.) tells me that you have been a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court and have practised there, that you came over to read for the Bar, that you have got high honours here, and a substantial prize from Lincoln's Inn—you know perhaps I belong to Lincoln's Inn—and that you have taken great interest in public questions. My congratulations, Mr. Ghose, on your success.

Mr. Ghose: Thank you, Sir, for your kind congratulations. I am grateful to you for having accorded to me the honour of an interview with yourself.

Mr. Morley: Not at all. I am always pleased to see Indian gentlemen of your position and attainments, Mr. Ghose.

Mr. Ghose, you come from Calcutta, do you not? Now do tell me, please, how affairs are at the present moment in Eastern Bengal and Assam. I have seen B. Fuller three or four times here. He to me a very capable official and a man with many qualities, but it has struck me

Sir Charu Chander Ghose

they are not the qualities which would a man to tide over problems arising at a of great public excitement. Now, will you me your candid views about Eastern Be and Assam and I will keep them to myself.

Mr. Ghose: Sir, I come from Calc and Calcutta is my home. I was in Calc upto the 26th of April last and I knew our people felt about the Partition of Be

Mr. Morley: Excuse me, Mr. Ghose, question of the Partition of Bengal is no an open question and although I should be to listen to anything that you might hav say about it, I may tell you frankly that not see any way to re-open the question.

Mr. Ghose: If I may venture to say

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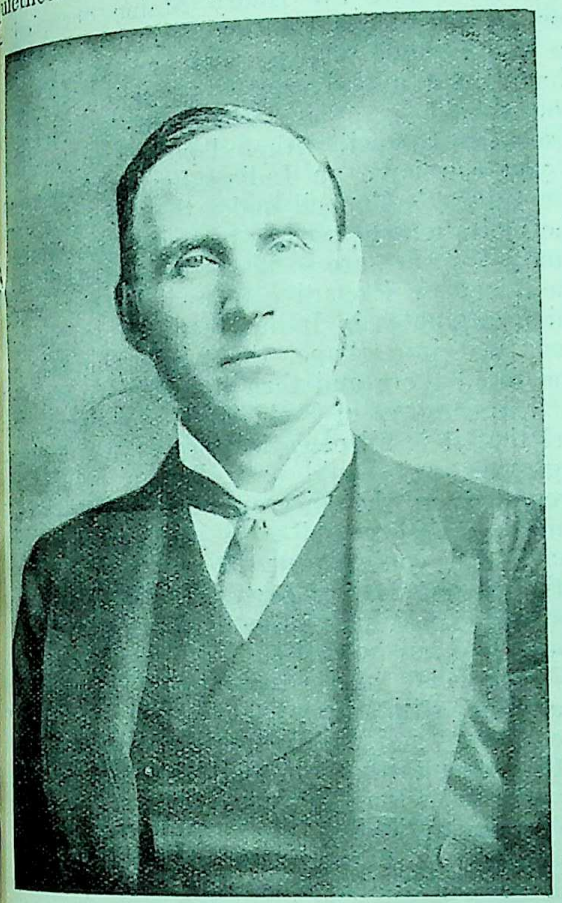
Sir, I was not going to suggest to you to re-open the question of the Partition of Bengal. What I was going to say is this, that so long as Sir B. Fuller was in Eastern Bengal and Assam, things could not quiet down—why they could not quiet down, you, Sir, know very well the reasons, but though I believe and although the people still believe that the Partition is a wrong to them there is a tendency towards quietness in Eastern Bengal and Assam since



John Morley

Mr. Hare's assumption of office as Lieutenant Governor. If a policy of conciliation is followed, there will be no more Barisal disturbances (Mr. Morley:—I have not forgotten them) (meaning the Barisal disturbances).

Mr. Morley: I am very glad to hear that, Mr. Ghose. Nothing can be gained by further agitation about the Partition of Bengal. Now tell me, Mr. Ghose, what do the people of India want, what do the Congress Party want. I have been a diligent student, if I may say so, of the writings in the Native Press of India. Here, (pointing to certain printed matters lying on his table) you see I have translations made for me week by week of the important matters appearing in the Native Press and as I gather from these writings I find there was a great deal of contention and dispute at the last Congress between the extremist wing and the moderate wing. Now tell me what do these people, the extremists, want and who are they.

Mr. Ghose: I believe, Sir, from the accounts that have reached me that there was very little dispute between the extremists and the moderates at the last Congress. The extremists count very little in the counsels of the Congress. They do not count as a force to be reckoned with and the great bulk of Congressmen follow the lead of men like Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Dutt.

Mr. Morley: I am glad to hear that. I saw Mr. Gokhale several times and Mr. Dutt twice or thrice last year here and I found that they were sensible men, moderate men and that one could go a long way with them. But I want to hear from you, Mr. Ghose, what you in India really want. Now I am not a man who would grudge to give to people more than I could help it and I am anxious to do something for India. But as I say, it is difficult to know the mind of India and I want to know from you what you want.

Mr. Ghose: Sir, briefly put, what our people want at the present day is some *real* voice in the direction of the policy in India so that there may be a chance of fulfilment of the pledges given to our people by our late Queen and the Parliament of the United Kingdom. We want that there should be at least one Indian on the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Mr. Morley: You mean, the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

Mr. Ghose: No, Sir, I mean the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Mr. Morley: Well, that is something which is quite new. *That* has never been suggested to me. What has been suggested to me is that there should be an Indian on my Council here.

Mr. Ghose: Sir, I shall be coming to that in a moment. But as I was saying, we want an Indian on the Viceroy's Executive Council and this has been suggested in the Congress for many a year. (Mr. Morley—I have not heard that). We say that the time has come when with perfect safety to the maintenance of British rule—and here I may throw in the observation that the best among us have no other wish than to see England's rule broad

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based in India—an Indian may be summoned to sit on the Viceroy's Council.

Mr. Morley: But why do you want an Indian on the Viceroy's Executive Council? Would it not do if you had an Indian on my Council here?

Mr. Ghose: Sir, if you were to grant us this boon, namely, that there should be an Indian on the Council of the Secretary of State in Whitehall, you would earn the gratitude of the Indian people.

Mr. Morley: Mr. Ghose, let me not interrupt you. Please proceed in your way. I am only a listener.

Mr. Ghose: As I was saying we want an Indian on the Viceroy's Executive Council and one on your Council.

Mr. Morley: You see, Mr. Ghose, the two questions are different. The sword in India can be held only by one person. If you have two persons holding the sword, it is a source of weakness. You have military questions constantly coming up before the Viceroy and it is felt—mind you—I am reproducing the arguments used by my advisers—that you cannot have an Indian on the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Mr. Ghose: Sir, from our point of view, we say that the Indian who can be trusted in these matters, military questions I mean, can surely be found in India. But, Sir, if it is felt that you cannot trust an Indian with, say, the portfolio of the Home Department, or, shall we say, the Financial Department, I am sure, Sir, you will kindly excuse my speaking quite frankly to you, (Mr. Morley : Mr. Ghose, I pray of you not to hesitate to tell me anything that may be passing in your mind) we say that perhaps it will not be difficult to find out a suitable Indian fit to be the Legal Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and that we have Indian gentlemen capable to hold their own against any men sent out from England.

Mr. Morley: Now, Mr. Ghose, we will assume a hypothetical case. We will assume that we have an Indian Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council. Now, he would debate on questions other than legal just as any other member, would he not? I quite believe that you have Indian lawyers who are as capable as any men here.

Mr. Ghose: Sir, as the status of the Legal Member at the present day stands, he would. But, I believe, I am right in saying that before Sir Henry Maine's time—he was a member of Lord Lawrence's Government—(Mr. Morley : I knew Maine very well) the Legal Member did not sit on the Council [illegible] the Council were occupied with other [illegible] legal questions. I have not got the reference [illegible] me but I could find out the reference for [illegible]

Mr. Morley: Mr. Ghose, I shall find [illegible] myself. Now what you say very gr[illegible] interests me. I am very glad you came to [illegible] me. (Mr. Morley here made a note of [illegible] I had said).

Mr. Ghose: As I say, Sir, the L[illegible] Member before Sir Henry Maine occupied [illegible] sort of an inferior position, if one may say [illegible] in the Council. Now, what we say is [illegible] that—I am not giving up my point, Sir, [illegible] you should have an Indian on the Vice[illegible] Executive Council with full powers so to sp[illegible] —you can have an Indian Legal Member [illegible] the Viceroy's Council under the conditions [illegible] the limitations as used to prevail before M[illegible] time. Why we are so keen about an Indian [illegible] the Viceroy's Executive Council is this—[illegible] thing originates in India; there all projects [illegible] fashioned into shape, the whole thing is [illegible] and dried there and then it is sent to Eng[illegible] to the Secretary of State for his approval. [illegible] feel that it is all essential that in the origi[illegible] ing stage we should have Indian opinion [illegible] presented on the Viceroy's Executive Co[illegible] and that *that* would go a great way to [illegible] peace and contentment to our people. [illegible] although the Indian Legal Member under [illegible] conditions as I have attempted to sketch [illegible] you would not be entitled, *as a matter of* [illegible] to give his opinion on other than L[illegible] questions, still, I apprehend, that in pra[illegible] the Viceroy and the Members of Council w[illegible] often consult him (he would be always [illegible] by and with the Government of India) an[illegible] he were an Indian of great strength [illegible] character, as I expect he will be, the re[illegible] will be that Indian opinion will be listened [illegible] and the people of India would have the sa[illegible] faction of knowing that there was some ch[illegible] of presentment of Indian views before [illegible] Viceroy and his Council.

Mr. Morley: I quite agree, Mr. Gh[illegible] no doubt it will be a very great advantage if [illegible] have an Indian at one end of the wire and [illegible] Indian at the other end of the wire over h[illegible] But you must remember, Mr. Ghose, we m[illegible] proceed cautiously.

Mr. Ghose: Sir, if I may say so, all th[illegible] we ask is this, the Government should m[illegible] cautious advances only.

Mr. Morley: Now, Mr. Ghose, as I s[illegible] I am much interested in what you say and [illegible] will make enquiries as to the state of th[illegible]

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before Maine's time. The thing seems feasible, but I do not commit myself to anything. Yes, it is one which requires careful consideration and looking into. But tell me, Mr. Ghose, supposing there is a vacancy today on the Viceroy's Executive Council, I forget the name of the Legal Member (Mr. Ghose: Mr. Erle Richards), supposing Mr. Erle Richards resigns his office today and supposing I write to Lord Minto to nominate an Indian, I do not know how he would arrive at a proper selection, I suppose he would consult the Judges or that sort of thing, do you say that Lord Minto can easily find out a suitable Indian?

Mr. Ghose: Sir, Lord Minto will not have to travel beyond his Legislative Council to find out a suitable Indian. He will find such an Indian in Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, C.I.E., who is now on his Legislative Council.

Mr. Morley: What name did you say? I am afraid I can't write all this down.

Mr. Ghose: Sir, may I write the name for you.

Mr. Morley: Yes, please.

Mr. Ghose: There are other Indians too, namely, Sir Gooroo Das Banerjee, Mr. S. P. Sinha.

Mr. Morley: Now Mr. Ghose, do you say that he (referring to Dr. Rash Behary Ghose) is fit to be Legal Member.

Mr. Ghose: I say, Sir, unhesitatingly that Dr. Rash Behary Ghose is eminently qualified to be Legal Member on the Viceroy's Executive Council. He has been a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council before now.

Mr. Morley: And when was that?

Mr. Ghose: In Lord Lansdowne's time.

Mr. Morley: When was Lord Lansdowne Viceroy? I remember we were in office when we had to select his successor.

Mr. Ghose: I will tell you, Sir, Lord Lansdowne was Viceroy from December 1888 to January or February 1893.

Mr. Morley: Yes, that's right. We sent out Lord Elgin.

Mr. Ghose: Sir, you selected Sir Henry Norman in the first instance.

Mr. Morley: Right you are. Mr. Ghose you have a very accurate knowledge of these matters.

Mr. Ghose: Thank you, Sir.

Mr. Morley: I quite understand your position. You want an Indian with full powers, we will say, on the Viceroy's Executive Council and if you can't get that, you would like to have an Indian (Mr. Morley—smilingly) with crippled powers on the Council, you go on in a descending scale. That is wise policy, Mr. Ghose.

Mr. Ghose: Sir, we believe in compromises in political matters and we have learnt that from your books, if you will allow me to say so.

Mr. Morley: Have you read any of my books?

Mr. Ghose: Sir, I have read many of them.

Mr. Morley: You have done me a great honour, Mr. Ghose,—What else do you want?

Mr. Ghose: An Indian on your Council.

Mr. Morley: Well, Mr. Ghose, I know all the arguments for and against that proposal. But supposing I were to appoint Mr. Gokhale to my Council, the friends of Mr. Dutt would say that Mr. Dutt ought to have been put into my Council and not Mr. Gokhale and the same thing would happen if I were to invite Mr. Dutt and not Mr. Gokhale—Now what do you say to that.

Mr. Ghose: Since you do me the honour of asking that question of me, may I say this, that I know of no Indians more qualified than Mr. Dutt and Mr. Gokhale to sit on your Council and to assist you in your deliberations. Mr. Dutt has had administrative experience of a very high order and he enjoys a literary reputation which is not shared by any other Indian that I know of. Mr. Gokhale's qualifications I am sure, Sir, you are familiar with. And I say this that, if you were to appoint one of these gentlemen, you will not hear any voice from India challenging the wisdom of your selection.

Mr. Morley: Are you sure, Mr. Ghose?

Mr. Ghose: I believe I am speaking not without grounds, Sir.

Mr. Morley: Mr. Ghose, there is the question of the Muhammadans. They have to be considered. They will say that the Hindus have been favoured and that they have been neglected. I tell you what has been my experience in Ireland. I found that for every appointment in the gift of the Chief Secretary for Ireland there were two sets of candidates, one Protestant, and one Roman Catholic, and I find in India the conditions are very much similar. Now, what do you say to that?

Mr. Ghose: With us it is not a question of Hindus and Muhammadans. It is a question of an Indian being allowed to sit on your Council. If you have got a Muhammadan of the right sort, say, a man like Mr. Justice Tyabjee of Bombay, who died the other day in London (Mr. Morley: what name? Mr. Ghose:

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Tyabjee. Mr. Morley: Ah. Yes. I saw him), if you have a Muhammadan like him, nobody would be more pleased than the Hindus. As I say, Sir, it is not a question of race between race, but it is a question of getting at that Indian who is qualified in every way to sit on your Council.

Mr. Morley: Well, Mr. Ghose, I rather think we must have two—one Hindu and one Muhammadan.

Mr. Ghose: Sir, if you have two Indians so much the better. But I was assuming that not more than one Indian can be allowed to sit on your Council.

Mr. Morley: Oh, I quite understand your position. Now, Mr. Ghose, tell me what is the answer to this. You must know that there is in India a class who have great vocal power; you know what I mean, I refer to the Europeans resident in India. They raised a tremendous howl over the Ilbert Bill—that was before your time I imagine. Now I feel that a Secretary of State would incur a tremendous responsibility who would do anything contrary to their wishes. The cause of reform would not progress at all, in fact it would be thrown back.

Mr. Ghose: I quite appreciate, if I may say so, the standpoint from which you speak.

Mr. Morley: Now, what do you say to this? I am talking of an Indian being made a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council with full powers—we will use that expression. Under the Statute, as you know, some of the members of the Council must be members of the Indian Civil Service. The Europeans in India may say this—if you are at all to have an Indian member, why should he be brought in from outside and why should he not work his way up like the rest of us from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service? What do you say to that?

Mr. Ghose: We had and have Indian gentlemen in the Indian Civil Service who had and have risen high in office and who could have been and can be made members of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Mr. Morley: Can you give me one name?

Mr. Ghose: Certainly Sir. There is Mr. K. G. Gupta, Member of the Board of Revenue in Calcutta, holding an office which is next to the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal.

(Mr. Morley here wrote down Mr. Gupta's name & proceeded as follows:—)

Mr. Morley: Yes, I have heard of him I think. It is a very high office and there are only two of them, is it not?

Mr. Ghose: That is so, Sir.

Mr. Morley: Now if it be so, then [illegible] does not the Viceroy invite him to be a [illegible] of Council?

Mr. Ghosd: Sir, I do not know [illegible] reasons, but you will excuse me when I [illegible] that we believe he is not made member [illegible] Council because he is an Indian. The [illegible] has never been done, I mean, no Indian [illegible] ever been made Member of Council, and [illegible] inspiration must come from somewhere.

Mr. Morley: Well, Mr. Ghose, I am [illegible] interested in what you have stated to me. [illegible] believe in reform but I cannot do anything [illegible] a sudden. Now, what else do you want?

Mr. Ghose: We want, Sir, more money [illegible] be spent on primary and secondary educa[illegible]

Mr. Morley: (smilingly) And less [illegible] soldiers?

Mr. Ghose: Sir, I will not enter into [illegible] question now, it would take up a great deal [illegible] your time, but we should like more money [illegible] be spent on education.

(Here Mr. Morley made a note to [illegible] effect). And we want more European Professors, men of talent and distinction [illegible] E. B. Cowell (Mr. Morley—I knew [illegible] C. H. Tawney, who was until recently [illegible] Librarian of the India Office. I hope you [illegible] not understand me to say that we do not [illegible] to see our countrymen in the Indian Educa[illegible] Service. We like to see them there and [illegible] are proud of them; but we also like to see [illegible] best men from Oxford and Cambridge brou[illegible] to India.

Mr. Morley: I am very glad to hear [illegible] Mr. Ghose.

(At this moment a card was brought [illegible] to Mr. Morley and I rose to go).

Mr. Morley: Mr. Ghose, when do y[illegible] leave England?

Mr. Ghose: Sir, I leave London on [illegible] about the 15th June and I leave Marseilles [illegible] India on the 21st June.

Mr. Morley: And when will you [illegible] called?

Mr. Ghose: On June 12th.

Mr. Morley: I will dine in the Hall [illegible] night and shall hope to see you then.

Mr. Ghose: Thank you, Sir, Good-bye.

Mr. Morley: Good-bye, Mr. Ghose. I am [illegible] grateful to you for what you have stated [illegible] me.

Mr. Ghose: Sir, I am grateful to you for [illegible] having accorded to me the honour of [illegible] interview.

Mr. Morley: Well, you know I have been [illegible] very pleased to see you. Good-bye.

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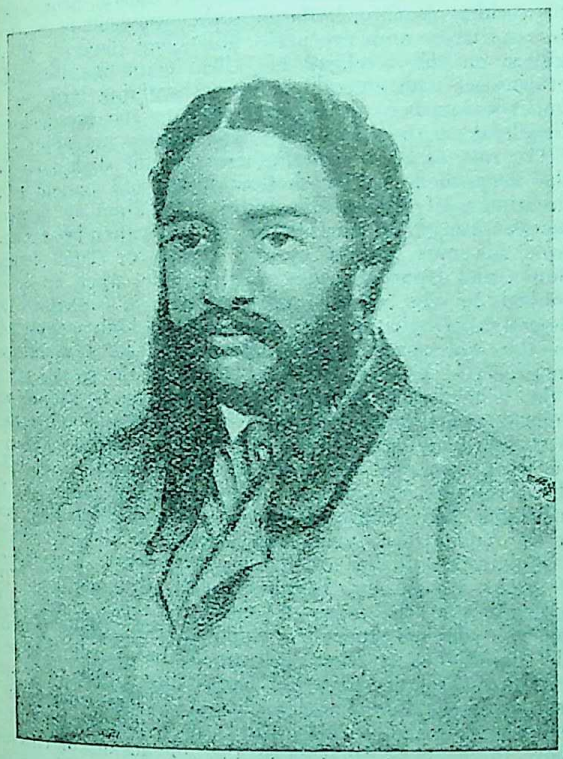
RAJNARAIN BOSE ON MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN DUTT'S BENGALI BLANK VERSE

By MANMATHANATH GHOSH, M.A., F.S.S., F.R.E.S.

JOGINDRA Nath Bose, in his life of Michael Madhusudan Dutt observes :

"When the blank verse was first introduced in Bengali literature by Michael Madhusudan Dutt in his *Tilottama Sambhava Kavya*, many enlightened and influential persons of the time looked slightingly at the innovation." He adds, "Disparaging remarks and taunts were showered in profusion on the poet—all classes of critics, the followers of Iswar Gupta on one side and learned Pundits like Vidyasagar and scholars like Peary Churn Sircar, well versed in English literature, on the other, all joined in



Michael Madhusudan Dutt

jeering and ridiculing him. Some even went so far as to publish mirth-provoking parodies of his blank verse in order to make him the laughing stock of the public." There were, however, not wanting some men of learing and taste who could appreciate the poet and accord a hearty welcome to his performance. That great patron of Bengali literature Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore Bahadur who published *Tilottama*, at his own expense, the great savant Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, the Editor of the *Vividhartha Samgraha*, and the learned Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan, the Editor of the *Shomeprakash*, highly eulogised the new mode of versification. But the warmth and readiness with which Kissory Chand Mittra—the famous writer and orator and Editor of the *Indian Field*,—who gave shelter to the poet in his villa at Dum Dum when he returned from Madras without a penny in his pocket, and provided him with the post of an interpreter in the Calcutta Police Court of which he was a Magistrate at the time, —helped him to establish his rightful position in the realm of Bengali letters, are not known to many at the present day. It was he who requested Rajnarain Bose, the well-known Bengali litterateur, through his friend Dr. Raja Rajendralala Mitra to write an appreciative review of the *Tilottama Sambhava* for publication in the *Indian Field*, which in those days commanded a large circulation among the respectable classes both European and Indian,—being not only a literary and political organ, but also the only sporting newspaper in the country. The biographer of Madhusudan says that many people were attracted to the book by the excellent review of so well-known a critic as Rajnarain Bose. No wonder, for, as Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore once said to Rajnarain, "Whatever you say or write sets up an agitation in the country—that does not easily subside." The poet himself wrote to Rajnarain, "Your opinion, especially, when deliberately given, ought to influence a certain class of our people. Perhaps you will laugh at the idea, but I do assure you that since the publication of the book your name has been frequently in men's mouths. Ask Rajendra. Many have said 'O, that Rajnarain Bose of Midnapur is a clever fellow. He seems to appreciate this book warmly. He is right !'"

Indeed Kissory Chand Mittra could not have approached a worthier critic for a review of the book. As the poet writes to Rajnarain in another letter—

"Talking of criticism, I am told the Editor

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of the *Indian Field* (Kissory Chand) is going to ask you through Rajendra to review *Tilottama* for his journal. I am sure he could not have gone to a better shop."

Excerpts from the reviews of the book published in the *Shomeprakash* and the *Vividhartha Samgraha* have been quoted in the life of Michael Madhusudan Dutt but none has been able till now to lay his hands on the review of Rajnarain which lay hidden in the heaps of old newspapers. We feel no small gratification, therefore, in having been able to unearth it and present it to the readers of this journal some 75 years after the date of its first publication on the 2nd February, 1861.

Travellers inform us that the Bedouin Arabs hold a festival on the occasion of the first appearance of a good poet in their tribe as well as on the birth of a good horse. Even highly civilized nations would do well in imitating the aforesaid custom as far as it relates to the poet, for if any honors were to be at all offered to the poor man, it is better that they were done so during his life-time than (what usually happens) after his death, when he cannot enjoy them. Notwithstanding our partiality towards the equine race as evinced in this journal, we have excluded the horse from the aforesaid honor, for the reason that mankind has, since the days of scholastic logic, lost the art of proving that the rider is equal to the ridden, and that the honors paid to the one should be paid to the other also. It would be an ill compliment, indeed, to the gallant rider of *Pegasus* to offer the same marks of distinction to a fellow of his animal as to him, although *Pegasus* himself received the honor spoken of above at the time of his birth, being according to certain authorities, a high-blooded and very mettlesome Arab, procured by special indent from Muscat by Apollo, who afterwards clapped a pair of wings to his back.

Winged horses and jesting apart, well does a true poet deserve the tribute of the celebration of a public festival in his honor during his life-time, for every man cannot be a poet. It requires an extraordinary assemblage of qualities to enable one to distinguish himself as such. Those qualities are enumerated by a living French author to be, 1st Memory, 2nd Imagination, 3rd Sensitiveness, 4th Judgment, 5th Power of Painting with words 6th Musical Feeling, 7th Universal Knowledge and Universal Sympathy, 8th Piety. Whenever a combination of all or most of these qualities occur in a more than ordinary degree, it is sure to be appreciated, be the age however practical and calculating it may, for as in the palaces of luxurious and refined cities, there are to be seen parterres of flower plants or arrays of tubs containing the same that indicate the natural fondness of man for moral sights, so even in the most utilitarian age, there are not wanting chords in the human breast that vibrate to the voice of genius, and show the innate love of man for true poetry. True poetry, therefore, will last on the earth as long as, to quote Valmiki, "rivers and mountains will last", for it is something ethereal. It is ambrosia, the food of the gods; and whoever partakes of the same raises himself

"Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot,
Which men call earth".

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the author whose work has given occasion to this article is a true poet.* The Bengali nation should be right glad at this successful appearance before the public as an epic for he is already very favourably known to them dramatist by that ably-written play, the *Sermisth* masterly satirical farce, *Ekeyi ki baleh sabhyata* is the creator of blank verse in the language, and single circumstance shows at once the original his mind. The most competent judges declared composition of blank verse in the Bengali to be impossible feat. The new verse has no quantity, for language does not at all recognize it. The lines each of fourteen syllables, and should be read according to the pauses. When read well, anyone at once their music. As the new verse expresses the character of the author's mind, so do the ideas and ments. Although he has borrowed largely European and Sanscrit poets, chiefly from the former, has given an original shape to what he has borrowed. Nor are sentiments of a strictly original character and far between" in the poem. The correctness of opinion will appear from the following rapid review the work, in which we shall quote largely the expressions of the poet :—

The poem opens with a sublime description of mountain Dhawalgiri. The desolation of the peak painted in awful colors. "Like an ascetic prince to worldly pleasure, it despises the ornament of wood bower, trees and creepers, buds and flowers—all glitter on the forehead of other mountains like crowns set with emeralds". Sweet-warbling birds and honey-loving bee do not frequent it; the beauteous female deer, the lily of the forest dares not approach. "The roar of the mountain-torrent in the dark ravine the deep moan of the hollow blast, add tenfold to dreariness of the peak. Indra, the king of the betakes himself to this terrible solitude after his expulsion from his own heaven by the Daitya or Titan brothers Sunda and Upasunda, just as the eagle, when its eyrie robbed by the cruel fowler, retires in sullenness dejection of spirit to the summit of a high mountain to the wide-spreading branches of a lofty umbrella tree". The king of the gods sits on the peak, just "the whale, the king of fishes, when he is thrown great violence upon the sea-coast by a furious tempest is stranded and unable to move." The awful desolation the peak comports well with the fallen fortunes of Indra. His reminiscences of the splendor and pleasures of Indranian heaven are described with quiet pathos, at the same time, great magnificence of diction shows a minute knowledge of Hindu mythology. The epic of Night, Sleep, and Dream, is full of tenderness. description of the means adopted by those goddesses call the afflicted Indra to sleep is exquisitely graceful. The superb beauty of the consort of Indra, who has travelling through the world like a disconsolate dove has lost her mate "with delusion as her companion and who is called over by the three goddesses mentioned above to the peak Dhavala as the sole means of cheering the heart of Indra, the lavish vegetable wealth of garden that springs up by magic on the peak at approach, and the reception given by the mountain nymphs to Indrani, are all described with a luxuriant richness of imagination worthy of Ariosto. The address of Indrani to Indra is indeed pathetic:

"Where is that heaven, lord of my heart? O why is fate so cruel towards me? But when, O love, I see that beauteous face of thine, I forget the past. what are heaven and its pleasures? I am always

* *The Tilottama Sambhava*, an epic poem in Bengali Blank Verse. By Michael M. S. Dutt, Baptist Mission Press, 1860.

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when I am near thee. When the moss bindeth the body of the pool, does the lotus desert it? Oh no! When the summer heat dries up its water, the lotus also perishes. I am thine, my love." The concluding image, though borrowed from Moore's "Paradise and Peri," where the afflicted maiden says to her plague-stricken lover—

"When the stem dies the leaf that grew
Out of its heart must perish too,"

meets us in an entirely new dress.

In the second book, the description of the journey of the immortal pair in the celestial car through the heavens, from one heavenly body to another, displays great splendor of imagination. The poet has drawn largely upon his rich store of mythological knowledge to embellish it. The above journey is undertaken by Indra and his consort, to reach the gates of Brahma-Lok on the highest heaven, where the celestial army had retired after their defeat, just as "when the universal deluge with deep roar swallows up cities and towns, the helpless citizens in terror flee where the lofty and sedate mountain with the thunderous blow of its feet compels the waves to retire." The high-souled Indra is afflicted at the sight of his troops, and laments his inability to protect them, thus being rendered inferior even to the tree which. when animals oppressed with summer heat retire to its shade through dsire of repose, removes the distress of those that ask its protection, itself suffering the scorching rays of the sun. In the council of war held by the gods before the gates of Brahma-Lok, each god speaks according to his nature. The character of Indra, who always feels more for his subjects than for himself,—that of the sturdy and ferocious Yama, that always revels in darkness and deeds of destruction,—that of the handsome Kartikeya, gentle in disposition, but terrible in battle, and that of the chivalrous Kuvera, full of gallantry towards the fair sex, are very well reflected in their speeches. The council breaks up with the resolution to enter Brahma-Lok and petition Brahma, the supreme god, to free them from their troubles. The third book contains descriptions of the splendor and beauty of Brahma-Lok as delightful as "innumerable lotuses that, blowing at once, communicate the nectar of their fragrance to the gentle breeze of spring." The imagination of the poet has communicated beauty to the description just as "a father presents his gem of a daughter to a suitable bridegroom." We have here chosen to express our approbation of the poet's description in the very expression he uses with reference to the effect of the speech of a certain god upon the world.

Brahma, moved at the prayer of the gods, pronounces the oracle that the Titan brothers could only be killed by means of fraternal discord, in order to promote which the gods request Viswakarma, the Indian Vulcan, to create that masterpiece of beauty, the nymph Tilottama. The allegory of Veneration and Prayer in this book is truly Bunyanian. There is a feeling of earnestness in it that touches the heart. The description of the Hill which the God of Wind sees while he conveys the message of the gods about the creation of Tilottama to Viswakarma, who, however, more like his Hellenic prototype than he of the Puranas, is made to dwell at the extremity of the universe, is indeed sublime. It reminds us of the Inferno of Dante and the Hell of the Bible, where there is a perpetual gnashing of teeth amid the worm that dieth not and the fire that ceaseth not to burn. Viswakarma complies with the request of the gods, and forms Tilottama, each god and natural object presenting his or its chief attraction to her.

The Fourth book opens with a very beautiful address to Sharaswati, the goddess of Learning. "As the bird with radiant plumage fondly extending its wings, the beauty of which eclipses that of the rainbow, assiduously teaches its young to fly in the skies, even so, O Mother of the world, didst thou journey today through various places, taking thy servant with thee! He is now faint; take him back, O Mother, to his home. Blessed is my life through thy favor, kind mother! As the son of Kunti, the wise Yudhisthira, entered heaven without dying through power of his righteousness, so have I, through thy favor, seen what mortal vision never saw—heard what is incomparably sweet, or, if comparable, to the notes of thy Vina only. Let us return to the flower-braided earth. Forget not, O Mother, that dwellest in the lotus to touch his lips with thy nectar, to whom Imagination, thy beauteous attendant, has communicated celestial vision at thy behest. I crave only this boon of thee, I entertain only this hope that I may please the wise, showering upon them the nectar of song. If those that can appreciate merit, assuming the form of fiery summerheat, blast the flower and fruit of that hope, even that is good; the inferior, O Mother, deserve the inferior lot, but I disdain that request which receive its fulfilment from the mean." In this book, the poet like a certain statuary of ancient Greece whose inhabitants were devout worshippers of *Io Kalon* or the Beautiful, evidently falls in love with his own creation, Tilottama. His descriptions of her beauty and its effect upon all creatures, animate or inanimate, during her triumphal progress through the woods on the "Champaigne head" of the Vindya, in which the Daitya brothers were revelling after their victory over the gods, are rapturous. "The groves blossomed and the bees hummed on all sides; the gentle breeze of spring, bringing fragrance, the gift of flowers, gladly welcomed her. How many creepers with golden blossoms laying hold of her feet entreated her to stay with them! How many trees, drunk with love, offered her presents of flowers! How much did the cuckoo and the dove pray to her and how much did the trees worship her with their hum, who can tell? Tilottama entered the bower in which the Daitya brothers were carousing just as a bride enters the bridal chamber, oppressed with fear and modesty. Softly did she proceed, staring frequently on all sides, just as the female deer does in an unknown forest of flowers." The Daitya brothers see her. Both of them attempt to lay their hands upon her in order to possess her. A quarrel takes place. They kill each other. The gods avail themselves of the opportunity, and slaughter the Daityas. Rejoicings take place on account of the victory and Tilottama, as her reward, is allowed to dwell in that mansion of ineffable splendor and felicity, the Sun.

The poem has faults, and what human production has them not? There are frequent repetitions of trite images and commonplace similes. The style is too learned in some places. A rather inordinate fondness for erotic allusions is often displayed, of which the author could not have been too cautious, considering the tendency of the rising generation of his country, as remarked by a patriotic native journalist of the day. The plot, though Hindu in general, is un-Hindu in some places, and vulgarly Hindu in others. There is a falling off of epic dignity in certain places, especially towards the end of the poem if the *Tilottama* be at all reckoned as a regular epic. But all these faults are amply redeemed by its manifold beauties. The author's loftiness of imagination, his minute observation of nature, his delicate sense of beauty, and the uncommon splendor of his diction, charm us in every page of the poem. It is an intellectual luxury. Compared to it "what are lucent syrups tinct with cinnamon?" As all natural objects and all the gods lent their respective chief attractions to the Hindu Pandora, who is certainly better than the Pandora of grandmother-like old garrulous Hesiod, because no soils

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flowed from her as from the charmer of Epimetheus, but good only; so all sublime things and beautiful—the sky, the ocean, the mountain, the rainbow, the Zephyr, the lotus—as well as all the great masters of, say, Vyas and Valmike, Homer and Virgil, the Hebrew Prophets and Dante, Tasso and Milton, Kalidas and Shakespeare—have contributed their respective quotas to the composition of the poem *Tilottama*, but as the divine skill of Viswakarma enabled him to combine and arrange his store of materials in such a manner as to produce a peerless form that ravished the world with its peerless beauty, so the extraordinary genius of our poet has enabled him to arrange his copious store of sublime and beautiful sentiments and images into one harmonious and [illegible] whole and produce a masterpiece of poetry that will delight his nation from generation to generation.

One word more and we conclude. Observing the thousand and one imitations of Vidya and Sundar, the innumerable translations that are daily issuing from the Bengali Press, we thought that the Bengali mind is deficient in original genius, but this book has agreeably refuted us. There is hope yet for Bengal.

A MASTERPIECE OF SACRED ARCHITECTURE

II : The Chenna Keshava Temple at Belur*

By St. NIHAL SINGH

Illustrated with photographs by the Author

I

One January morning I woke before dawn. I had to motor some twenty-six miles from the Travellor's Bungalow at Hassan—the headquarters of a district of the same name in Mysore State—where I had spent the preceding night, to my destination, Belur. I was anxious to get there speedily, for Hindu fanes, with few exceptions, face the east and, therefore, should be photographed before the sun scurries to the section of the sky where it may play tricks with the lens.

I had no idea that it could be so cold in that part of India. The wind blowing through the open sides of the touring car was so chill as almost to make my teeth chatter. What a good thing that I had listened to the importunities of a friend born in that region and had worn an overcoat! He had, in fact, to force his own upon me, mine having been stolen two nights earlier.

The country through which the car sped at my urging soon made me forget the slight discomfort caused by the dawn-breeze. Long, low lines of grass-covered hills, stretching as far as the eye could see, with a gentle beauty, kept unrolling all the time like a scenic cinema film. Where the soil was not stony, it had been pressed into service by pertinacious man. Every now and again we passed a tank made by some former ruler of this portion of the plateau to help his subjects to increase the crop yield, with attendant gain to his own coffers.

II

As the car was smoothly gliding over roadway built on top of a dam impounding largest body of water that I had seen morning, the chauffeur told me that we nearly reached Belur. Soon the motor enter a street, not very long or wide but well At the end of it I saw a *gopuram* (tower the type they in southern India put over gateway of a temple, its red, mellowed by ing sun and beating rain, limned against turquoise sky. Palms arched the roadway front of it.

The spectacle was so enchanting that asked the chauffeur to drive slowly so that could enjoy it to the utmost. As we crawl past the coffee-houses—numerous in this of the country where coffee is said to have been grown for centuries—vegetable stalls and dry goods shops, over the long patterns made the ever-shifting shadows of the palm leaves that a gentle breeze was stirring, I could but feel that in this place all else was meant to be subordinated to the shrine hidden behind the doorway softly lit by the rosy flush of the morn.

III

The motor car came to a halt alongside rude structure of high poles roofed with plaited palm or palmyra leaves. In it stood a huge *rath* (car) used on festival days. As we alighted we faced a solidly built wall about twice my stature and nearly 400 feet long. Narrow, rather steep stone steps led to a platform at the back of which was a door

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* The first article of this series appeared in *The Modern Review* for April, 1936.

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Mahadwara (main gate) giving entrance to the sacred precincts. Well towards the other extremity there was another entrance, opened only on great occasions. In the old days the temple elephants used to enter the courtyard through it and in consequence it was still known as the *Ane-bagilu* (elephant gate). No one had troubled to erect a tower over it.

Upon entering through the main gate we found that the Amildar (or, as we in northern India would call him, the Tehsildar) of Belur, who was charged by the Government of Mysore with keeping an eye over temple affairs, had thoughtfully ordered chairs to be placed so that Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I could take off our boots in comfort. We were given canvas shoes with rubber soles that appeared to be brand-new, to put on in place of our own, though we, for the sake of sentiment, preferred to go in barefooted.

IV

As I was unlacing my boots I looked into the courtyard through the door at the end of the little hall under the *gopuram* in which I was seated. The building that I saw was neither impressive in size nor particularly elegant in design. If this were the temple, I said to myself, I was doomed to disappointment.

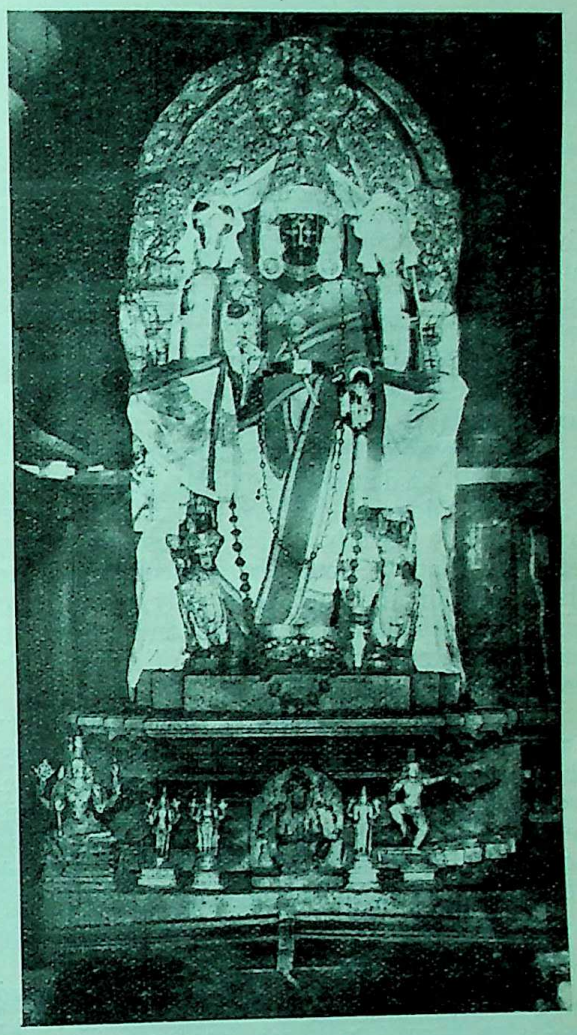
The Amildar soon set my mind at rest on that score. I was, he informed me, looking at the *Mukha-Mandapa* (front pavilion). It was not a part of the temple, nor connected with it. The structure was indeed, of a later date. The earliest reference to it occurred in a lithic record of a grant made in 1557 A.D. A chief, Naginayaka by name, was probably responsible for its erection. People, in any case, spoke of it as his *mandapa*. It was used on festival days for the performance of certain rites.

This Chief was doubtless desirous of accumulating merit for his soul's salvation, but judging by what he left behind, he could not have possessed any artistic perception. The pavilion certainly interfered with the scheme as conceived by the designers. They placed the temple far away from the gateway so that a worshipper had an unobstructed view of it as he entered.

V

Without looking at the temple from some distance it is indeed difficult to appreciate its harmonious proportions and lines. So keen were the designers upon securing harmony that the plinth upon which they erected it closely followed its star-like form, giving height and dignity to the building.

The desire to produce a balanced effect led them to construct two flights of steps, the first leading from the flagged courtyard to the plinth and the second from that level to the portals of the temple; and to flank each series with small pavilions reproducing, in stone, the



Chenna Keshava
The image represents the male and female aspects of the godhead

raths used on festival days for carrying the gods and goddesses in procession. Since the holy of holies was to occupy the far end of the building, the western face could not be given exactly the same treatment as the three others. There is no portal on this side and consequently no steps from the plinth to the floor-level of the temple. The decoration of the exterior has, however, been designed on a larger, bolder, more vigorous scale.

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If one takes the trouble to climb to the roof of one of the buildings standing against the southern wall of the courtyard which is about 50 feet longer than the eastern wall, one is able to obtain an overview of the star-shaped structure resting on the plinth. The beauty and balance of line and proportion leap immediately to the eye.

VI

How long did it take to build the temple? How much longer did it take to decorate it?

No living person can exactly tell. The secret perished with the builders and decorators.

The building itself, however, shows that it has been added to since Vishnuvardhana's time. The *navaranga* (hall) was then open on all sides—just the roof resting upon a series of pillars rounded, in places, as if turned on a lathe.

Judging from lithic evidence pieced together during recent years, Vishnuvardhana's grandson, Ballala II (1173-1220) closed the sides by inserting between the pillars large stone screens, some depending for their beauty upon geometric designs, others upon sculptured scenes. So cleverly were these additions executed that it would be difficult to detect them but for the fact that only portions of pillars project above the screens and the frames of the doorways cover up parts of some of the earlier inscriptions.

The work of decoration must have been carried on over a long period. Fortunately, there is little to suggest decadence in later work. The men who did the carving apparently felt within them the impulse to create nothing that would clash with the handiwork of sculptors of bygone generations.

VII

The original architect must have calculated the stresses and strains with remarkable accuracy. The pillars have, through the centuries, borne the weight of the heavy roof with its beautifully decorated ceiling—of which more later—without showing any signs of deterioration.

Only once was it found necessary to provide support for the part of the roof immediately in front of the sanctum. Towards the end of the fourteenth century it seems to have shown signs of sagging. Noticing it, or being informed of it, the ruler of the day—Harihara—had four pillars constructed.

If his Dewan—Kempanna—through whose agency the work was carried out, intended to have them decorated after they were in [illegible] he did not have the opportunity to carry [illegible] the idea. They, therefore, proclaim the purpose for which they were put in place in the temple.

VIII

It is difficult adequately to describe, [illegible] magazine article, the ornamentation of a temple so lavishly decorated as this. Attention [illegible] only be directed to a few of the outstanding features.

The Hoysala crest carved at the side of the steps leading to the east doorway need not be described, since reference was made to it in the preceding article. A freize of elephants at the bottom of the *ratha*-like pavilions suggest that the weight of the massive yet beautiful [illegible] rests upon their heads.

A cornice, depending for appeal to the [illegible] upon shape rather than ornamentation, projects a little above this freize and over it is seen the grilled framework of the niche. The main [illegible] subsidiary figures and their setting are sculptured with a remarkable wealth of detail and sureness of touch.

IX

The doorway is high but not very wide. Pillars project from the stone surface on either side of the jambs. At the foot, on one side Manumatha and on the other Rati, side by side guard. In the centre of a panel projecting above the pediment sits Garuda and on either side of him is a boldly carved *makara*. Above is etched Vishnu in his incarnation of Narsimha (man-lion) ridding the world of the demon Haranyakasipu. The intricate, foliated design in which this scene is embedded gives height and dignity to the doorway.

On either side of the door are sculptured scenes, each in a definitive panel or panel. To the right, for instance, a master-craftsman who must also have been a courtier, has chiselled the stone to represent a king—presumably Vishnuvardhana, the builder of the edifice—holding a durbar. He forms the centre of the group. He is shown with large ear-lobes and heavy ear-rings. The sword in his right hand and the flower in his left are probably meant to indicate that this mighty warrior possessed an aesthetic sense. The queen sits at his right—a point to be noted. Behind and in front of them are attendants, religious teachers, officials and minor figures carved in characteristic attitudes so that it is possible to identify them for what they were.

Beneath this screen is a freize of lions

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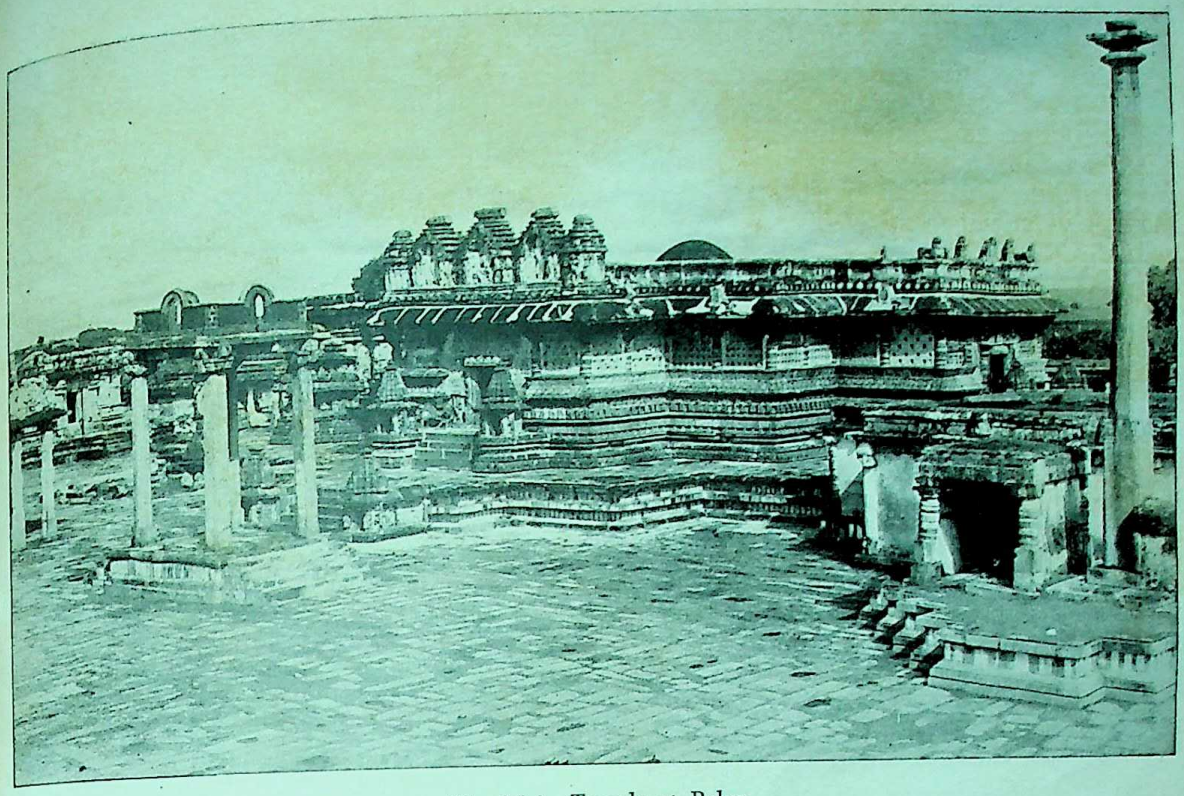

The Main Temple at Belur
It is built in the shape of a star upon a raised plinth that conforms to it

Temples at Belur
Nearby is the Tank in which a drop of *amrita* is believed to have fallen while Garuda was flying with it

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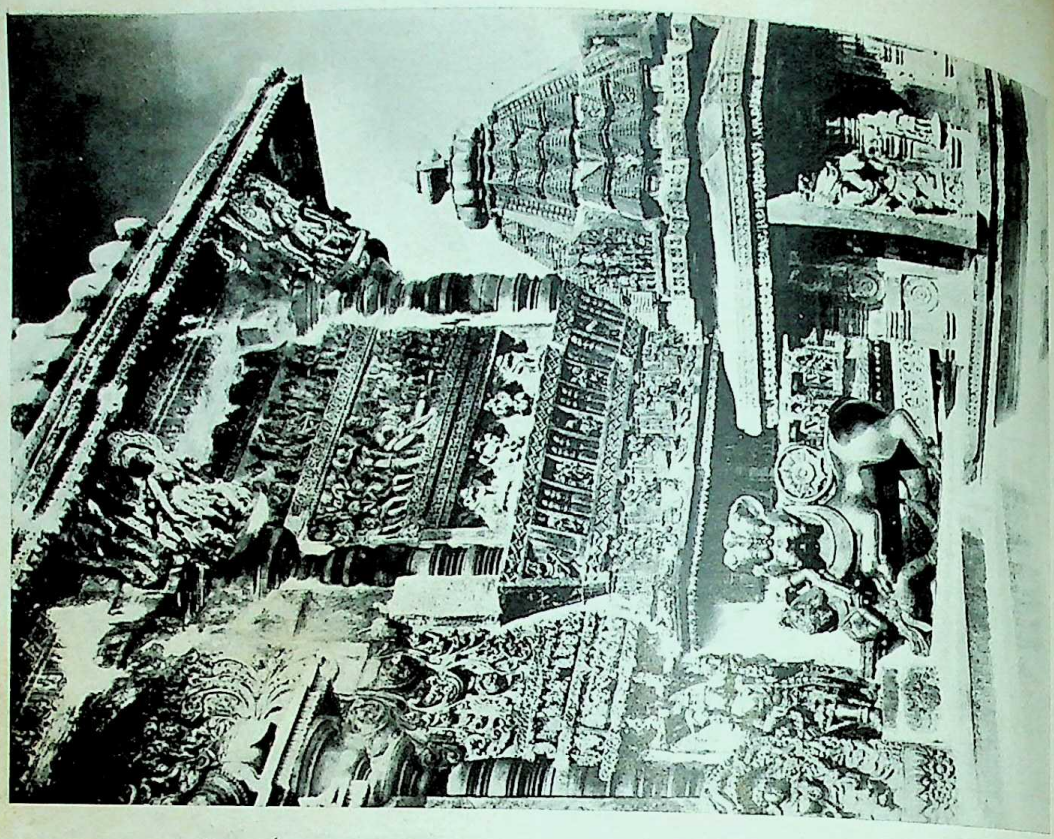
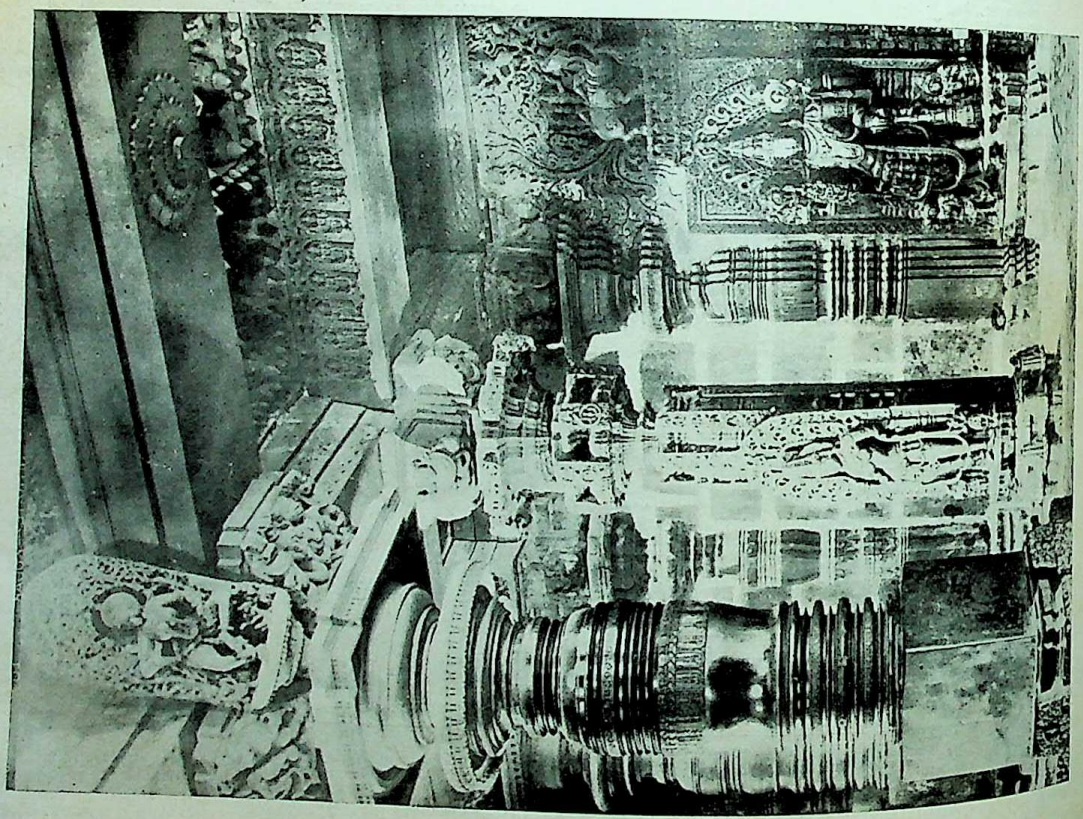


A Decorated Corner of the Temple



The Vestibule and part of Central Hall

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some rampant, some seated on their haunches. They bear riders on their backs.

Above the durbar scene is another richly carved panel. Keshava, the god to whom the temple is sacred, occupies the centre. Standing on either side of him are attendants wielding fly-whisks. Hanuman on one side and Garuda on the other, are shown in a reverent attitude.

Parallel with this screen but on the other (left) side of the doorway, there are three elaborately sculptured panels. In the middle one a king—possibly Narsimha II, Vishnuvardhana's son and successor—is holding a court. As in the case of the ruler depicted on the screen on the other side of the doorway, he is holding a sword in one hand and a flower in the other. Figures wearing coats are thought to represent officers. Others, no doubt, are attendants of one grade or another.

Beneath is a row of lions similar to those below the durbar scene sculptured on the opposite screen.

In the panel above the durbar scene the centre is occupied by Vishnu in his Narsimha incarnation. He is attended by fly-whisk bearers, Hanuman and Garuda.

There are eight more screens, four on the left and four on the right of the doorway, each representing some episode in one Purana or other. In addition to them there are ten screens beautifully pierced with geometric designs.

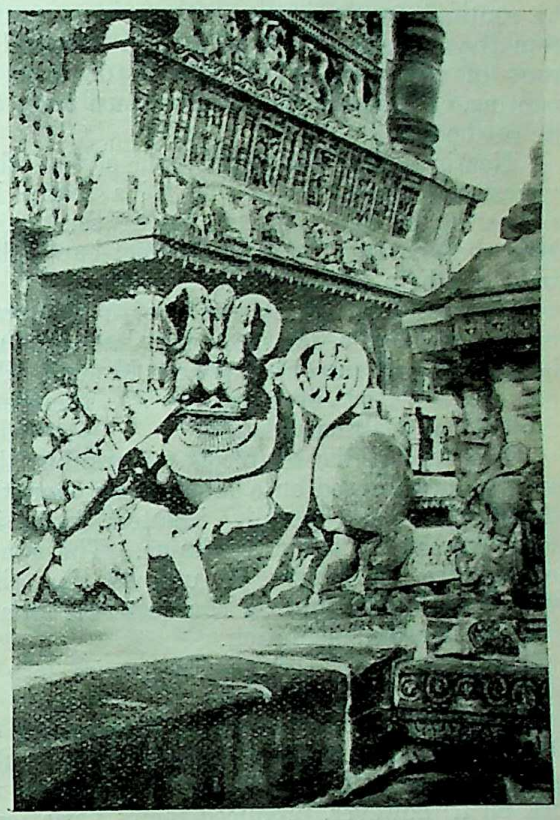
Each of these twenty screens has shapely pillars projecting above it on either side. Upon the capitals of each pillar stands a female figure. In two cases Vishnu's *shakti* (power) personified as Durga, is represented. In all the other instances the women might have walked out of the every-day life of the Middle Ages, turned to stone and been placed on the brackets. Among them is a huntress, wearing breeches and carrying a bow. Another is shooting arrows at birds. Then there are dancers and musicians. One woman is adorning herself, a mirror held in her hand. Another is squeezing a syringe, no doubt to squirt scented water. Still another holds leaves that might have just been plucked from a betel vine.

X

The southern face has been given a treatment that at first sight appears to be identical with that of the facade. Upon closer scrutiny, however, it shows considerable variation.

There are again two flights of steps. On one side of the upper series is carved the Hoysala crest. The jambs of the oblong doorway, known as the "Friday Entrance" for a reason difficult to assign, are decorated with *dwarapals* (guards). Above the pediment there is a sculptured scene in intricate, foliated design. It has carving on the back as well.

This wall, being twenty-two feet longer than the eastern one, affords greater space for decorative work. The opportunity has been eagerly seized by the sculptors and so skilfully utilized that a student of art may spend weeks studying the conventional designs, figures and figurines and representations of epic and iconographical themes.



The Hoysala Crest
The figure on the left is meant to represent Sala who is shown in the act of killing the lion

The elephant freize carved in continuation of the one running from the edge of the eastern face, is the work of men who knew that animal in every mood and posture—knew also how to make so hard and unyielding a surface as stone reflect those manifold moods and postures. The pachyderms look as if they were proceeding in a procession and instinct bids you move out of their way lest you be trampled. There is grace—and not jerky movement.

No trunk is bent or lifted or twisted

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precisely as any other proboscis: nor is there any exact duplication of the curve of the legs or bodies. Foreigners who talk of the Indian weakness for repetition should visit this place with a powerful magnifying glass and learn to admire the Indian genius for creating variety where there is hardly any scope for it.

The bracket figures, reproduced in miniature are masterpieces of the carver's art. So are the numerous ones in pilasters.

Each of these figures is worthy of detailed description. For lack of space, however, I can refer only to two.

One of them, a little way to the east of the south doorway, in the fifth freize counting from the bottom, is a woman with a board in front of her upon which she is drawing or painting. An interesting vignette torn from the life of the day ?

Nearby is another figure with clothes that suggest modernity. It is that of a man. He is wearing a long coat falling to the knees. Over that garment is tied a waist-band that we in northern India call a *kamarband*.

Next to this figure is that of a woman—really Vishnu, who, for the nonce, had assumed the form of a beauteous maiden. Mohini. The man in the coat next to her is, therefore, identified as Dakshanacharya.

This face of the temple is remarkable also for sculptures carved on a larger scale than the others. Each is generally isolated from its neighbours by a distinctive frame. The space not devoted to freizes is utilized for this purpose and constitutes a characteristic phase of the Belur ornamentation.

XI

The general scheme of the decoration of the northern face conforms to that on the south and east. In executing it the carvers set to work on it, however, produced many variations —all very delightful.

The doorway is known as the "Heavenly Entrance," no doubt because it looks in the direction of the abode of the gods in snowy Himanchal. Its pediment is decorated both on the outside and inside of the building. I am forced to eschew even a rapid description of it. I must call attention, however, to the skill of the man who carved the foliated vine on the left of the doorway.

On a slender twig rests a fly. It looks as if a live one had become petrified. The head, antennae, eyes, wings, body and legs are perfectly proportioned and carefully chiselled. Nearby is carved a lizard with its mouth open ready to spring upon and devour the fly, true to life in every detail.

To the right of the doorway is carved scene that resurrects life as it was led in Middle Ages. A wrestling match is going The queen seated alongside the king is inte watching every move made by the wrest No segregation of the sexes, apparently.

On the other side of the door some sculp gifted with a sense of humour as well as art skill, carved an unusual incident. A wo has suddenly discovered a lizard creeping up her clothing. With dread written upon her f she is quickly removing her sari so as to sh off the loathsome creature. The sense movement given to the body and of horror the countenance lifts the bit of carving to high plane of art.

A similar subject moved another sculp to creative effort. A figure standing on one the capitals above the doorway has discover a scorpion crawling upon her cloth. She h unwound the sari and shaken it and the cr creature lies, probably dead, near her feet.

Upon another of these brackets s ambitious artist has carved an interesti scene. The principle figure is that of a wom apparently returning from a successful hun expedition. One of her attendants carries s pended from a bamboo pole her "bag" crane and a deer—while a thorn is being tracted with a needle from the bare foot of t other.

XII

As already noted, the holy of holies be situated in the western end of the temple, th is no door on that side. This wall, therefo afforded much greater opportunity to th sculptors to exercise their skill than did th one on the opposite side. The space w devoted largely to figures each enshrined in i own niche.

There are moreover, three car-like pavilio each double-storeyed. The ornamentation much more lavish than in those on the oth sides. Space forbids even reference to any these decorations.

XIII

The carvers did not exhaust their skill ornamenting the doors and the walls. T interior of the temple is richly and beautifu decorated.

The *navaranga* (central hall) is ent through one or another of the three ma verandahs. The pillars in it are of the high

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merit. Except the four in the centre that support the domed ceiling, they vary in design and size.

The carving on the one sacred to Narasimha, which, though now fixed, was originally meant to revolve, is the work of a jeweller rather than a stone-mason. The figures are minute. A *nandi* is the size of gram—Bengal gram, as it is known in Mysore State. So proud was the man of his accomplishment that he left a tiny space vacant as a challenge to anyone who dared to try to duplicate his feat.

The figures on the capitals of the pillars supporting the ceiling are, if anything, more exquisite than those on the outside of the building. One of them has a movable bracelet and another a movable hair ornament. Upon a lotus bud depending from the dome are carved the Triad.

The filigree work on a pillar near the *Sukhanasi* (vestibule) and on the doorway are the best of their kind. An amazing number of miniature figures, each perfect in every detail, have been carved in the convolutions.

The priests insist upon applying the *naman* (or *tilak*, as we in northern India would call it) to the foreheads of the *dwarapalas* guarding the door of the holy of holies. Except at certain times the doors are kept tight-shut, the keys of the various locks being in the safe custody of three separate authorities, without whose presence, in person or, on rare occasions, by deputy, it is impossible to open them.

XIV

I vividly remember the first *darshan* I had of the image, when the door was ceremoniously unlocked for my express benefit. Not quite six feet high and finely proportioned, it stood on a pedestal about three feet high and was flanked by the *shaktis*. It had four hands. The upper two held a discus and conch and the lower two a lotus and mace respectively.

The figure represented the male and female elements in the god-head. These aspects were emphasized by the ceremonial garments, chains and gems with which the priests dressed it for purposes of worship. The right side of the face had the stern dignity associated with man, while the left side was softer in expression and showed a nose-ring and other ornaments with which woman loves to adorn herself. It had, also, a fully formed breast, whereas the other side had none. The general outlines of the female portion were fuller and rounder.

Originally the image was known as *Vijaya Narayana*, reflecting the mood of the victorious king who caused it to be enshrined there. That name was discarded long since in favour of *Chenna Kesava*—the beautiful Kesava.

XV

Some of the men who decorated the interior and the exterior of the temple chiselled their names beneath their work. Judging by the legends, they were not above vanity. One of them described himself as the "smiter of the crowd of titled sculptors"; another as the "champion over rival sculptors"; and a third as "a tiger among sculptors". It is easy to imagine the jealousies that must have prevailed among them and the factions that gathered round some of them in the days of their glory.

Vanity and jealousy perished centuries ago when all that was mortal of these men was consigned to the flames. The work they left behind endures, however. It does credit to them and constitutes a rare treasure to which we, as the descendants (often, I fear, unworthy) of illustrious ancestors are heirs.

COMMENT & CRITICISM

"A Folk-Epic of Bengal"

In your article "A Folk-Epic of Bengal" appearing in the April issue of *The Modern Review*, you have concluded the story of Behula in the following words—"Chand was finally persuaded to worship Manasha . . . . partly through the behest of Siva who ordered him to cast off his pride and submit to the will of the gods'. I may point out that the story as is known in East Bengal is somewhat different.—(*Vide* "Manasha Mangal" of Vijoy Gupta, "Padmapuran" of Dwija Banshidas and other authors). Chand Sadagar did not totally cast off his pride,—for as the authors relate, Chand's submission to the will of the gods was on condition that he would offer worship to the goddess Manasha, not with his right hand as is always done), but with his left hand. The authors also relate that Manasha submitted to the above condition; so that Chand was not an altogether vanquished foe unconditionally submitting to his destiny, as your article seems to suggest.

JATINDRAMOHAN BHATTACHARYA

Editor's Note.—There are different versions of the story. The versions referred to by the correspondent make Chand more heroic than those followed by me.

R. C.

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ALL-INDIA FINE ARTS SOCIETY'S EXHIBITION

The All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society was established at Delhi in 1931. One of its objects is "to promote the study and appreciation of modern and ancient Indian arts and crafts, music, dancing and literature by means of publications, lectures, conferences, exhibitions, correspondences with kindred societies and with the museums of Indian art in India and abroad." Among its activities in furtherance of this object is an annual art exhibition. The fifth of these exhibitions, which was held this year at the Imperial Hotel, New Delhi, was opened by H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala, who said :

"The decay of Indian Art was no more than a reflection of the decay of Indian society; and it is the new life now pervading India of which we have many evidences, that is to my mind responsible for the renaissance in our art. . . . The attitude of the world in general and, I may say, of the public in India itself towards the artistic inheritance of our country, has undergone a very radical revision during the last few years. I can well remember the day when great connoisseurs of art, genuinely sympathetic towards Indian culture, found nothing of value in the paintings, sculpture or even the architecture of India . . . Everything in India was put down to the influences of foreign countries."

"The position today is, however, different. The excavations in Mahenjadaro and Harappa and the incontestable evidence that they have afforded of the flourishing civilization, with material comforts unequalled in any early civilization, definitely prove that the artistic tradition of India is not only ancient, but indigenous to the soil."

"Not only has this fact now been increasingly appreciated by the world but, what is more important, it has come to be realized that India was the centre from which the artistic inspiration of the East radiated."

The opening speech of the Maharaja was followed by the address of Mr. N. C. Mehta, who is the President of the Council of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society. He began by saying :

"Art exhibitions are now annual functions in many of our provincial capitals. Ours is the fifth exhibition organized under the auspices of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society. Art has thus come to be included in the programme of seasonal festivities, and to that extent marks an important stage in our cultural development."

Proceeding, Mr. Mehta observed :

"What began as a Bengal movement, has now covered the entire country, and even Bombay, which has apparently resisted the claims of Calcutta's supremacy in more spheres than one, must now be classed as representing only a provincial phase with its own peculiarities, rather than as a rival movement antagonistic to the general revival begun in Bengal. . . . . Abanindranath Tagore *is now no longer a pioneer.* He and his gifted disciple Nandalal Bose may be considered our two greatest living masters of painting. Pupils of Tagore and Bose are now scattered all over the country and I am not sure whether the contribution of these two men is not greater as teachers than as artists.

The original Bengal movement is now coun[illegible] as a result chiefly of the inspiration and devoted [illegible] ours of a great master—modest, versatile, self-[illegible] and combining in himself the traditions of a [illegible] cultural family with the experimental mood and [illegible] alertness of a modern European.

"Indian painting in its new incarnation is [illegible] imitative nor weakly eclectic. It is not merely a [illegible] to the past; nor does it indulge in stale and mean[illegible] evokations of myths and legends which have ceas[illegible] be significant. Like the great stream of our c[illegible] Indian Art is neither exclusive nor unresponsive to [illegible] march of ideas in the world at large."

In this exhibition there was a g[illegible] collection of some three hundred paintin[illegible] garnered from all parts of India. It was [illegible] presentative of the latest developments as [illegible] as the most ancient ideals of Indian art. [illegible] regards bigness, pictures as different in size [illegible] Rabindranath Tagore's "Madhabi," a [illegible] postcard miniature, and Sarada Ukil's "D[illegible] in the lap of Night," a seven-foot canvas, [illegible] on exhibition. The themes ranged from [illegible] ancient and sacred "Mahaparinirvana" of [illegible] Buddha to the up-to-date and tin-god-[illegible] tantrum of Sir James Grigg.

The list of prize-winners comprised Ram[illegible] Ukil, Satish Sinha, N. K. Mazumdar, P. K. P[illegible] Gobardhan Ash, B. N. Jijja, N. S. Bed[illegible] Shanker, Miss Amrita Sher-Gill, R. Par[illegible] Amar Bhaduri, V. G. Kulkarni, Phani Sany[illegible] Miss Leela Mehta, Miss Uma Joshi, Sou[illegible] Sen, H. Ganguli, B. Choudhury and Basant [illegible]

There were also on exhibition some works [illegible] Rabindranath Tagore, Abanindranath Tag[illegible] Gaganendranath Tagore, Nanda Lal B[illegible] S. N. Gupta, Jamini Ranjan Ray, Kanu De[illegible] Asit Kumar Haldar, Abdur Rahaman Chag[illegible] L. M. Sen and others.

The Society is entitled to credit for [illegible] care taken for the selection and display of [illegible] pictures. Mr. Barada Ukil, its secret[illegible] worked very hard for the success of [illegible] exhibition. It achieved unique success [illegible] presenting the idealistic varieties of art as we[illegible] as those in tune with and deriving their them[illegible] from the workaday world. So, *The Times* [illegible] *India* was right when it observed :

"The first impression that a visitor to the Exhibi[illegible] has, is that, inspite of the Western criticism of mo[illegible] usually levelled against Indian art forms, painting [illegible] India has varied aspects to present to its lovers. . . . [illegible] Art lovers can glut their eyes on so many forms a[illegible] differences of conception that they are wellnigh bewilder[illegible] by the time they finish. All schools of art . . . . [illegible] represented."

"The brush is not the only medium that is [illegible] presented either. A collection of etchings by S. N. G[illegible] bears testimony to the fact that the inked line [illegible] great and convincing a container of artistic expres[illegible] any other."

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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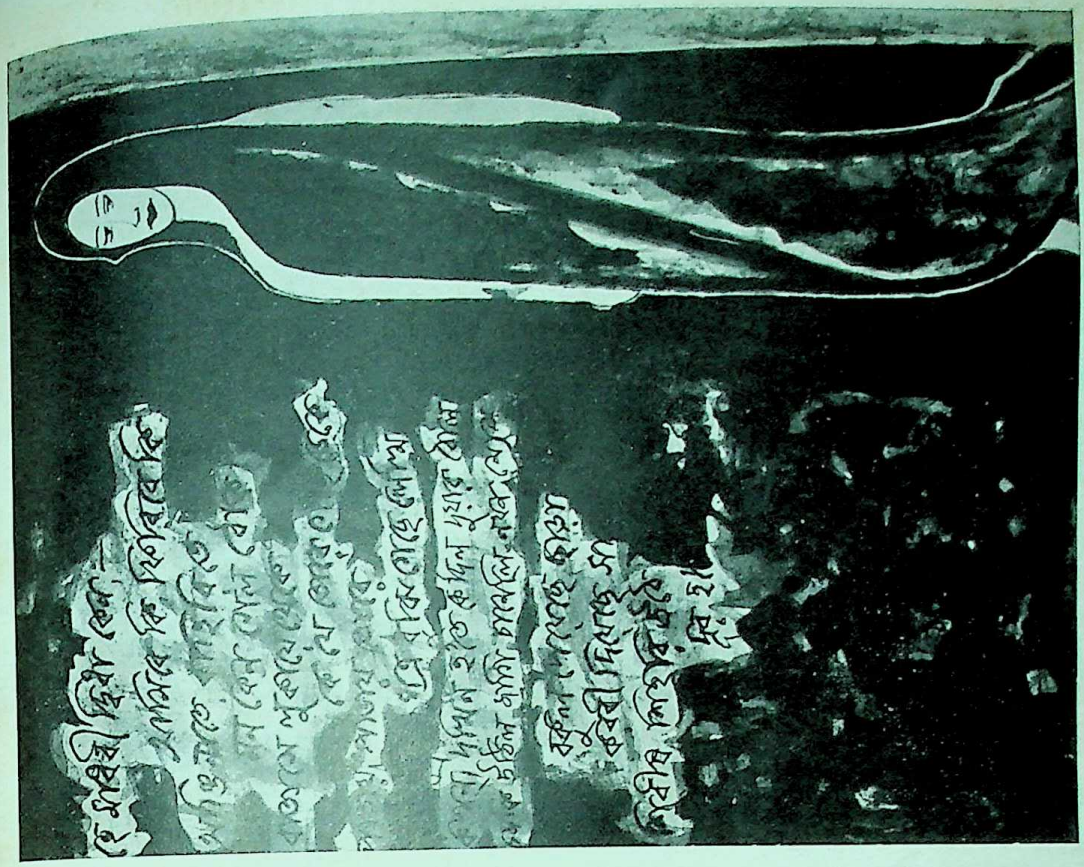
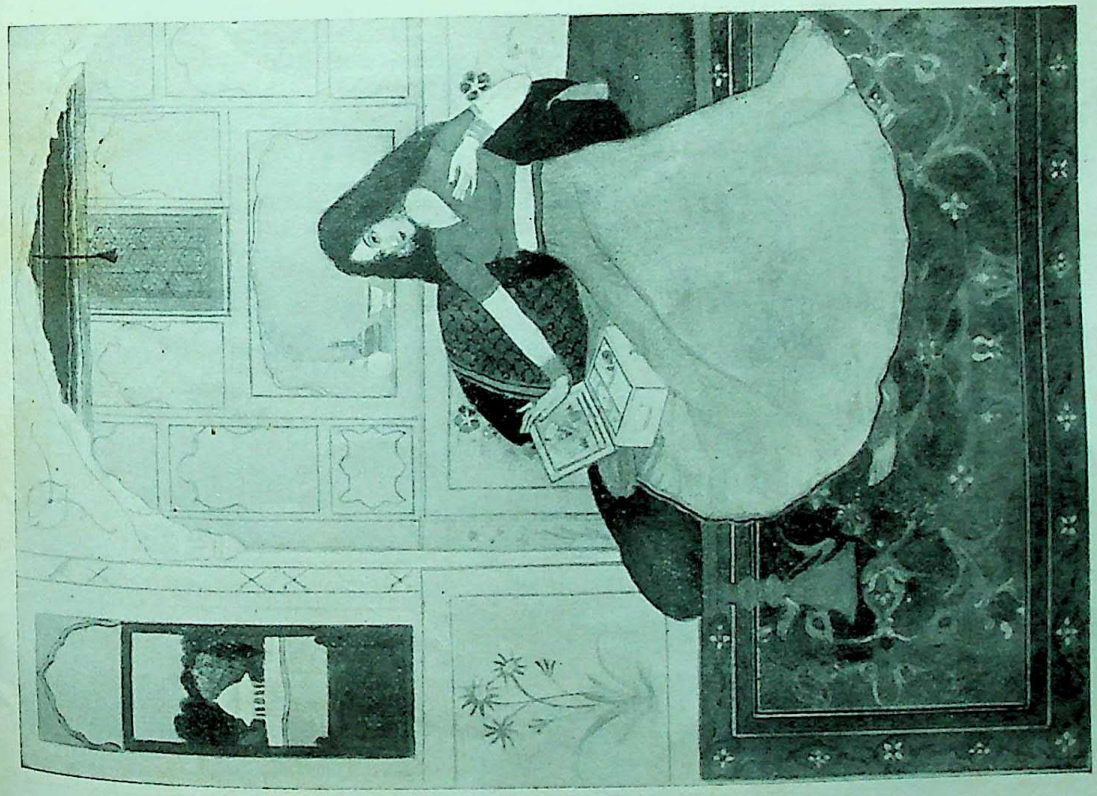


Madhabi
By Rabindranath Tagore
[Collection : Ranada Ukil]



The Persian Princess
By Abanindranath Tagore
[Collection : Imre Swegar]

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Prince Sahib, by the agency of Amrkall Ramchandra Ajay

Parbati's austerities

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE POETICAL WORKS OF KENNETH KNIGHT HALLOWES: *Vol. I. (Methuen, 1934, 7s. 6d.).*

It is a lovely volume of poems,—covering over 200 pages of fine print—classified into four groups,—Poems of Nature, Poems of Human Nature, Poems of Religion and Poems of Science. The author seems to be equally at home in all these diverse spheres of poetic excursion. This remarkable versatility is perhaps due to his exceptionally varied experiences in life: he graduated at Cambridge with Honours in the Natural Sciences, specialized in Geology, serving for several years as one of the scientific officers of the Geological Survey of India, was admitted to the Membership of the Royal Society of Literature for original work in Literature, took training in theology, was ordained in 1925 and has been a priest ever since.

The author is a genuine poet and all his poems have an unmistakable ring of sincerity and truth. His unique combination of scientific training and poetic faculty has enabled him to produce poems which are terse and disciplined in form and expression but are passionately emotional in spirit.

The poems of science in the volume are an original contribution to English poetic literature and are worthy of the highest praise. In an Appendix attached to the volume there is a stimulating essay by the author entitled "The New Poetry of Science" and it puts forward a strong plea for the adoption of scientific facts as poetic themes. The author's own scientific poems in the volume off r a fine illustration of the soundness of his contention. They show that the assimilative powers of poetry are infinite and there is nothing which is too prosaic or too intellectual to be transfigured into poetic beauties. Such poems lend support to Wordsworth's famous dictum, "Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge. It is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science." Many of these poems of science will be of special interest to Indian readers as they embody the observations made by the author in course of his researches into the structure of the crust of the Earth in India and Burma. To what fine poetic use these have been turned by the poet will be illustrated by the following stanza of the remarkable poem, "Invocation to Nature":—

As mineral-charged solutions, in the cells
Of Deccan lava, oft precipitate
Columns of shining quartz pyramid-crowned,
More beautiful than man-made citadels,
So, in a mind's calm lake, may there be found
Great thoughts, which clear as crystals separate!

P. K. GUHA

THE MESSAGE AND MINISTRATIONS: *By Dr. Sir R. Venkata Ratnam, KT., M.A., D.LITT., LL.D. Edited by Dr. V. Ramkrishna Rao, M.A., Ph.D. (1935). Price Re. 1 or 1-6d.*

The learned editor has earned the best thanks of the students of serious literature by publishing this the latest (vi) volume of the works of Sir Venkata Ratnam. His addresses and articles, his services and sermons, his prayers and meditations and lastly, his appreciations and reminiscences have been presented in a manner that would appeal to everyone. The septuagenary of this sage of Andhradesa was celebrated with due solemnity in October 1932 and we remembered the great services he rendered to the Motherland as the Principal of Pittapur Rajah's College, Cocanada as the Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras and as the initiator of so many beneficial activities. But the main spring of his life is a passionate faith in God manifesting through the Brahmo Samaj and in every bit of his thought and action one catches the spark of his burning faith. He made a profound study of the Bibles of Humanity as we find in his "Theistic Synthesis" (1932), "God and Democracy (1929)" and such other writings. "The Triple standard of Higher Education" (1929) and similar papers show him as a master teacher and the catholicity of his culture is attested to by his brilliant study on "Jalal-ud-din Rumi." The Introductory Note by the Editor brings out admirably the abiding character of the life of this "Brahmarshi" of Andhra and in his inspiring address on the Silver Jubilee of the Pittapur installation (1931) brings back to our mind that the noble and cultured Maharaja of Pithapuram is a life-long admirer of Sir Venkata Ratnam whose dedicated life inspired 'the Maharaja to initiate and develop some of the best humanitarian institution of the State, *e.g.*, the splendid Orphanage of Cocanada. As one goes through the pages, the voice of the Sage seems to speak distinctly, " . . . .there is God in Nature in epic grandeur, there

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is God in the Human soul in lyric sweetness and there is God in History in dramatic impressiveness.

We recommend the book to all who aspire to follow the history of Modern Indian idealism.

K. N.

FROM HELLENISM AND HAVELLISM TO VITAL ART: *By Kanaiyalal Vakil, "Drasthi" Publication. Price Annas Six. "Drasthi" Office. Navasari Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.*

This is a small brochure of 24 pages from the pen of Mr. Kanaiyalal Vakil, Literary and Dramatic critic of the "Bombay Chronicle"—a brochure which in the guise of an obituary tribute and a so-called critical estimate of the achievements and works of the late Mr. E. B. Havell, heaps badly phrased abuses on the greatest conoisseurs of Indian Art—and his so-called "defective mental approach to ancient art." We have vainly waded through twenty-four pages of meaningless jargon of catch-phrases and coined words but have failed to discover any coherent argument or a critical analysis of Mr. Havell's interpretation and presentation of Indian Art. We are sorry indeed for the author's vulgar, and indecent display of bad spleen and worse English. We pray to the Almighty that Mr. Vakil may be blessed in his next incarnation, with the "Drasthti" (दृष्टि) to see and understand Indian Art for which he is undergoing such heroic and strenous preparations in this incarnation. In the meantime, our readers may safely consign his badly written polemics to the oblivion of the waste-paper basket.

KAUNDINYA

ISLAM ON THE CROSSROADS: *By Mahommad Asad (Leopold Weiss), Arafat Publications, Karol Bagh, Delhi.*

This is a book on Islam written by an Austrian German converted to Islam, and as such it will be found quite interesting as all works of neophytes are. The author introducs himself in the Foreword, and gives reasons for his acceptance of Islam. His motive in the change of creed was neither political nor romantic, but a sincere urge from within due to his long sojourn among Muslims and a sympathetic study of their social and religious life.

This book consists of six chapters, exclusive of Foreword and Conclusion, covering in all 121 pages. The author characterises Islam as "Imperialist," and holds that this Imperialism means "the construction of a worldly frame for the best possible spiritual development of man" (p. 27). The author being a recruit from the fold of Christianity and European civilization, his attacks are mainly directed against Europe and Christianity. He says, "Of all religions Islam alone makes it possible for man to enjoy the full range of his earthly life without losing for a moment its spiritual orientation. How entirely different is this from the Christian conception! According to the Christian dogma, mankind stumbles under a hereditary sin.....in Islam we know nothing of hereditary sin....." (pp. 23-24). Elsewhere he says, "The well-known injunction of the Gospel: 'Give God what belongs unto God, and give Cæsar what belongs unto Cæsar'—has no room in the theological structure of Islam" (p. 26). This is rather a dangerous doctrine subversive of political discipline even in a modernised Muslim State like the Turkish Republic.

Mr. Leopold Weiss *alias* Mohammad Asad views with as grave alarm the fate of Europe and European civilisation as John Bunyan's Christian did on that of the City of Destruction while he was flying through its wicket-gate to save himself. And he carries with him a note of warning to the Muslims too: in his chapter on *The Tragedy of Europe* he says, "A civilisation of this kind must be a deadly poison for any culture based on religious values. Our original question, whether it is possible to adapt the Islamic way of thinking and living to the exigencies of the Western Civilisation, or *vice versa*, must be answered in the negative." (p. 9). He concludes with the remark, "As the things stand today, Islam is like a sinking ship. All hands that could help are needed on board. But it will be saved if the Muslims hear and understand the call of the Holy Quran:

"Verily, in the Prophet of God you have the best example for everyone who looks forward towards God and the Day of Judgment."

We find nothing strikingly original in this book. His views are the time-honoured views of the orthodox Ulema, and whatever weight his opinions carry may not be due to their intrinsic worth, but to the fact that being born and brought up in the best atmosphere of Christianity and Western Civilisation, he condemns both as unsuited to needs of humatiny, and particularly to Islam.

K. R. QANUNGO

EAST AND WEST: *By Gilbert Murray on Rabindranath Tagore. Published by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.*

This is a reprint of a letter of Gilbert Murray addressed to Rabindranath Tagore on the problems of international cultural understanding and the latter's reply thereto. Gilbert Murray pleads for "the formation of some great League of Mind or Thought independent of miserable frontiers and tariffs and governmental follies, League or Society of those who live the life of the intellect and through the diverse channels of art or science aim at the attainment of beauty, truth and human brotherhood." Tagore eagerly responds and while agreeing with him on the main principles he says that the problems of human co-operation must not be faced lightly but should be studied with reference to the reality of the situation. Tagore then goes on to deal with some fundamentals of the present problems of India. He denounces in no uncertain terms the one outstanding visible relationship of Europe with Asia which he says is one of exploitation and which, he maintains, has led to a decline of the human relationship with the East.

Undoubtedly two remarkable letters which will be read with interest by those who feel that in spite of the apparent failure of the League of today the solution of international problems lies that way only and in no other way.

A. N. BASU

A HISTORY OF ABYSSINIA: *By A. H. M. Jones and Elizabeth Monroe. Oxford University Press, London. 1935. Pp. VIII+188. Price 6s. Net.*

For more than a year Abyssinia has attracted the attention of the world, and the recent victories of the Italian army against the Abyssinians have again focussed it. Abyssinia was known to very few except in name. Thanks to the imbroglio still going on, it has come in the lime light, and last year it appeared somewhere to be the only topic of international importance. Enterprising publishers and authors, to take time by the forelock as it were, came out with handy volumes on and about Abyssinia to satisfy the curiosity of the public. This book also belongs to this category. Anyone, therefore, expecting anything of serious scholarship in it will be disillusioned. The busy reader will get here a running account of the history of Abyssinia from the ancient days upto the time of its publication. The book

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consists of six chapters, the first four by Mr. A. H. M. Jones, and the other two by Miss Elizabeth Monroe. The authors have, in these chapters, dwelt at length on the European contact with Abyssinia, but the Indian reader will sadly miss any reference to the fact that in the ancient and middle ages both the Abyssinians and Indians came to know and respect each other, and both had the stamp of their influence on themselves. The authors would have done well to consult the *Asiatic Researches* of the last decade of the eighteenth century where articles (one to the length of 250 pages) were published on the cultural contact between the Ancient Ethiopea and India. The book contains six illustrations, including one map drawn so long ago as 1570, and another of modern Abyssinia.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

GITA-RAHASYA OR THE HINDU PHILOSOPHY OF KARMA YOGA: *By the late Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Translated into English by Mr. Bhalchandra Sitaram Sukthankar, M.A., LL.B., Solicitor, High Court, Bombay. Published by Mr. R. B. Tilak, Poona City.*

The original in Marathi has been translated into Hindi, Gujrathi, Bengali, Kanarese, Telugu and Tamil, which speak of the matchless value of its contents.

The learned commentator has said in his preface that it may be well said that there is no other work in the whole of the Sanskrit literature, which explains the principles of the present Hindu Religion in as succint and yet as clear and unambiguous a manner as the Gita. Lokamanya's own view as regards the core of Gita's teachings is in favour of Karma Yoga or Right Action. In fact his expositions may be called "the first comparative exposition of the Gita, in support of right action".

Lokamanya Tilak upholds that philosophy of action is the prime meaning of the fundamental teaching of the Gita by adducing proofs from authoritative literature of the Hindus.

Gita certainly preaches karma but preaches also that karma is not an end but a means. All actions are performed by the qualities of Prakriti. Man thinks, "I am the doer", because he is deluded by his Ahankara (III. 27) but when a man transcends the three gunas out of which his body is evolved, he is freed from birth, death, old age and sorrow and becomes immortal (XIV-20).

To know Gita is to live the life of Gita. Gita is the actual Sadhana in life, for which erudition or scholarship is not essentially necessary but what is essentially necessary is absolute reliance on Vasudeva, leaving everything else aside and to become unattached to the World of struggle, suffering and sorrow. The way to liberation is to turn away from the outward to the inward, from the world of appearance to the divine reality. This is Gita's teaching of divine love and devotion, in which knowledge and work become one with bhakti in a supreme unification.

Thus the synthetic doctrine of Gita is clear and unmistakable. It is not mere Karma or Jnana or Bhakti alone, but it is the synthesis of work, love and knowledge. It is not mere monotheism or polytheism or pantheism or monism or any other *ism*, but it is a beautiful combination of all. It is a mistake to think that Gita teaches duty for duty's sake. Duty for the Lord's sake is the ideal taught by Gita.

The references to the slokas in the Mahabharata, Bhagavata and other books of authority are very apt and appropriate and they throw a flood of light on the subjects to which they relate.

The translation of the original book into English by Mr. Sukthankar has been very ably done and throw considerable credit on the learned translator and show the large amount of care and erudition displayed by him in carrying out the translation. The get up of the book is very nice.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

SANSKRIT

TALES FROM SHAKESPEARE (in Sanskrit). *By M. Venkataramanacharya, Sanskrit Pandit, Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram. V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, 292, Esplanade, Madras.*

The tendency of adapting in Sanskrit things pertaining to vernacular and exotic culture has been noticed in the history of Sanskrit literature from a comparatively early period. Thus a number of the sacred texts of the Confucians, of the Zoroastrians and of the Christians are available in their Sanskrit versions. Languages other than Sanskrit like Persian, Kanarese, Telugu and Kashmiri have their grammars in Sanskrit. Non-Sanskrit works have been sought to be interpreted through commentaries in Sanskrit. Of late this tendency has been manifested in attempts at translating into Sanskrit works of fiction or poetical works belonging to different languages *e.g.*, the *Gulistan*, the *Rubaits* of Omar Khayyam, poems of Tukaram, Rabindranath and others as also some of the novels of Bankimchandra Chatterji. The work under review is one of the latest illustrations of this tendency. The stories in nineteen of the well-known dramas of Shakespeare have been given here in simple and elegant Sanskrit prose in the manner of the *Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare*. One of the notable features of the work is the Sanskritisation of the proper names of persons and places found in the works of the great poet. Shylock, for instance, appears here as *Sailesa*, Portia as *Paurushi*, Venice as *Vinisa*, so on and so forth. This will have the welcome effect of giving the whole thing an Indian tone enabling the readers to enjoy the stories better. Inquisitive readers and especially students of Sanskrit might go through the book with interest and profit.

It requires to be pointed out in conclusion that this is not the first time that the tales of Shakespeare's dramas have been adapted into Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, a number of these tales were made into Sanskrit as early as 1904 by M. C. Sadagopachariar, Assistant Sanskrit Pandit, St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. The work was published at the instance of V. Venugopal Chetty, I.C.S. It is curious, however, that no reference to this publication has been made in the present work.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

VINAYA-PITAKA: *translated by Rahula Samkrityayana. Published by the Mahabodhi Society, Sarnath, Benares, 1935, Pp. ix+578. Price Rs. 6/-*

It is in the fitness of things that the Mahabodhi Society has sponsored a series of translation from Buddhist classics. This well-produced edition of Hindi translition of the Vinaya Pitaka is a welcome addition to Buddhist literatute in Hindi.

The author, who is a well-known writer, completed this work while in Tibet, within less than a month. We need not dilate here on the merits of the original in Pali, which gives up a picture of the making and the inner life of the Buddhist Church. We are concerned with the translation. The author, as he states in his introduction, has followed the text of the *Sthavivadins*,

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i.e., the orthodox school, which differs more or less from that of the others. One is impressed with the mode of translation, which, though hasty, seems to be carefully done—we may only say that our author is the man for the task. Technical words have been retained and their translation or explanation have been put within brackets—which is surely the best method in dealing with such books. Foot-notes are very illuminating and sometimes Pali commentaries are quoted. The introduction deals with textual criticism of the original. There are two maps of Vaisali. There are at the end, a list of the stories, and glossaries of names and words, which will serve a very useful purpose.

This book will surely help to bring Buddhism back to our people.

RAMES BASU

TELUGU

NAVYABHARATODAYAMU : *By Kamaraju Hanumanta Rao, Editor "East and West Series," Rajahmundry. Crown Octavo. Pages 216. Price Re. 1-4-0*

The book is refreshing in that it keeps clear of all stagnant or stereotyped notions of philosophy. It exults not in the recollections of a dead past, but traces broadly the course of a perennial flow of Hindu Dharma from time immemorial down to the present day. After a descriptive characterisation successively of the Vedic, Vendantic, Pouranic and Tantric conceptions, the author proceeds to show how, in the medieval epoch, the protestant Bhaktas like Ramananda, Kabir, Chaitanya, Nanak, Dadu, Namadev, Tuakram and Ramadass brought about a happy harmonisation of Hinduism with the spirit of Islam. In the next section, he deals with the advent of western civilization with all its forces of science and scepticism and with the contributions of Rammohun, Kesavchandra Sen, Dayanand, Ramakrishna and Besant to the then keeping of the nation's Divine Spirit in tact. The writer referring to the present times, a due warning note is sounded as to the existing socio-religious maladies, while it is brought out how, in the words of Prof. O. S. Sarma's foreward, "the spirit of our Rishis—the founders of Hinduism—still lives in a Gandhi and a Tagore, in an Aurobindo and a Radhakrishnan." As this foreward further observes about the writer, "One cannot fail to see the loftiness of his theme and the earnestness and sincerity with which he pursues it."

Only, at times the treatment lays itself open to defect of over-attention to the evolution of philosophical thought without reference to its reactions on the contemporaneous factors of practical life concerned. For example, there is little to show how far non-confirmists like Ramananda and Kabir did influence the stolid conservative elements around themselves, in the mass.

The book reads like a novel and maintains continued interest from start to finish. The style is chaste and charming. The work is the third and latest of the series to which it belongs.

A. RAJAGOPALA RAO

MARATHI

HISTORICAL SELECTIONS *from Baroda State Records Vol. I* (1724-1768). *Pp. 147; 15 annas only.*

This is a laudable attempt to compile an exhaustive source-book of the Gaekwad Raj of Baroda, one of the premier Maratha States, which arose on the ruins of the Mughal Empire in the first half of the eighteenth century. This volume contains 137 selections of which 82 are from the State Records, the rest being extracts from private collections and rare printed sources. As regards the value of the extracts we fully agree with the editor's estimate "These letters will shed a new light on the relations between the triad—the Peshwa, the Senapati and heriosm of Pilaji Gaikwad;—on the statesmanship and heriosm of Pilaji and Damaji . . . . he cannot refrain from his belief that historians will have to revise their estimate of the character and ability of Damajirao, when they have gone through these copies of archives."

It appears from some of the extracts of this volume that Brahmendra Swami, the famous Guru as well as financier of the grand military ventures of Baji Rao I was also the *Guru* of Pilaji Gaekwad and several other Maratha chiefs. But the Swami was more of a politician than an ascetic, extremely greedy and ever ready to use his influence with his powerful clients. Pilaji wished to elevate himself in social status by seeking the daughter of one Maloji as his son's bride; but Maloji remarked that Pilaji was once a *Bargir* (*i.e.*, house-hold trooper) of his family. However, Pilaji promised to give Swami silver weighed against an elephant if he would arrange the match. In a letter (no. 9) the Swamiji hurls his spiritual thunder against Pilaji for not fullfilling an impossible promise.

The extract no. 16 is a very fair specimen of Swamiji's epistlolarv style. He demands money from Damaji on the plea that he got the title of Sena Khel II through his blessings.

The Gaekwads were very scrupulous in confirming charities and religious grants to claimants, Hindu and Muslims. (Nos. 36 and 37). One Shivram Bhat Pathak *bin* Keshavram Pathak claimed hereditary rights of *Dharma-daya* (*i.e.*, religious grant) during Mughal rule in the form of an annual grant of one rupee from each village in the Petlad *pargana* and four annas per day from the octroi of Petlad and Sojitra; the Gaekwad orders confirmation. The extract no. 52 shows the hard lot of a respectable political prisoner, Jaisingh Gaekwad, who is to be given a *fowl* every eighth day only. Damaji's letter no. 80 reveals the wide reaction against Maratha rule after the disaster of Panipat even in the distant provinces of Gujrat and Cutch, where the Muhammadans, Koli chiefs Mewasi Thakurs, the Nawab of Cambay, and Kamaluddin Khan Babi in Ahmadabad rose against the Maratha government. The Gaekwads were second to none in their regard for the Brahmans, one hundred thousand of whom were to be fed on the banks of the Narmada in 1767 (no. 130). The extract no. 122 shows the high demand for services of an armour-maker (*Shikalgar*) Lad Muhammad Khan, and also for armour (*bakhtar mekhdar*) sold by Bohras and other traders at Baroda. This book contains some very important revenue rolls of Gujrat, price-sheets etc.

This volume, we hope, will find wide circulation and acceptance among scholars dealing with this period of history.

K. R. QANANGO

GUJARATI

INKILAB : *By Gunvantrai Acharya, published by the Saurashtra Karyalaya, Ranpur, Kathiawad. Cloth bound. Pp. 235. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1936).*

Rao Raidhan, an old ruler of Cutch forgetting the noble traditions of his predecessors had started a career of violence and terrorism under the advice of foreigners (Seedees). His oppression of his subjects passed all bounds and the inevitable happened. The worm turned and Mr. Rao got what he deserved. One Kashegar led the revolt (*Inkilab*) against him and it is the incidents of this revolt which are set out in stirring language in this historical novel. Every chapter of it is readable and inspiring.

K. M. J.

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I. C. S. RECRUITMENT UNDER THE NEW RULES

By Prof. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

A STATEMENT has been issued by the Secretary of State for India that some changes will be effected shortly in the methods of appointment to the Indian Civil Service. It has been pointed out that there has been under-recruitment of both Europeans and Indians during the last six years. In order to make good this shortage, which is considerable on the European side, the Secretary of State has decided to bring into the Service a number of young men, during the next few years, on the recommendation for appointment by a Selection Committee. Regular competitive examination will be waived in their case and nomination by a competent committee will be the one channel of recruitment, so far as they are concerned. Along with this temporary arrangements to meet an emergency, the Secretary of State has decided to initiate some other changes in the existing system of appointment to the Civil Service. One of them is to the effect that excepting in some extraordinary cases, the London examination will be closed to Indian candidates, for whom the competitive examination in India will be normally the only channel of recruitment. The successful candidates in the two countries wiil then be on probation for the same period of one year and undergo the same specialized training in England. This will supersede the existing practice of two years' probation for candidates chosen in India. As again, with the reduction of the period of probation to one year, the different age limits for candidates in India and Great Britain will be anomalous, the Secretary of State has announced the equalization of the conditions and the raising of the upper age limit in this country from 23 to 24.

The present ratio between Indian and European recruitment was fixed in 1924 on the recommendation of the Lee Commission. It was the Charter Act of 1833 which had declared for the first time the pious wish of the British Parliament that no man would be barred out of the Civil Service for his colour or his religion. But after eighty years of the passing of this Act, it was found, in 1913, that only 5 per cent of the members of the Indian Civil Service was Indian. The Royal Commission on the Civil Services, presided over by Lord Islington, which was holding its enquiry at the time, was urged by the Indian witnesses who appeared before it to improve the situation and devise measures for facilitating larger recruitment of Indians. The Commission which submitted its report in 1916 recommended therein that twenty-five per cent of appointments to the I. C. S. should be thenceforward made in India.[1] This recommendation of the Commission could not satisfy Indian opinion. It rather irritated it. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford had to take note of this fact in their Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms published two years later in 1918 and suggested that a greater share of the superior offices must be placed at the disposal of the Indians. Their recommendation was :

"that 33 per cent of the superior posts should be recruited for in India and this percentage should be increased by one and a half per cent annually until the periodic Commission is appointed which will re-examine the whole subject."[2]

This recommendation was brought into operation in 1921 but as the number of Indians in the Civil Service was still small, it was demanded that the question of Indianization should be opened again and a greater share of recruitment than what was ensured under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme should be guranteed to the Indians. In 1921, the percentage of Indians in the Superior Civil Service was in fact only thirteen and some step was therefore badly necessary to quicken Indian recruitment.

In 1923 was appointed the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services under the Chairmanship of Lord Lee of Fareham and the question of their further Indianization was referred to this body. It submitted its Report in March, 1924, and it recommended therein[3]

"that a proportion of 50-50 in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service should be attained without undue delay and the present rate of Indian recruitment should be accelerated with this object."

Such a proportion was necessary in the opinion of the Commission

"in order not only to carry out the spirit of the declara-

1. The Report, pp. 171-72.
2. The Report, p. 201.
3. *Ibid*, p. 18.

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tion of August, 1917, but to promote an increased feeling of camaraderie and equal sense of responsibility between British and Indian members of the Service".[4]

In order that this fifty-fifty proportion might be reached "in about fifteen years," the Commission recommended that 20 per cent of the Civil Service posts should be filled by officers promoted from the Provincial Services and as for the remaining 80 per cent it was demanded by some members of the Commission that Indians and Europeans should be recruited direct for these offices on a fifty-fifty basis.[5] It should be made clear that what the Commission most emphasized was not the fifty-fifty basis of the annual direct recruitment of Indians and Europeans. It was to the fifty-fifty proportion in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service to be reached in about fifteen years that the Commission attached most importance. If this result was attained and if 20 per cent of the annual recruitment to Civil Service posts was made from the officers of the Provincial Services, it would not matter much if more Indians were actually appointed by direct recruitment in particular years than Europeans.

It is now to be seen if by 1939 when the fifteen year period will be completed, the result contemplated by the Commission will be actually reached or not. According to the calculation of the Simon Commission, there were, on the 1st January, 1929, 894 Europeans and 367 Indians holding Indian Civil Service posts and it was estimated by this body that on the 1st January, 1939, there would be 715 Europeans and 643 Indians,[6] if annual recruitment was continued on the existing basis. In other words, on the basis of fifty-fifty annual recruitment the equality of numerical strength between Europeans and Indians in the cadre of the Service upon which the Lee Commission had put so much emphasis will not be reached. But although these figures were before the Simon Commission and although it was open to it to recommend a new principle for annual recruitment, it was not prepared to depart from the existing practice.[7] The defect which the Simon Commisison noticed but refused to rectify might have been made good by the Secretary of State if he was really eager to bring about equality between British and Indian members of the Civil Service in numerical strength. An opportunity was opened out to him by the reluctance of qualified Br young men to enter the Indian Civil Serv and by the consequent fall in the number annual British recruits. But the Secretary State has been unwilling to avail himself this opportunity. The new scheme which has announced makes it clear that the Br Government does not attach serious importa to the question of equalizing the numer strength of the Indians and Europeans in Civil Service by 1939.

The indifference of British youth tow a career in the Indian Civil Service is significant factor which should always counted in a discussion about the Indianiza of the Civil Service. Since the close of the it has been prominently before us. In middle twenties the number of British can dates fell so low that Lord Meston commissioned by the Secretary of State to round the University centres and bring h to the young University students the influ power, emoluments and glories which a ca in the Indian Civil Service usually afford As a result of this tour, there was for the being an improvement in the situation. this improvement proved to be only tempor The indifference of brilliant University towards an Indian career has in fact bec chronic.

In 1922-23 an attempt was made to t the source of this indifference to the low sa scale of the I. C. S. A hue and cry was ra that the income of the Indian Civil Serv compared most unfavourably with the em ments which were open to the European offic of the commercial houses in India. This w given out to be one of the reasons why Civil Service should become unpopular and was made consequently one of the valid exces by the Lee Commission for recommending increase in the already inflated salary of Civilians.[8] The table however was complete turned several years later. In the post-w boom period the commercial houses might hav made enormous profit and the members of th staff might have been given considerab emoluments. But with 1929 the depression se in and the crash came. The lavish bonuse and allowances were now reduced and gradual withdrawn, the salary was lowered and hand were axed. If the salary scale of the Civilian had not been increased considerably (abou twenty-five per cent) as a result of the recommendations of two successive Re Commissions, even then it would now hav

4. *Ibid*, p. 18.
5. *Ibid*, p. 19.
6. The Report, Vol. 1, p. 270.
7. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 290.
8. The Report, p. 27.

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compared most favourably with the income of the European assistants and managers of commercial firms. The unpopularity of the Civil Service on this score should have consequently disappeared long ago.

It is found that British young men who appear in the competitive examination in London almost invariably give their preference to the Home Civil Service. Only in case they fail to secure a position in the Service at home they agree to come out to India. Even then there are cases of young men who, if disappointed with regard to the Home Civil Service, turn their back altogether on a Civil Service career. They refuse to come out in any event to India. Now, excepting for the fact that they are required to spend their time in a strange climate and amidst strange environments, the conditions of service in India are far more liberal and in every sense more desirable than at home. As regards power and influence, there can be no comparison between the Indian and the Home Civil Services. It is still an incontestable fact, inspite of the existing and coming reforms, that the Indian Civil Service is the Government of the country. No Home Civil Servant can ever dream of the power and authority which the District Officers enjoy and exercise in India. As for the emoluments again, they are far higher and greater in the Indian Civil Service than at Whitehall. In England in 1931, a civil servant of the administrative class began his career on a salary of £200 a year and it did not rise in usual cases beyond £1200 (the maximum salary of an assistant secretary). The Tomlin Commission on the Civil Service, which reported in 1931, recommended that such a civil servant should henceforward start on a salary of £275 and usually close on a salary of £1,500. In other words a civil servant of the administrative class in England was to start on a monthly salary of Rs. 340 and close on about Rs. 1,700.[9] Now, contrast it with the salary scale of a British member of the Indian Civil Service. He starts under the Lee scheme on a salary of Rs. 600 per month, which rises automatically under time scale arrangement to Rs. 2,550 together with some other financial privileges in the 23rd year of service. It is in the twelfth year that a British Civilian is placed in India on a salary of more than Rs. 1700, a sum which, to be repeated, represents the highest salary in usual cases of a British Civil Servant. It may be pointed out that some of the Home Civil Servants get an opportunity of earning more than this amount. Those, for instance, who become Deputy Secretary draw a salary of £2,200 and those who are promoted to be Permanent Secretaries receive £3,000 per annum. But the number of such prize posts does not exceed forty, while administrative class comprises about 1,100 officers, excluding the staff of the Foreign Office and Diplomatic and Consular Services.[10] In India, on the contrary, beyond the maximum time scale salary there are innumerable opportunities of earning higher emoluments. The offices of Secretaries to Provincial Governments carry a salary of Rs. 2750 a month, those of the Divisional Commissioners more than Rs. 3100, those of the Member, Board of Revenue, and Chief Secretary to the Government, Rs. 3,750, those of Secretaries to the Government of India Rs. 4,000 and those of members of the Executive Councils up to Rs. 6,666. Beyond these again are the Governorships of Provinces, which also are in most cases open to members of the Indian Civil Service.

Besides high salaries, the Civilians in India enjoy other privileges of a most liberal character. They have not to contribute one farthing to their pension fund, although after twenty years of active servce they are entitled to the high pension of £1,000 per year.[11] A British Civilian again is entitled, under the Lee scheme,[12] four times in course of his career in India, to return passage to England and, if he is married, his wife is also to enjoy the same privileges. Further, one single passage is granted for each child.

If, inspite of such liberal and attractive conditions of service and inspite of the fact that communications between Europe and India have been revolutionized and the two worlds have been brought closer and nearer than any body could dream of decades ago, the best products of the British Universities do not come forward to take up their places in the Civil Service of this country, something is surely wrong with their attitude and outlook. If under such favourable coiditions they are unwilling to bear the burden of their empire and face on that account an uncongenial climate and unfamiliar suroundings, it is not surely either for the Government of India or

9. Report, Cmd. 3909, p. 105.

10. *Ibid*, p. 131.

11. Up to 1919, the Civilians had to contribute 4 per cent of their salary to the pension fund. But the Islington Commission recommended that the civilians should be exonerated from the contribution and this recommendation was accepted.

12. Report. p. 35.

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for the people of this country to regret the fall in the number of British recruits.

The British Government, however, appears to be determined to bring, at any cost, into the service European recruits according to the proportion settled by the Lee Commission. As the requisite number could not be recruited through the channel of open competitive examination, the Secretary of State has decided to resort to nomination through a Selection Committee to make good the shortage. This will be going back to a system of recruitment which has been deliberately given up by most civilized countries as inefficient, unscientific and inconsistent with democratic ideals. The principle of nomination was long in vogue in the Indian Civil Service before its replacement in 1853 by the competitive system. But it can be said, on the testimony of most competent authorities, that this system of recruitment brought into the service many officers who could hardly cope with the duties entrusted to them. The work which the Civilians had to perform in the middle of the last Century in this country might have been a bit more complex than it used to be several decades earlier but all the same it cannot be questioned that it was far lighter and simpler than it is now. But even for this type of work the Civilians sent down to India by nomination were not quite fitted. Sir George Campbell, who rose to be the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, pointed out in 1853 that many of those nominated turned out to be bad bargains and were not equal to the duties they were expected to discharge.[13] The Madras Government, called upon several years later to express an opinion on the success or otherwise of the competition civilians, was constrained to observe that so far as that Presidency was concerned the old nomination system had broken down altogether.[14]

It is true that there will be some difference between the system of nomination superseded in 1853 and that which the Secretary of State has just announced. The recruits of the Company's days were young boys still in their teens and without University education. But the young men, Lord Zetland has in view, will be Honours Graduates of approved Universities. This, however, may be in practice a difference without distinction. The Company's recruits had to pass through the Haileybury College, where they had to stay for two years in order that they might acquire considerable general education and pick up [illegible] specialized knowledge. It may be ad[illegible] that it fell far short of the general [illegible] which a high honours degree usually [illegible] But it cannot be guaranteed that the gra[illegible] who will be brought into the service under [illegible] new scheme will be really of the same [illegible] as those who usually come out successful [illegible] the competitive examinations. It is not to [illegible] assumed that the average recruits of L[illegible] Zetland's Selection Committee will be supe[illegible] in any degree to the average Haileybu[illegible] and if the latter proved to be unequal to [illegible] duties in the fifties of the last century, it [illegible] be too optimistic to say that the former [illegible] be equal to them in the fifth decade of [illegible] twentieth century.

Fifty years ago, the Public Ser[illegible] Commission presided over by Sir Ch[illegible] Aitchison wanted the Indian Civil Service [illegible] be regarded as the *corps d'elite*, employed [illegible] far as practicable, only in superior charges [illegible]

In fact it is in this capacity alone that [illegible] Civil Service has now been employed for [illegible] nigh one hundred years. Most of the [illegible] positions in the administrative organizatio[illegible] the country are filled by members of [illegible] Service. In case they turn out to be bad [illegible] gains, the *raison d'etre* of this corps is [illegible] automatically. The Indian Civil Service [illegible] its exclusive privileges can be allowed to [illegible] tinue only if it delivers the goods. If it [illegible] from its traditions of high efficiency, it [illegible] have no right to exist. Already many pe[illegible] have doubts if efficiency and devotion to d[illegible] which were the watch-words of the C[illegible] Service before the war are still the vir[illegible] which inspire all the civilians of today. T[illegible] anonymous author of the famous book, *L[illegible] Dominion*, observed in 1924 that the mem[illegible] of the Indian Civil Service were no longer [illegible] serious about their duties as they once used [illegible] be. They were only doing their routine w[illegible] and marking time. This author, as it tra[illegible] pired later on, was himself a member of t[illegible] Civil Service and was surely writing from ins[illegible] knowledge. The scepticism of the public ab[illegible] the utility of so highly paid a Service m[illegible] further grow if the new scheme remains [illegible] operation for any length of time.

Henceforward the London Examinati[illegible] will be virtually closed to Indian aspira[illegible] When the scheme is fully in operation, not m[illegible] than six Indians will be recruited in any [illegible] year in London. This announcement comp[illegible]

13. "India as it may be" (1853), pp. 255-57.
14. Parliamentary Paper. Vol. 50 of 1867, p. 352.

15. Report, p. 53.

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the circle which was begun in 1853. In that year, when the Government of India Bill embodying the provisions of competitive examination in London was introduced in the British Parliament, some members, including Lord Ellenborough who had been Governor-General of India, demanded that Indians should be debarred from this examination so that the Covenanted Civil Service might continue to be an exclusively European body.[16] Some other members again, including Lord Stanley, were of opinion that this competition to which Indians would be admitted would really be of doubtful value to them, if the examination was held only in London. They demanded that in order that the Indian aspirants might profit by it and get into the Service through it, this examination should be held simultaneously in India and England.[17] None of these two points of view were acceptable to the majority so that the Indians remained eligible for appearing in the examination, but only in London. Since then, times without number the question was raised either by the Indians themselves or by their British friends, but an examination in India was never conceded until after the close of the great war. Once (1893) even a resolution was passed by the House of Commons conceding the Indian demand, but the Government refused to give effect to it. It was the Royal Commission on the Civil Services which was appointed in 1912 under the chairmanship of Lord Islington, that recommended at last that an examination should be held in India in order to recruit a portion of the Indian Civil Service[18]—a recommendation that was given effect to three years after the conclusion of the war. But although it made this concession to Indian aspiration, it did not recommend that the London examination should be closed to Indian candidates. It could not foresee that the number of Indian candidates at London would so swell and that of the British aspirants would so shrink as to produce the result which has now compelled the Secretary of State to change the procedure.

The new rule which will practically bar out Indians from the London examination is expected of course to have a salutory effect upon the choice of Indian recruits. When the competitive examination was first held in India in 1922, the intention of the Government was only to appoint through this channel a particular number of Indians to the Civil Service. When the 50-50 basis was laid down by the Lee Commission and accepted by the Government, some new rules had to be promulgated under which the recruitment of Indians at London practically became the rule and that in India turned out to be an exception. If, suppose, twenty Europeans and fifteen Indians were chosen in London in any particular year as a result of the examination there, in January following an examination would be held in India for recruiting only five Indians so as to equalise the number. This small recruitment in India made the competition unduly keen, especially among the candidates who did not belong to the minority communities. The cadets of the latter might not stand very high in the general list but all the same they might be nominated to the Civil Service as belonging to unrepresented groups. But the candidates without such affiliations had to face severe competition to find a place among the few successful. It has been notorious during the last one decade that for Indian competitors, success has been far easier in London than in this country. Consequently any candidate who is credited with some bank balance tries a chance or two here and then leaves for London to avail himself of the last chance there. And it has actually happened in several cases that that very able candidates who stood high in the Indian examination and just failed to win a trophy had to lower their ambition and enter the provincial service, while some of their comrades standing far lower availed themselves of the London examination and found it possible to get into the Superior Civil Service. The latter may now be in charge of districts and the former may be working under them as Deputy Collectors. An anomaly of this character will be made impossible under the new scheme.

But the withdrawal of the Indian candidates from London will leave the field reserved almost exclusively for British candidates. In other words, the character of the competitive system will now be changed. Up till now it was absolutely open. Henceforward it will be rather close. This restriction will surely make for the choice of inferior recruits. It is true that under the rules the candidates falling short of a particular standard cannot be brought into the Service. But it should be known that even under the Haileybury system, the cadets had to pass an examination before they could be drafted to India. Recruitment by competitive

16. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. CXXVIII, p. 48.
17. *Ibid*, pp. 682-84.
18. Report, pp. 170-71.

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examination becomes successful, mostly because of the competition and not because of the pass examination. But in view of the fact that British young men have become indifferent to an Indian career, the absence of Indian candidates will give a death blow to the competitive arrangement. The number of British candidates of the requisite calibre is likely to be so small that there will be little opportunity for competition. Possibly all of them will have to be chosen. The competitive examination will thus reduce itself to a mere pass examination and it is therefore not wild to suppose that if the Haileybury system yielded many bad bargains, the competitive examination in London which will not be worth its name may similarly bring into the Indian Civil Service many misfits and bad bargains as well. The next few years will show if the Indian Civil Service is justifying its existence or not.

THE POLICY OF THE GREAT POWERS

By MADAME ELLEN HORUP

When the Laval-Hoare Proposals fell and Hoare with them, there was general rejoicing over the victory among all those who believed in the League of Nations or were against Fascism and Colonisation. It was obvious that the English people would not acquiese in such a breaking of the Pact and those who tried to do so fell by their action. The English conservatives took part in killing the proposals but from widely different hypotheses which had nothing whatever to do with love of the League of Nations or of Ethiopia. They were scandalised because the government had taken too little consideration of England's interests and it was they who carried the day, not the others. England's later policy has shown this clearly enough; it follows its course and steers towards its goal unaffected by the League of Nations and scandal.

Its goal, as always, is the preservation of England's supremacy in world politics. Its means, the suppression of every country whose power becomes so great that it threatens the national and imperial interests of Britain. Its alliances are concluded exclusively with that object in view.

For example, in 1902, England concluded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which in the first place was to be used to defeat Russia in the Russo-Japanese War, and later to defeat Germany in the Great War. But when in 1922, Japan had grown so strong as to become England's rival in the Pacific, the Alliance was rescinded on England's initiative.

The policy of England has not changed since the "mistake" of the Laval-Hoare Proposals. During the debate in the House of Commons on 19th December, Neville Chamberlain openly stated:

> "Although I today believe that the Proposals were a mistake, I cannot say that I would not make the same mistake again under similar circumstances."

The foreign policy of France at the moment rather tends to insure France against a war and that the *status quo* be restored and Laval's policy tends both to save the relations with Mussolini and to obtain England's co-operation. It looks as if it has succeeded.

Hitler's refusal to sign the air-agreement which England proposed to him, has possibly been the cause of England joining France and the U. S. S. R. against Germany. The Laval-Hoare Proposals ought to have united the three Allies from Stressa against Germany's plans for expansion in Central Europe. Now Italy has dropped out and the U. S. S. R. has come in instead.

A telegram in the *Washington Post* of 7th January confirms the Alliance:

> "The proposal that France should lend the U. S. S. R. 800 million francs, *i.e.*, about 52,800,000 dollars, in order to make her a stronger military ally, was brought forward by Laval. The loan was to be spread over 3-4 years and the money used to renew the railway system on the Soviet's western frontier in accordance with plans that had already been accepted by the French and Soviet officials. And the Franco-Russian trade agreement was extended for one year."

England assented to the proposal since Italy could no longer be reckoned with.

This loan means a set-back for Hitler's plans in France. His agents had the task of getting Laval to give Germany a free hand in the East, probably at the expense of the U. S. S. R., in return for Germany's guarantee of France's present frontier on the Rhine.

If this triple alliance were concluded it would naturally also be to the interests of the allies to prevent Mussolini and Hitler coming to an agreement. Therefore Mussolini was treated cautiously. Therefore Oil Sanctions wandered desolately from the Committee of Five to the Committee of Fifteen, from that to the so-called Co-ordination Committee which consisted of the Committee of Eighteen, and

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from there to the Committee of Experts, and it finally ended in two sub-committees from which it will hardly come out alive.

But then by the end of February, also the *Manchester Guardian* puts it to the Government that it realizes that by Sanctions without Oil Sanctions they have jumped out of the frying-pan into the fire:

"A possible demand to relinquish Sanctions altogether will not perhaps be made by the majority of the Conservative Party but however by not such a small section thereof which maintains that the half measures that have been chosen are even more dangerous as a genuine policy for or against Sanctions."

Thus month after month the matter goes on while Mussolini boasts of having murdered Ethiopians by the thousand. But the worst thing that has happened is that the working class is supporting a League of Nations that is pursuing a purely imperial policy.

It is Fascism that has confused the issues both in the countries where it reigns and in the others where it is threatening. Agitation as to what it will do where it has the power and fear that it will obtain foothold in their own country, has made the working class bargain with its fundamental principles of international unity against capitalism and war. The delirium of nationalism has worked as a dissolving acid upon the labour movement. It has disintegrated into as many separate national political parties as there are countries. Mussolini's war in Ethiopia has added to the confusion. Hitherto the workers had known that the League of Nations was a forum for the imperially-minded Great Powers where each Empire fought for its own interests. Now they suddenly let themselves be deluded into thinking that it was an assembly of noble government representatives believing in the League and who in the name of justice demanded the keeping of the Pact and the punishment of Mussolini for his lawless war. Although at the same time they had witnessed that the Great Powers had, without lifting a finger, let Japan conquer a district with 100 million inhabitants in China; a country that just as Ethiopia was a member of the League of Nations. And thus in every country they agreed to participate in a possible war between the one Empire and the other. Thereby the working class opposition to war was relinquished. Also the workers are now willing to enter into a new war.

They will go to war against Fascism or on behalf of the Soviet, or for both reasons. In their hatred of Fascism they have forgotten that in every war they are primarily ordered out against their own partisans in the other country. They want to limit Fascism to the other side of the frontier but they strike its victims without the least surety that they will also succeed in striking at Fascism itself.

They have forgotten that the working class of a country and the government of a country are two widely different things. While the workers are fighting for socialist state against capitalism and imperialism, government is fighting for power and profits on monopolies. If a democratic country is victorious over a fascist one, it will not be the workers who are victorious but the government of the country. The goal that is reached, if anything is attained, will not be that of the workers. It will not be the overthrow of Fascism but power and economic advantages for the capitalist upper class of the victors.

The workers have been enticed into joining the imperial governments in something that is christened 'collective.' It is called 'collective security' or 'collective peace,' but in reality it is neither the one nor the other.

The collectivity that is the basis of the League of Nations does not exist. If it were to be found then the Pact would have been maintained, the Disarmament Conference would have led to the reduction of armaments, sanctions would have been carried through and Mussolini stopped in time.

Just as before 1914 war alliances hold sway instead of collectivity. This means the temporary grouping of combatant powers with a view to the coming war. Within this grouping the Powers are constantly changing places. The groups disband and arrange themselves in new positions like the pictures in a kaleidoscope which is being incessantly turned during the process of development and the play of force. This collectivity by which the working classes have let themselves be duped, is merely 'war-alliances' bearing the label of the League of Nations.

Ever since 1925 when the foreign ministers of the Great Powers took over the leadership of the League of Nations, its policy has been just the same. It is the policy of the Great Powers, and among the Great Powers. The whole sanctions swindle goes to show this just like all the words that are spoken in order to conceal the truth. Sometimes however even the *Journal des Nations* cannot preserve the solemnity. When the 90th session of the Council had begun, the paper wrote that technically it could last until May:

"And if secret diplomacy had not done anything

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between now and May then the rainy season would help the men of good will in the Council to the solution which they both can and want to find."

In the meantime events saved the good men in the Council both from awaiting the rain in Ethiopia and finding the solution that was beyond them. Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland gave the political kaleidoscope a fresh turn and the picture changed. The war in Ethiopia disappeared and the European conflict between the Great Powers appeared.

Thereby the last chance for a better peace than the Laval-Hoare Proposals is precluded. The English and the suporters of the League of Nations will forget the scandal, Ethiopia will be divided between the Great Powers and Italy rewarded for her killing of the population of Ethiopia.

While the representatives of the Great Powers in the League of Nations are engaged bartering with Mussolini as to the price of peace at the expense of Ethiopia, the Little Powers are beginning to realize that they have fallen out of the frying-pan into the fire, with the League of Nations. It does not protect them against attack. On the contrary, it first delivers them mercilessly to the modern weapons of destruction of the Great Powers and then lawlessly to their principles of violence.

But that is not all. The Ethiopian-Italian conflict has shown to what the mock collective of the League of Nations can lead. Instead of protecting them against war, the League of Nations drives them along with it into the conflicts of the world in which they will be crushed by the Great Powers' implements of war-like corn between millstones.

Both the Norwegian Minister Halfdan Koht and the Prime Minister Mowinckel have seen the danger. In the debate on foreign affairs on the 5th of March, Mowinckel declared :

"That we can picture a war between the Great Powers through a breaking of a treaty with which we have not had anything whatever to do and in which we can see no reason for the interference of the League of Nations. In such a situation can we be forced to enter the conflict or can we choose to remain neutral?"

The breaking of the Pact by Italy and England's use of the League of Nations to force the members into collective sanctions shows that there is no choice. The question therefore is would not the Little Powers do better in leaving the League of Nations and surrendering the field of battle at Geneva to those who have the instruments of war and are willing to use them ?

Geneva, Switzerland.

'EXCLUSION' OF PART OF MYMENSINGH DISTRICT

By J. M. DATTA

SINCE the publication of my article on the 'Backward Tracts or Excluded Areas' in the April number of *The Modern Review*, the following areas of the Mymensingh district in Bengal have been excluded by Government Notification from the operation of the new Reforms :

Name of Thana.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.
Sribardi	119	93,665
Nalitabari	207	97,973
Dewanganj	166	103,225
Haluaghat	164	83,171
Durgapur	187	88,158
Kalmakanda	160	65,233
	1,003	531,425

Thus an area almost twice the area of the Howrah district, and a population equal to the combined population of Darjeeling and Chittagong Hill Tracts have been 'Excluded.'

Let us see what the Government of India says on the point in its despatch :

Mr. Cadogan's amendment of the 10th May, 1935 (in the House of Commons during discussions on the Government of India Bill), recommended the partial exclusion of the Sherpur and Susang parganas of the Mymensingh distrinct. In reply to our earlier reference the Government of Bengal opposed this recommendation. They assumed the proposal to have been made because of the presence of Garos in thse parganas. On the other hand they took the point that the total Garo population in the Mymensingh district is only 34,300 approximately out of a total population of 41,30,000. They stated that hitherto no special measures have been deemed necessary to protect the Garos in Bengal, and added that the local Government had at no time received any indication that the existing administrative system has worked inequitably for the Garos.

"On the present reference . . . the district officer of Mymensingh was not consulted.

"In the circumstances the information in our possession is less ample than further enquiry from the local Government would no doubt have elicited. The Mymensingh district lies to the south of the Garo Hills of Assam, and it is understood that of the 38,000 Garos in Bengal, 34,000 live in a strip of country in Mymensingh running along the boundary between the district and the Garo Hill district of Assam, and there in that area the other elements consist of 14,000 Hajangs, 20,000 Hajangs and 30,000 Koches."

All the same the Government of India supported Mr. Cadogan. For the supposed protection of 34,000 Garos or 98,000 depressed classes more than 400,000 otherwise qualified persons are going to be deprived of the privileges of the new Reforms.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

'Garland your poet with your Love'

The birth-day number of the *Visva-Bharati News* publishes Rabindranath Tagore's reply to the Public Address in Delhi :

In this busy season when numerous important functions crowd your days, you have against some obvious difficulties, created this opportunity to receive me in behalf of the citizens of Delhi. It is a matter of special gratification to me, because the obstacles have served only to offer emphasis to the sincerity of your love for your poet who by some lucky chance has been able to win recognition for his motherland from some of the proudest peoples of the world. I can only say in a brief sentence that I thank you from my heart.

On occasions like this the thought has often occurred to me that honour is for the dead and love is for the living. When life's reckoning has been made to the last penny, when all expectations have arrived at an inevitable finality, then only may popular honour come to the man who seems to deserve it; let it come after all deductions have been made and all items of merit survived the scrutiny of time, then let it put a last label to the fortunate name giving it a documentary value of some description. Literary honour is like a tombstone with an authoritative inscription, it solemnly tries to keep fixed with its weight a specified seat for the dead whose movements are stopped for ever. But even then how numerous are the cases that have carelessly allowed the stones to crumble and the inscriptions to fade into illegibility inspite of the initial ceremony of a triumphant trumpet blowing.

Once in a far distant time I was young. I remember to have keenly enjoyed in those days any likely prospect of earning reputation from my contemporaries and from others who may gradually fill the auditorium of the future. It takes time for wisdom to ripen and to enable one to realize that in return for any real service rendered, the best gift is not honour but love which is the most precious form of gratitude, which is not a mere repayment of debt but almost a blessing. Honour is burdensome I can assure you but love does not impose any obligations; it is free and therefore it gives freedom. Fortunately in my career as a poet I have often had my reward from my fellow-beings not merely in the shape of loud applause but through a more intimate contact of spiritual nearness. This fact had struck me with a thankful amazement in those great countries of the west where I was necessarily an alien in language and tradition. The only advantage that I possessed was that I did not have to suffer there from the compelling limitations of being nothing better than a mere British subject; whereas I met the people there on the broad platform of common humanity in an unsullied atmosphere of freedom of fellowship. I have felt that they loved me, that I was their comrade, their fellow traveller in the path of life, that they recognized me as their own and they helped me more than themselves by acknowledging my help. During that travel of mine, most memorable in my life, it came to me with the force of a revelation the truth of the fundamental unity of man. I decided to cherish this truth in the heart of Santiniketan and inspite of the painful twisting of our hearts' cords through all the tension of unnatural relationship, we have been able to keep open in our institution the channel of intercommunication of hearts, the hearts separated by differing circumstances, racial and historical. I have constantly been helped in this task by the thought that this is the highest ideal of human truth as preached by India when she said '*Atmavat sarva bhuteshu ya pasyati sa pasyati*.' It has strengthened my conviction to know that such ideals carrying eternal and universal value have been established in human history by those *Mahātmas*, the great souls, who never bent their knees to political magnates or votaries of wealth but have often risen from the races of ragged fraternity, obscured by utter indigence, stricken by mailed fists and hounded by wielders of kingly sceptre. And they have yet gloriously survived the evanascent glitter of all power and pomp by centuries of civilizaton. Delhi is the one great city which keeps in her ruins and rubbish heaps this lesson about the vastly different values of facts, one of which is represented in the history of those who have offered us the elixir of life everlasting, and the other of those who have the invincible power to smite us to the dust through all the various mediums of devastation. Today our salutations are for those great saints, Kabir, Nanak and Dadu, who realized God's love in man's love; while the incessant stream of countless salams laving the foot of the thrones, carrying on its glistning waves the object humiliation of ages has vanished into the void, and those thrones burst like bubbles. Let us know for certain that the record of our own history of Modern India is also being kept in Time's archives and the names that will ever shine in its page are some that are hushed today in awesome silence and others execrated by the mighty.

My friends, let me conclude this address by requesting you not to burden me with honour, which so often is heavily padded with a great proportion of unreality, but garland your poet with your love. No more hand-clappings but warm hand-claspings; bring the healing balm of sympathy to alleviate the intelerable weariness of the last few miles of my life's journey. Now when the lonesome toil of nearly forty years of my mature days has approached its end, do not dismiss me off cheaply with promises of memorial meetings when I am no longer amongst you, offer me succour even now when I sorely need it and leave my memorial in my own hands and Time's judgment.

Beautiful Unity

'When we speak of synthesis and of the symphony of life, we shall not avoid powerful and enthusiastic expressions.' Writes Nicholas Roerich in the *Young Builder* :

Colour, sound and fragrance are corner-stones of great synthesis. From times immemorial people have

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felt the great inner meaning of these expressions of the human soul.

Let us not dwell here on the deep significance of art for human life—this axiom should be clear to everyone. But nowadays we must especially stress the meaning of synthesis and symphony of life. Synthesis will be understood by every-one to whom is close the concept of Culture. . . . Where the human spirit has travelled towards Culture—that is to say, the Cult of Light—there one may already find co-operation and understanding on the basis of synthesis. . . . All these domains of synthesis and symphony are uplifting and lead to the summits.

Create, Create and Create! Create in daytime, create at night; for creation in thought is as essential as our physical expression. In this creativeness you shall overcome the most hideous habits of vulgarity, triviality and quarelling.

On the same path towards the summits, man will understand the true meaning of *Guruship*. From the depth of darkness one can hear at present disgusting cries: "Down with culture," "Down with heroes," "Down with teachers." It is a shame on humanity, but such outcries of crass ignorance one witnesses even now-a-days. But he who thinks of such a refined conception as colour and sound, culture and harmony, he will understand the infinite Hierarchy of Beauty and Knowledge and having ascending the majestic stairs of achievement, he will lead also the pilgrims of life following behind.

Around creativeness there must be this perpetual feeling of youth, which gives incessant striving towards heroism. He who never ceases in this ascension, never becomes old.

The Formative Faculty of Poetry

Miss Margaret Sherwood, professor emeritus of English Literature at Wellesley College, U. S. A., in an article in *The Aryan Path*, speaks of poetry as exercising an influence most potent in helping shape human life into beauty:

Genuine poetry meets the finer needs of every day life, for here the deeper experience of the race is revealed in a way to make its meaning most apparent, crystallized into concreteness. In it the inner life of individual and of people has found its profoundest and most beautiful expression. It translates thought and feeling into concrete beauty of phrase, so that he who runs may read, and take heart in assurance of the deep meanings in life, transcending the ephemeral. It finds ways of expressing the eternal realities of life in terms of every day existence, in which the five senses play so large a part.

The apprehension of infinite significance has, in English speech, found more compelling expression in poetry than in philosophy pure and simple, for English genius is not for the abstract; it demands the concrete, the tangible. Not until Carlyle put into whimsical concreteness of form the idea of Nature as the garment of God did the conception of a world soul, informing, permeating all that is, become apparent to English readers.

Originating in humanity's early beginnings, poetry holds within it something of the first quickening of thought and feeling, however far it may keep pace with the more fully developed mind and emotion of a later day. Its music is something fundamental in the human being; soul and sense, thought and feeling are one in response to its quickening.

So poetry reaches far back in human life, reaches far out from man to fellow man, reaches far down into inner depths of being, all-embracing. The poets of the world have gathered up and wrought into beauty of enduring form a great heritage of race experience, individual experience in successive ages, for the behoof of those who live the life of every day. Great poetry is as unerring in divining and expressing the deeper thought, the profounder experience of its period as it is in ignoring the merely ephemeral fashions of thought and feeling, its trival dogmatisms, its lighter dicta.

Hindu Contribution to Muslim Arts and Sciences

The following is an excerpt from an article in *The Vedanta Kesari*, showing a close and detailed study of the cultural contact between India and the Muslim World, from the pen of Prof. M. A. Shustery who is of Persian nationality and is the Professor of Persian in an Indian University:

During the Abba-side rule, the capital of Muslim Empire, was transferred from Demascus to Baghdad, which became the great centre of Muslim learning. Scholars from distant countries were invited. Among them, the following were Hindus:

(1) Manka (Manikya or Manick) noted physician and philosopher. He was well acquainted with Persian and Sanskrit and translated the books on poison, written by Shanuk, another Hindu scholar, into Persian. His first visit to Mesopotamia was during the reign of Harun-ur-Rashid, the famous Khalif. Learning the fame of the Khalif, he paid a visit to Baghdad and soon made himself popular and respected in learned society. He cured the Khalif from a disease which could not be successfully treated by the local physicians.

(2) Saleh, son of Bahlah, a great scholar in Ayurvedic system of medicine. He became famous when he cured Prince Ibrahim (cousin of the Khalif) who was thought to be dead by other physicians, and was about to be buried. Saleh prevented the burial and treated and cured the apparently dead body. Afterwards he embraced Islam and lived in the high favour of the Court.

(3) Dhan, an Indian physician employed in Barmakiah Hospital of Baghdad. His son became the chief physician of the same hospital and translated a number of books from Sanskrit into Arabic.

(4) Shanak (Chanakya), a physician and philosopher. He was the author of the following, translated into Persian and Arabic: (*a*) The book of poisons in five discourses. This book was translated and commented upon by several scholars such as Manka, Abu Hatim, Balkhi (who wrote a commentary at the command of Yahya, son of Khalif) and lastly by Abbas, son of Saeed Jauhari; (*b*) a book on astrology and astronomy, (*c*) another on morals, entitled Muntahul-Jawahar; and (*d*) a fourth work on veterinary art.

(5) Kan-kah or Kan Kiraya, physician and astronomer, was the author of the following works, which were translated into Arabic: (*a*) Unnamudar fi A'mar or the Book on Age; (*b*) Israr-ul-mawalid or the Secret of Nativities; (*c*) Qirantulkobir and Qirantul-saghir or the Great and Small Cycles of the Year; (*d*) Ihdasut-Alem vad-daur-e-fil-Qiran or the Begining of the World and Revolution in conjunction; (*e*) Kanash or the Book on Medicine; and (*f*) Book on Mesmerism.

Among the important Indian works translated into Arabic are these: (1) Surya Siddanta on astronomy was popular among Muslim scholars, and through them

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reached Spain and thence found its way to the interior of Europe. It was divided into four chapters. (2) Khandakhodyaka, also a work on astronomy. (3) Charak (Charaka-samhita) was translated first into Pahlavi and re-translated into Arabic by Abdulla, son of Ali. Charaka was a moralist, philosopher and the court physician to King Kanishka. The work Charaka-samhita consists of eight parts covering the whole field of medical science known in those days. (4) Sandhashan (?) or the Essence of Success, was translated by the son of Pandit 'Dhan' into Arabic. (5) Nidan, an important Indian work on pathology, which continued to be an accepted authority by all later authors on the subject, contained diagnosis and treatment of all diseases known at that time. (6) Pancha Tantra and Hitopadesha were re-translated from Pahlavi into Arabic by Ibn-e-muquffa.

The name of Susruta was known to Muslims in the 8th and 10th centuries as a great physician. Susruta and Charaka were translated into Persian and Arabic as early as 800 A.D. During the middle ages down to the 17th century Arabian medical science remained authoritative among European physicians and through Arabic works Indian medical writers also became known to the West. Besides Surya-Siddhanta, other Indian works on astronomy and astrology were also translated, and most probably the famous Hindu writers on the said subject, such as Varahamihira, Srishena, Aryabhatta, Brahmagupta and others were known to Muslim scholars. With the conquest of Sindh and the Punjab by Muslims, particularly after the repeated invasions of Sultan Mohammed, the Muslims came in direct and close contact with Indians, and by influencing each other the work of amalgamation of Hindu-Muslim culture progressed during the rule of the Khiljis, Tughluqs and Lodhis. Under Sikandar Shah, for the first time, Hindus began to study Persian, which continued and reached its perfection during the rule of the Moghuls, when Persian was about to become the *lingua franca* of India. Among the famous Muslim scholars in Indian literature and philosophy is Abu Raihan-al-biruni, who studied Sanskrit and the vernaculars spoken in the Punjab. Biruni soon made himself known to Hindu learned men who gave him the honourable title of Vidya-sagar. His books contain valuable information on Indian philosophy, history, customs, etc.

The Indian works so far translated into Arabic were on medicine, astronomy, astrology, music, mathematics, fiction, moral stories and ethics but under Muslim rulers of India, from the time of Biruni, philosophy, mythology, history, religion and other subjects were also included among the translations. Amir Khusroe, the famous poet, who lived under the Slaves, Khiljis and Tughluqs, was one of the best scholars in Indian music. He knew Hindi as spoken in his time so well that he could compose verses in that language. Among the Slave rulers, Ghiasuddin Balbun and Nasar-ud-din Mohmmed were patrons of learning. Ferux Shah found a large collection of Sanskrit books in Nagarkot and ordered some of them to be translated into Persian. Lodhi kings had Indianised themselves by adopting Indian language and customs. The example of the Lodhis was followed by the Moghuls, particularly by Akbar and his descendants.

Women in Hindu Law

Opening the Saraswati Hall of the Poona Law College, Her Highness the Maharani Gaekwar, analysed the subordinate position occupied by women in Hindu Law and stressed the need for reform of the same. The excerpt is taken from the address as published in *The Scholar* :

You know that according to Hindu Law the joint family comprises only the male members of the family; a woman is not a co-parcener, but a mere dependant, with no rights of ownership in the joint property; and that when she has the misfortune to become a widow she is entitled only to maintenance and residence.

You will not wonder that now I suggest to you that, if law is to maintain those principles of justice and equity, if it is not to lag stupidly behind in the progress of civilization, some changes must be made in the law governing the aspects of the joint family system I have cited. First, a widow must be raised from that degrading position in which the receipt of maintenance from the joint family puts her; and it seems to me that the only way in which this can be accomplished is by making the widow of a deceased co-parcener, a co-parcener herself. So she would enjoy all those rights which are at the present time enjoyed only by the male members of a joint Hindu family. This would give her the most important right of asking for a partition of the joint property. As the law stands she can only have a share when a division of property is made among her sons; she is not herself entitled to ask for a partition. I know the kind of argument which is brought against this reform,—that it will jeopardize the security of the joint holding so that the security which the joint holding of property is designed to give will no longer be well founded. But such an argument is that of a reactionary, a die-hard, and not reasonable, since there is no reason to suppose that a widow will want only ask for a partition which she knows would lessen the value of the joint holding any more than a man. With the acquiring of the status of a co-parcenery, she should also I think, acquire the sense of co-parcenery's responsibility. There is no reason to suppose that the suggestion I have made, while it would undoubtedly much improve the status of widows in our society, would not constitute anything but a gain to that society.

I come next to consider the law of inheritance, as it affects the position of a widow with regard to the self-acquired property of her husband. The law allows the widow to inherit only when there are no sons, grandsons, or great-grandsons to whom the property may descend. For those who think that the present right of the widow to maintenance at the hands of the joint family is equable, the descent of all property of her husband to the male members of the family will seem meet and right. But a just view will see that the widow has an even stronger claim to rights of inheritance equal with those of her son, grandson, or great-grandson, where the property in question was the separate possession of her husband, than she has to be a co-parcener. Only the most jaundiced eye would refuse to see the undeniable claim of a widow to inherit her husband's private property equally with her son, his son, or that son's son The plea is not for mercy but for justice.

Unemployment among the Educated Classes in India

Dr. B. N. Kaul, Chairman of the Department of Economics, Aligarh Muslim University, analyses the problem of unemployment among the educated classes in India and treats the subject systematically in the *Financial Times* :

It is necessary to emphasise that from the point of

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view of economic analysis it has to be kept in mind that the 'educated' class has a standard of living considerably higher than the general population and that its productive efficiency is also higher, but probably not in the same proportion as its standard of living.

As regards 'unemployment', the chief fact to which it is necessary to draw attention is that 'unemployment' should be thought of in relation to the standard of living. If a person fails to earn on an average an income at least equal to his standard of living he is partially unemployed.

No society can maintain large numbers at a standard of living markedly higher than the standard of living of the mass of population. If the number in any higher income grade rapidly increases the income of that class as a whole will not increase in the same proportion, and this will lead either to unemployment in that class or to a decline in the standard of living or to both.

I think it is not at all an extravagant estimate to put the figure of annual increase of the educated class at 5 per cent.

The population in India has grown during the last decade at about 1 per cent and at a much lower rate during the previous decade.

Even if it is granted that the national income has increased in proportion to the population or even at a considerably higher rate, the condition of the population does not justify the belief that it has grown at a rate any where near 5 per cent per year or at a rate five times the growth of population. Probably the national income has not grown at a rate very much higher than the rate of growth of population. The natural consequence is that the share of the national dividend going to the educated class has not increased in proportion to the increase in the number of educated persons, leading to widespread unemployment and creating a tendency for the deterioration of the standard of living.

In a country like India where so few are educated, it seems absurd to talk of restricting education. . . . There are only two alternatives by which employment can be secured for the educated class—(1) either steps should be taken to divert a large share of the national dividend to this class or (2) to increase the total national dividend.

The former of these alternatives is not likely to lead to remarkable results under Indian conditions.

The only method, therefore, by which employment among educated persons can be improved is to increase the national dividend of the country. Relief of unemployment even among a small section of the population in so poor a country as India is really a question of organising economic development. Any other measures can be effective within a very limited range.

At present an extensive and elaborate system of state regulation is being built up haphazard, successive measures being determined by emergencies and by successful pressure of sectional interests, and neither related to any general scheme nor co-ordinated among themselves. Such a system is bound to be wasteful and inefficient. It is only by economic planning that the Government can succeed in adopting measures effective enough for the relief of unemployment and can prevent wasteful and inefficient use of resources for the purpose of economic development.

Tagore and Young Assam

Chamkad Balankura, a Siamese student at Oxford, sends, on behalf of Young Siam, on the birthday of Rabindranath Tagore, their greetings to the poet. The following is reproduced from the *Visva-Bharati News*:

In the days when Asia was at the height of her civilization, Siam looked to India for her inspiration. Buddhism was transplanted to the fertile soil of Siam, where it took root and blossomed into the flowers of Siamese culture. A few centuries ago the dynamic force of our civilization had spent itself; our people sank deeper and deeper into the slough of taboos and traditions. The critical spirit was lost, and authority was accepted with mechanical obedience.

Even the contact with the West did not shake us out of our age-long slumber, but gradually the awakening came from inside. India, or, to be more precise Bengal, was with one fling hurled across the dark years of the 'Middle Ages' to the dawn of the Modern Times, lit up by the light of reason.

To an outsider and particularly a European, Rabindranath Tagore is a mystic saintly poet, out of touch with the modern age and critical of its genuine achievements. There is nothing further from the truth than that picture of the poet; not only in his poetry but in his great life of action, Tagore has established the balance between the ancient ideals of the East and this new era of civilization, which we are all seeking in Asia today. He has completely remodelled the Bengali language and made it a vehicle for expressing the most recent developments of thought; he is the maker of modern India. Under his guidance, India has arrived intellectually at the front rank of modern civilization. That does not mean that the initiative and achievement which he has already brought can stop, that strenuous efforts have not to be made to lead our humanity to a new synthesis. On the contrary, he has brought the challenge of re-awakening to the whole of Asia.

For a few centuries, Siam has lost touch with India, the source of her inspiration. We have turned to Europe. We have already gone very far in accepting from outside, ignoring the essential need of strengthening the foundations of our civilization. The time has come, when we should resume our relation with India—when we should discard those alien elements, which cannot be absorbed into the texture of our own civilization, and develop our own. Through Santiniketan, we hope to carry out our plan.

On the seventy-fifth anniversary of Rabindranath Tagore's birthday, I send him on behalf of Young Siam our salutations and our wishes for many more years of service to humanity.

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Dear Reader

Since we addressed our first letter to you last month, the world has moved on a great deal. You have no doubt noted that bare facts in the form of news headlines and terse reports. But what of the ultimate significance, to India in particular and the World in general?

Science having annihilated space and time to an unbelievable extent within the course of a short decade, World movements now proceed at too dizzy a pace and in too rapid a sequence to allow for reasoned thought by the news-reader. There is too much distraction within too short a time. For example, in the course of last five months, the world's attention was focussed successively on Ethiopia, Japan, Greece, Rhineland, the Pacific Islands, Ethiopia again and now Palestine and Austria. Each of these happenings was of vital import to the world of Politics and as such to India.

There can be no doubt that a World-crisis is imminent—indeed we have already entered into it—and that India is vitally concerned. And that is why we feel that our readers—who constitute a most influential group in India—should be brought in closer touch with world affairs, in order that some measure of preparedness be attained. In our present condition, if we are plunged blindfold into another titanic struggle, it will mean absolute havoc and disaster, not only to India in general, but to all Indians individually.

It is the primary function of a monthly paper like The Modern Review to interpret news and to a certain extent forecast the trend of events. This we have been doing for the last thirty years in respect of Indian news and events of all kinds. We believe we shall be equally successful in maintaining a high standard with regard to our new venture in the enlargement of our scope, provided we receive the necessary response from our readers. We have great faith in the staunchness of our supporters, and we believe as soon as they realize the importance, response will pour in. Response has already begun, and we confidently hope that it will increase manifold and become general, thereby enabling us to complete our arrangements within a short time.

Dear Reader, have you had time to read the previous letter? If not please read that as well as this one. All that we ask of you is to send us the name of one or two of your numerous friends, who would like to join the list of our constituents. There is no obligation on your part beyond obtaining their consent prior to sending us their names.

The Editor and Staff of the Modern Review.

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The Manager, THE MODERN REVIEW

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Dr. Nicholas Roerich, the world-famous Artist, Explorer and Orientalist, says :

DEAR MR. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE,

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Having returned after an almost two years' expedition in Central Asia, I was again glad to see in my library the excellent magazine under your enlightened editorship. Please accept my heartiest greetings and best wishes.

November 8, 1935. (Sd.) N. ROERICH

The opinion of the late **Lala Lajpat Rai,** as expressed in an address to the Hindusthanee Students' of U. S. A. in March, 1916 :

I would advise every Indian student to reserve three hours a week at least to the study of Indian literature or literature relating to India. This does not include newspapers. Every Indian student in this country should read the Modern Review (Calcutta), and it should be the business of the different chapters of the Hindusthanee Students' Association to supply it to the members.

Sir Michael Sadler, *Vice-Chancellor, Leeds University,* wrote to the Editor :

If it is not unbecoming, I should like to congratulate you on the Modern Review and not least on the Editorial Notes. The Review is one of the "live" periodicals of the world.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika says :

The "Modern Review" as a monthly periodical has established an unrivalled reputation in India and has already taken a foremost place as a vehicle of the Indian cultural renaissance. The fact that it is classed as one of the world's best eight journals in the English language entitles it to be recognized as a cultural asset of immense value.

The Leader of Allahabad says :

Of all Indian periodicals The "Modern Review" easily holds pride of place.

Commerce, Feb. 29, '36, says :

Like good wine, this foremost monthly Journal of India, edited by the Veteran Journalist, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, needs no bush. The February [1936] issue maintains the high standard hitherto associated with the publication. . . . .

The Sind Observer says :

With the January, 1936, number of The "Modern Review" (Calcutta) opens the 59th volume (half-yearly) of that splendid magazine which mirrors the culture of India, specially of Bengal, and gives a bird's-eye view of the progress of the world from month to month. The magazine under the able editorship of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has come to the forefront in the journalistic world on account of the wide scope it covers in the field of art, literature and politics.

Dr. J. T. Sunderland of New York, than whom there is no greater friend of India in the West, says :

I have long had in mind sending you [the Editor] some brief words expressing my high appreciation of the monthly magazine which for so many years you have edited and published. It is a constant wonder to me on account of the breadth and wealth of its contents, covering as it does, and with such intelligence, the wide fields of politics, history, literature, art, education, economics, industries, social reform and religious reform. I speak with care when I say, that we do not have in America, nor is there in England, any monthly review that covers so wide a field, and does it with such accuracy of scholarship and at the same time so interestingly.

I regard *The Modern Review* as not only an invaluable asset to India; but as a messenger to the outside world, the importance of which increases with every year of its publication.

The Manager, **THE MODERN REVIEW**
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA.

Dear Sir,

Please enlist the following names as subscribers to **The Modern Review.** They have expressed their desire to that effect to me.

Yours truly

Signature.....

Subscriber No......

Subscription for $\frac{\text{Six months}}{\text{one year}}$ from ..... $\frac{\text{to be collected by V.P.P.}}{\text{has been Sent Per M.O.}}$

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Please write in Block letters.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

What Shall We Do with the Criminal?

In noticing in *The Inquirer* a biography of Thomas Matt Osborne who tried to impart a new spirit and a new outlook into penology and in his concrete experiments as Warden of the Sing Sing Prison in New York, showed what could be actually accomplished given courage and vision, Reginald W. Wilde indicates the lines along which prison reform might move: these are closely in line with what Osborne himself desired, and in some cases, attempted.

Opportunity for Self-expression: Paper and pencil might surely be allowed, even admitting the danger that occasionally a note might, through a bribed warder, find its way outside. (In any case, a warder open to such temptation would not be stayed for want of writing material.) Lectures and concerts might become the accepted thing in all prisons, and of much more frequent occurrence than hithereto. Meals served in common, and allotted periods for quiet conversation, again, are surely humanities associated with any state of normalcy. Danger of plotting is real enough, and prison riots are fearful things. But the risk is worth taking, while, as Osborne believed and actually demonstrated, better conditions themselves lessen the incitement to revolt.

Self-government: This was Osborne's own and greatly daring venture. . . . He applied it, and successfully, with results surpassing the hopes of the most optimistic, and among a population far larger, and far more dangerous, than any single English prison contains. It is a venture which only great men would contemplate. But only great men are really fitted to deal with society's unfortunates.

New Type of Personnel: Some day, again, we shall learn that here, as with the mentally deficient, lengthy training for the rank and file, and the introduction of highly qualified officials at the top, is an indispensable requirement in prison service. At the moment the usual prison governor is a retired army officer, while the usual warder is a man of no education and no wide experience of life. If we were really in earnest about the reform of the criminal, we should surely see to it that those having care of him were at least trained in psychology and sociology.

Larger Opportunity for righting Grievances: Prisoners rarely appeal. If they do, they are marked men, and their life henceforth is misery. And their appeal goes, in the ordinary way, to the governor, who acts generally on the assumption that his officers can do no wrong, while the hearing of such an appeal takes on too much the character of a law court, and the uninitiated (which means the average prisoner) is too much at a disadvantage even to state his case convincingly. That gross physical violence is by no means unknown in prisons any prisoner who has served a six months' sentence will be able to testify. This is not at all to imply that prison warders are, as a class, abnormally brutal or sadistic. They are the victims of a system.

Shakespeare under Hitler

A violent controversy over Shakespeare has arisen in Germany, reports *The Living Age*.

It was started by a certain Hans Rothe, who has been trying for many years to replace the 'classic' and almost sacred Schlegel-Tieck translations by his own, which attempt to present Shakespeare in a modernized version. The Schlegel-Tieck translations have been the most successful among the scores of Shakespeare translations of the last one hundred and fifty years. Rothe claims that these romantic translations have now lost their popularity, and he has been trying for some ten years to put over his own version of Shakespeare, which, he maintains, is better adapted to the present-day mind, as well as to the modern stage. He attempts to present the genuine Shakespeare, freed from all the dross of inferior co-authors. His theory on this latter point is based largely on the so-called 'sound-analysis' of Professor Eduard Sievers, who has devised a method of analyzing the sound and has found that each writer's diction is just as unique as a fingerprint, thus rendering it possible to distinguish the styles of one writer from another. Rothe is supported by the German producers, who to a large extent play his versions (although they have to pay royalties for them, while the old versions, of course, are free of charge. He is strongly opposed by philologists, academicians and a large number of critics who charge that his German is slangy and his methods semi-scientific.

And even on an unpolitical subject as this, no difference of opinion will be tolerated. Recently Dr. Gobbels, Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, *The Living Age* informs us, announced that he was about to appoint a committee to decide once for all which translations should be sanctioned. Perhaps it will be made unlawful to use the translations which lose out?

Journalism Under Dictatorship

The material published below (translated by *The Manchester Guardian* from an Italian anti-Fascist newspaper published in Paris and reproduced here from *The New Republic*) strikingly demonstrates how the daily press is muzzled in Italy. Here are some of the secret instructions (we reproduced similar ones on a previous occasion) issued by the Italian Government to all the newspapers of that country during a few days early this year:

January 28.—In the news from London and Paris avoid any allusion which might seem unpleasant for Germany.

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January 31.—Do not attack the Sarraut Cabinet.

February 1.—Reproduce in full the Appeal to the Students published in the Popolo d'Italia.

It is forbidden to reproduce facts and photographs from the memorandum on Abyssinian atrocities presented by Italy to the League of Nations.

Do not give news of a supposed meeting of French and English admirals at Malta.

February 11.—Do not mention German armaments and do not speak of a German peril. Revise in this sense your message from abroad.

Reserve concerning oil. No comments.

Revise messages from abroad and cut out any eventual statements which—in speaking of the attitudes of other States—might reveal what our own attitude towards the embargo is.

February 12.—Do not report, as several newspapers have done, news from abroad of a supposed attack by Seyoum on Makale, with particulars coming from an Abyssinian source.

It has been decided that the embargo on oil is not to be spoken of. Above all, no prognostications are to be made. Prognostications made abroad are not to be published.

February 13.—No more news is to be given about the sequestration of Italian goods in the ports of "sanctionist" countries (lemons, artichokes, etc.).

A detached attitude and great objectivity with regard to the project of settlement of the Danube territories.

Indian Pacifism

Writing in *The Isis*, Amiya C. Chakravarty suggests that on the question of war and peace India has on the whole shown her essential humanity—on the sunlit plains of India peace has reigned unique in the heart of the multitude :

The epics of India, I think, prove this. It is certainly true that the Odyssey or the Iliad contains no such heroes as those in the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana;* in the latter the men of peace loom larger than the titanic conflicts; again and again the chronicles of military outburst are dwarfed by mighty acts of peace, by some event of religious significance, by denunciation of the whole machinery of manslaughter.

Even in the description of that fierce internecine conflict in the *Mahabharata*, be it noted, the monstrosity of war is brought clearly home by the method of presenting its events—a method which Euripides would have appreciated. The massacre is seen through the eyes of the blind king *Dhritarashtra*, who with the queen by his side has to listen in agonised helplessness to the fresh details of slaughter. Ranged against each other are his own fierce rapacious sons laying the land to waste, and his nephews, who are on the whole fighting a defensive war to maintain the rule of law. Kinsmen of the same royal house of *Kuru*, bound by complicated loyalties, have been driven to opposite camps; tribal levies, clans, conscripted hordes have enlarged the scope of fratricide. So that victory or defeat on either side, in each battle, means the same irredeemable loss to the blind king.

And that, of course, is a true analysis of loss in every war, wherever it occurs.

Literature in Abyssinia

The Living Age publishes a brief survey of a new literary movement afoot in Abyssinia :

Although this is not generally known, Abyssinia has a rich literary tradition. But ever since the 17th century, when it had reached its height, Abyssinian literature had been the monopoly of the Church, made still more inaccessible to the general public because of the traditional use of the extinct language of Geez. The new generation is trying and apparently with definite success—to take literature out of the hands of the church and popularize it. All the new books are written in Amharic. There is a very definite strain of reform in them : the writers are obviously attempting to introduce various reforms to the masses. For that reason the novels have a utilitarian character and are somewhat didactic and pedagogic in tone.

In poetry you may notice the same progressive tendency, praise of learning and reviling of blind tradition. Verses poking fun at the Church are much in vogue nowadays, as are long eulogies of emancipation.

The Abyssinian intellectuals take their mission very seriously. They burn with desire to enlighten their countrymen and to bring them into contact with Western culture.

Firewalking in Mysore

Firewalking has attracted particular attention owing to a recent demonstration held in London by Khuda Bux, a Kashmiri. Leonard Handley, who witnessed one such demonstration in Mysore and describes it in the *Asia*, remarks that firewalkers temporarily possess that great faith which "will move mountains":

At the Mysore rite the firewood was piled at the edge of a large open space. The evening before the ceremony the *guru*, the officiating priest, walked round the stack of wood, performing a *puja*. The next morning, the stack of wood, reduced to ashes, was thrown into the pit prepared for the ceremony. The firewalk is usually twelve feet long, three feet wide and three deep.

Those who were to participate in the ceremony spent the night in a state of religious exaltation. When they arrived at the pit, around which several thousands had gathered, they attended one last puja and, as they executed a final dance almost within singeing distance of the pit, many cast sidelong glances of dismay at the hot embers.

The *guru* blew upon the sacred conch and the ashes were raked with an eight-foot pole and fanned to a white heat until the fire burst into flames. At this moment the sacred bulls were led round the fire, the drums began to throb and the tension of the crowds became acute. To the roar of the drums the guru then stepped into the hot ashes. He was followed by those who had decided to perform this act of devotion or penance.

Most of the firewalkers collapsed hysterically and had to be supported by their friends—but their feet showed no evidence of burn, not even minor blisters, nor were the ends of their trailing garments scorched. I was told that no ointment or medicine is applied to protect the soles of the feet but that any one who walks through the fire in a spirit of bravado will suffer terrible burns. It is beyond my modest power to explain this phenomenon, about which doctors disagree, but in my opinion it is a striking example of the domination of mind over matter.

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Firewalking in Mysore

Led By their priest, Firewalkers of Mysore pass through the hot ashes

The Ecstasy mounts with the crescendo of the drums

The *Guru* summons the firewalkers with his Conch

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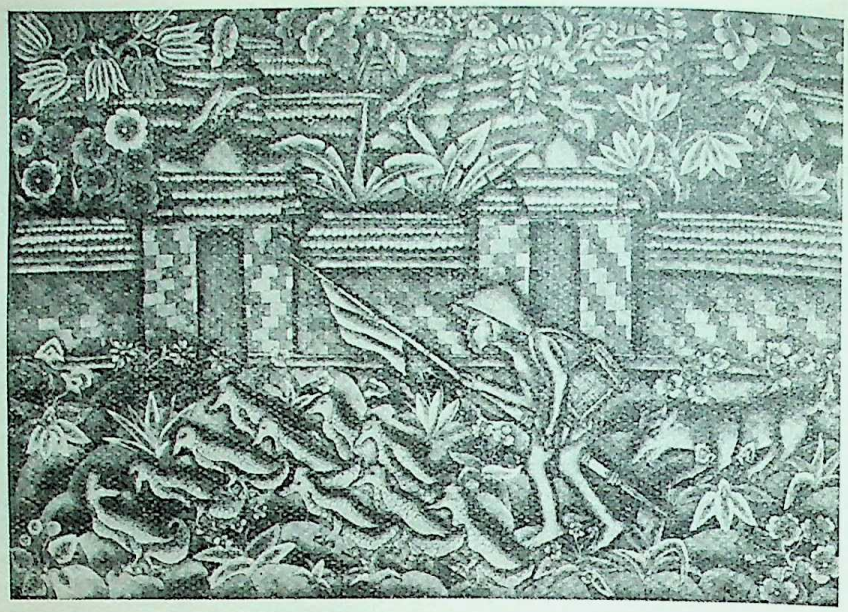
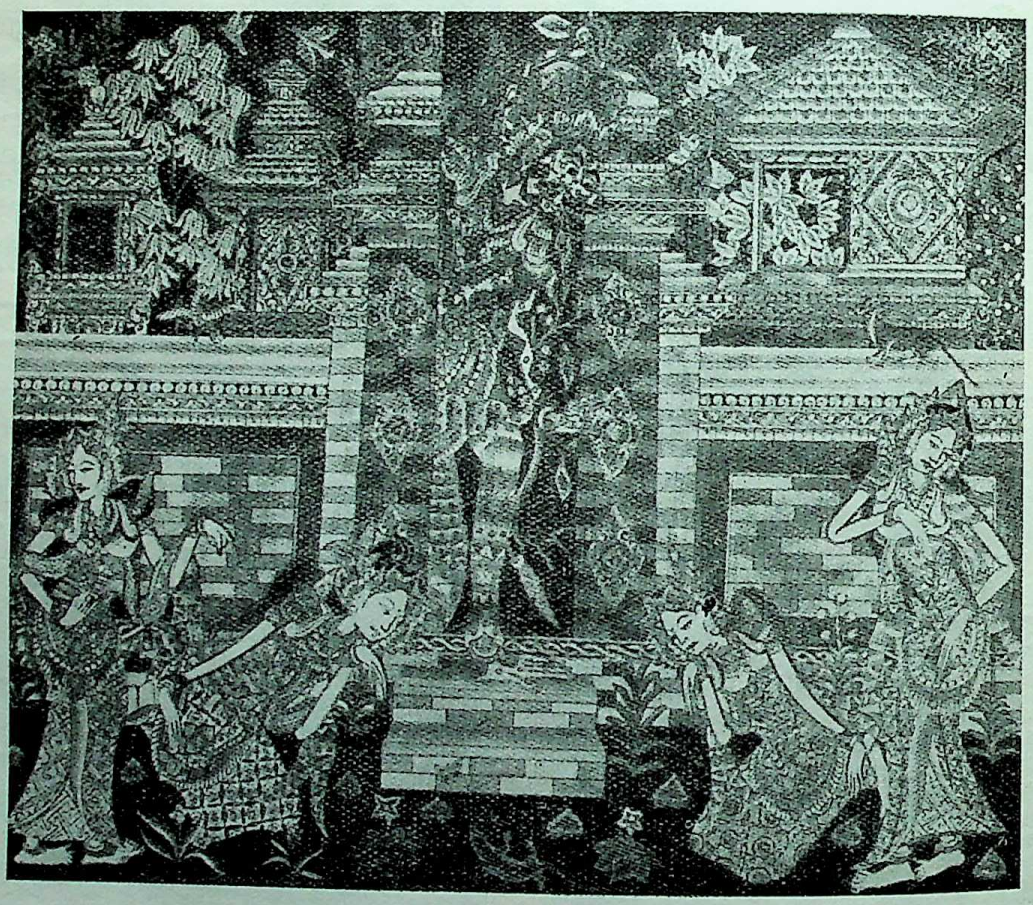
Contemporary Art in Bali



The Goose Boy
This is an example of the tendency of many Balinese artists to devote themselves to everyday motifs



With the advent of the Foreigner, new influences are modifying the arts in Bali. The lacelike technique of this drawing and of many like it, has features in common with Beardsley's *Rape of the Lock* illustrations. The rules of perspective are ignored, dodged, or not understood. [Courtesy : *Asia*

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GLIMPSES OF ANDHRA-DESHA

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

After a week's, fortnight's or month's visit, globetrotters have written books about India. Some of them have posed as authorities, some have not. But they have been generally accepted as authorities by the unwary foreign reader. No wonder, therefore, they have been also subjected to ridicule. For, who can know a country truly and thoroughly even after a lifetime in it? Why then should mere tourists and sightseers talk dogmatically about what they see as from a train window?

My two visits to Andhra-desha did not jointly last more than a week. Moreover, the persons with whom I had contact were mostly those who had something to do with the movements and local functions which brought me there—not the general public or the mass of the people. Hence, this statement of what I saw and heard can have no claim to accuracy, comprehensiveness or representative character.

My first visit was in connection with the eleventh session of the Andhra Students' Conference, held at Vizagapatam, where, by the by, I was struck by the different kinds of carriages drawn by bullocks. Of that visit I shall not write much, as my impressions of it have mostly faded from my memory. But I remember that the students sent me travelling expenses much in excess of my requirements, so that I returned part of the amount. They kept me in a brickbuilt cottage connected with a *chowltry* and were lavish in their hospitality and attentions. They were altogether very enthusiastic. At the business meetings some of them displayed remarkable debating powers and eloquence. There was a little party spirit also, no doubt.

In addition to my presidential address, I had to make several short speeches. Besides what I had to do in connection with the Students' Conference, I had to address the general public on a political subject and to deliver an address on a socio-religious topic at a meeting arranged by the local Prarthana Samaj. All these meetings which I addressed were held at the town hall, which faces the sea —a fine situation indeed. I met the very small knot of Bengalis of the place at the Tamil Club premises and exchanged courtesies and ideas with them in Bengali. I have for the most part forgotten what I said on all these occasions. But I remember one thing which I said when I talked to the staff and students of the Medical College at their request at the college premises. I said that the general public —particularly the ailing section—would be greatly benefited if medical men, jointly or severally, published books relating to India's health resorts, stating sufferers from what diseases should go to what place or places, in addition to giving climatic and meteorological information. This I said, as Waltair, adjourning Vizagapatam, is a health resort. Dr. Tirumurti told me at the time that some non-tuberculous patients coming to Waltair for a change caught tuberculous infection there. In the course of my aforesaid talk I also laid stress on the need of ascertaining the radio-active and other properties of India's many hot springs.

Dr. Ramamurti of the local Medical College was good enough to show me what was worth seeing at Waltair. I had already seen the up-to-date hospital and laboratories. He took me to the locality where the university buildings were being constructed. Perhaps they are now complete. Waltair is a hilly place and it is on the sea. It reminded me of the poem in which it is said that Liberty has ever rejoiced in the Two Voices of the Mountain and the Sea. I hope Andhra students will always be inspired by the sights and sounds of Waltair-Vizagapatam to cherish the human birthright of spiritual, intellectual, social, political and economic freedom. Dr. Ramamurti's conversation was interesting and instructive. One observation of his still sticks to my memory. He said that in all countries of Europe—north, south, east, west—one finds the bill of fare generally the same; there is a sort of standard diet as it were. So travellers find it convenient to travel there and their health does not suffer. In India, the diet of one province—sometimes of one district—does not suit visitors from another. So the Doctor suggested the drawing up of a standard bill of fare and its adoption all over the country. I agreed.

I should mention that at Vizagapatam I gave a talk to about a dozen students of a very

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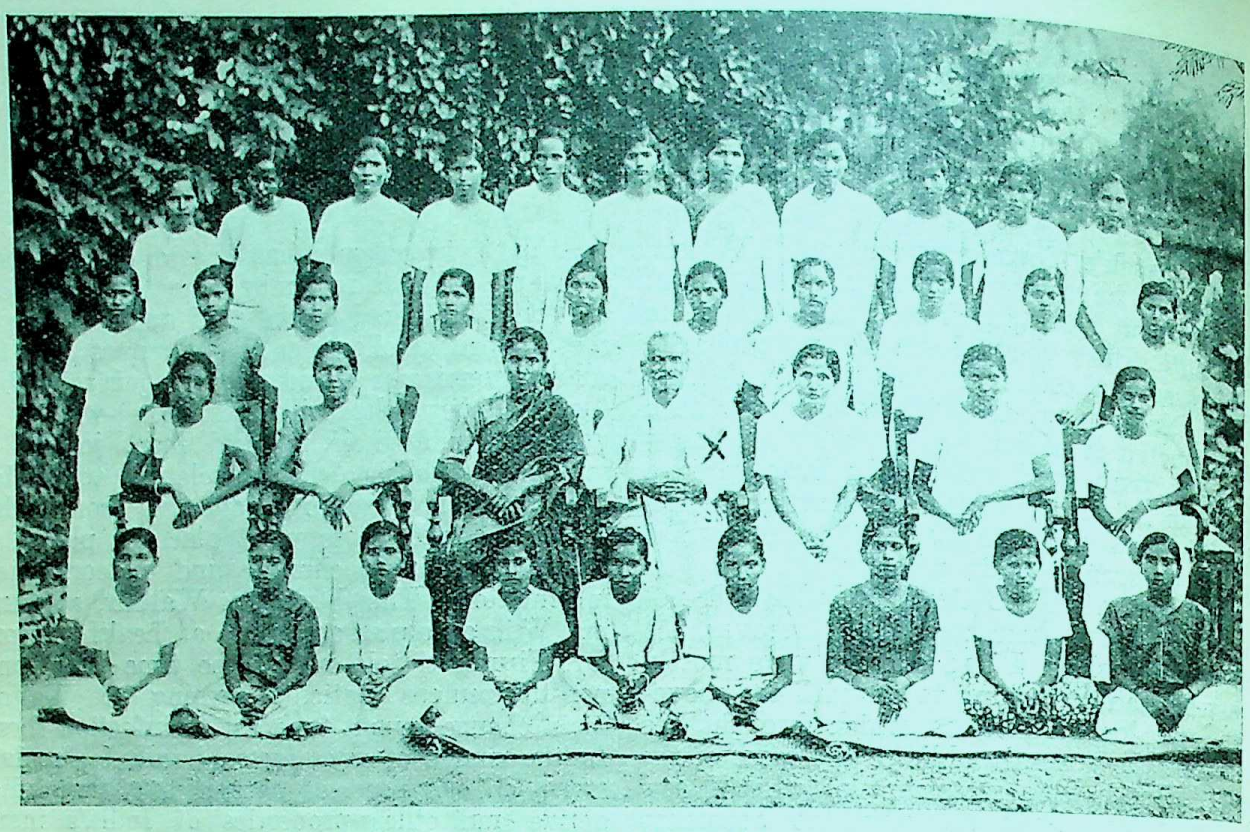
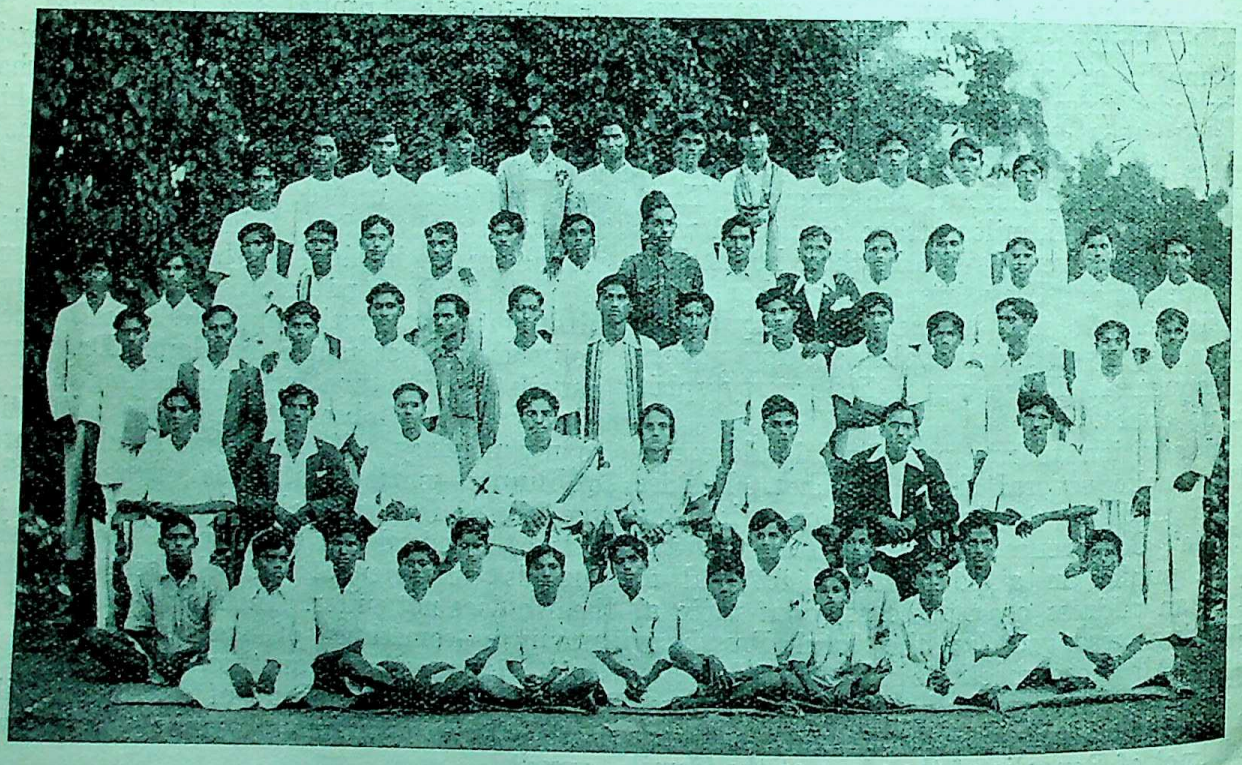


Inmates of the Girls' Lodge, Pithapuram
Mr. R. Balakrishna Rao, Superintendent in the Centre



Inmates of the Boys' Lodge, Pithapuram, with Mr. A. Chalamayya,
Superintendent in the Centre

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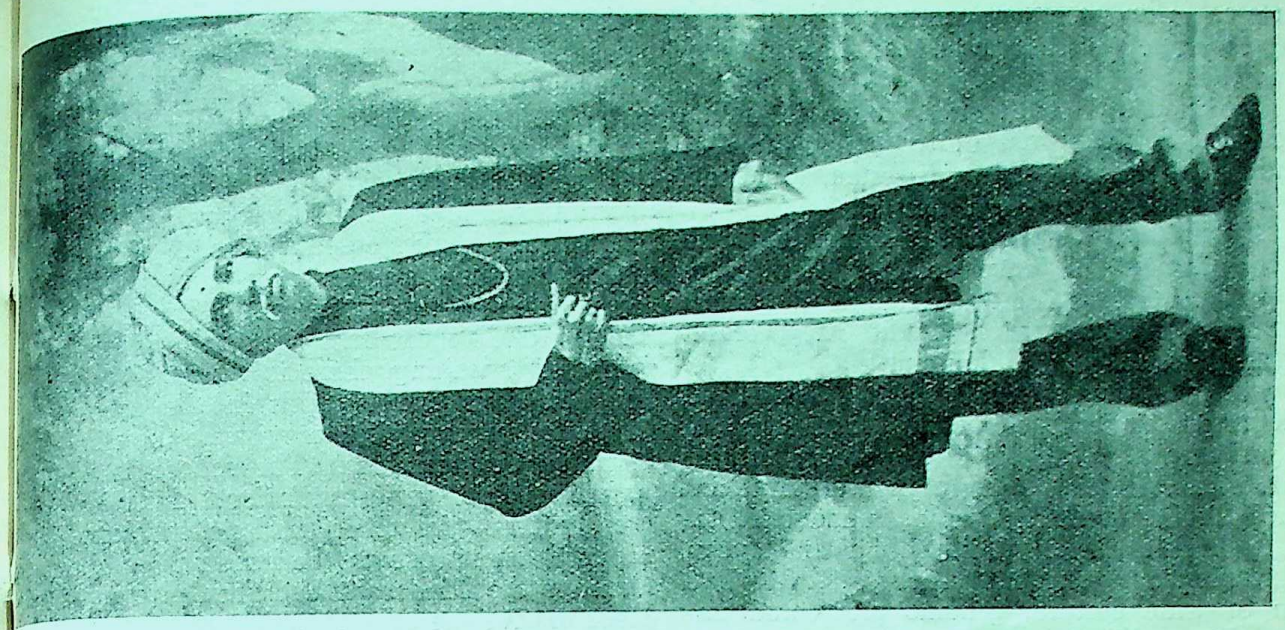
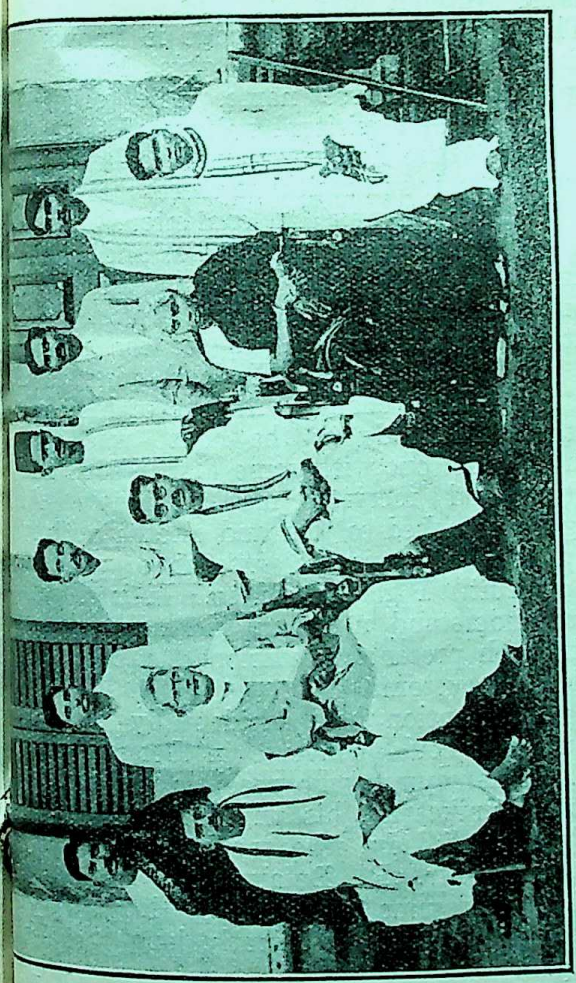
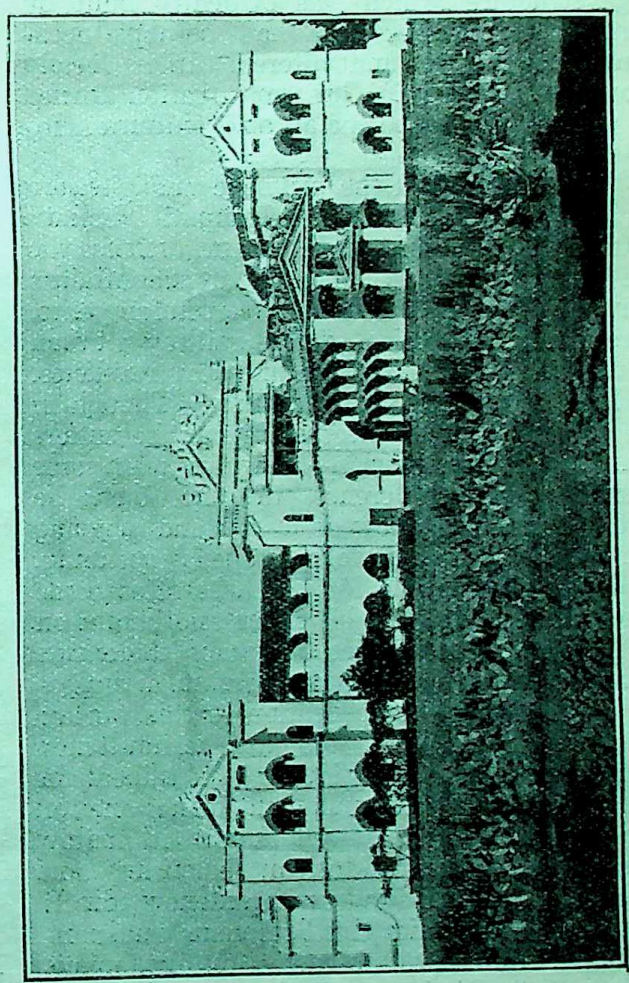


Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu



Members of the Staff, Cocanada Orphange;
Mr. N. Jagannadha Rao, Superintendent, in the Centre



R. V. M. G. Rama Rao Bahadur Orphanage, Cocanada

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patriotic cast of mind in my temporary quarters.. Our meeting commenced in right Congress style with a Hindustani song sung by one of them.

The Students' Conference dinner, in Indian vegetarian style, was quite enjoyable. Hundreds took their meals together squatting, irrespective of caste, creed and sex.

My second visit was in connection with the installation and unveiling of the statue of the great and good Andhra religious and social reformer and litterateur, Pandit K. Veeresalingam Pantulu, at Rajahmundry.

On my way to that place I halted at Pithapuram and stayed at the guest-house of the Maharaja Saheb of Pithapuram. In this small town I visited the several institutions maintained by R. V. M. Suryarao Bahadur, C.B.E., the Maharaja Saheb. I have had the honour of knowing him personally for years. He is a man of wide culture, genuine piety and unaffected simplicity—an example among rich men of plain living and high thinking. I had the pleasure of meeting him at his palace, a large structure, which was evidently built by some of his predecessors and perhaps occasionally added to and altered. It is locally known as the Fort. Our conversation turned on various religious, social and cultural subjects.

Here I also had the privilege and pleasure of meeting the sage Sir Raghupati Venkata Ratnam Naidu, M.A., L.T., D.LITT., LL.D., who was for years Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University. Him also I had known for years. Here I met him thrice—at the railway station, at the guest-house and in his own residence. He is, I believe, 74 years old now. Though in full possession of intellectual vigour, he suffers from physical infirmities—he walks with some difficulty. With reference to this fact, he related humorously how as a boy and a young man he would never walk, properly speaking, but would always run, for which he often came in for mild rebuke from his elders and banter on the part of his comrades. Perhaps there was in these reminiscences of the veteran a suggestion of the law of compensation in this world: as he once moved about too fast, he must now slow down. At his residence we talked on various subjects, communalism being one of them. In Bengal, it is well known, it mainly centres round Hindu-Moslem jealousies and dissensions. In the Madras Presidency, Sir R. Venkata Ratnam said, the Brahmans and non-Brahmans, different sub-castes of Brahmans, "high-caste" Hindus and the so-called untouchables, and the various linguistic groups (Telugu-speaking, Tamil-speaking, Malayalam-speaking and Kannada-speaking) and sub-provincials were at logger-heads with one another. He greatly regretted such a state of things.

In Pithapuram the Maharaja Saheb maintains a high school for boys and girls, the institution being co-educational. The headmaster told me that there co-education did not give rise to any problem. This is perhaps mainly due to the fact that in Andhra-desha, generally speaking, there is no *purdah*. There are 641 boys and 97 girls in the school. At the time of my visit they were having their terminal examinations. The school rooms had sufficient light and ventilation. I noticed one desideratum—the school had no spacious playgrounds, and spoke to the headmaster about it. Perhaps the Maharaja had then already taken steps to give the boys and girls separate playing fields.

Besides the high school, the Maharaja maintains two homes for the so-called "untouchable" orphan boys and girls.

The Adi-Andhra boys' lodge is known as Santikutir. The Adi-Andhra girls' lodge has perhaps no distinctive name. The physical, mental, moral and spiritual welfare of the boys and girls in these homes are well looked after by superintendents in residence there. The boys and girls looked happy and contented.

I was glad to meet many ladies and gentlemen in the local Brahma Mandir. We had a talk on some spiritual and social topics.

At Pithapuram I went to see the Dewan Saheb of the Maharaja. He had gone to a health resort for a change with one of his elder daughters. The lady of the house was good enough to come out with some of her sons and daughters and received me graciously. At parting I was asked to join and stretch out my open palms to receive a present of various kinds of fruit. I gladly did so. It is, I was given to understand, a custom in Andhra-desha to make such presents to visitors. A beautiful and pleasing custom.

I may mention here incidentally that at Pithapuram I could converse in Bengali with Mr. A. Chalamayya (who received his education at Santiniketan), his wife Srimati Indira Devi (a Bengali lady, who speaks Telugu also easily), and Mr. R. Balakrishna Rao and Srimati Sundaramma of the girls' lodge, who had lived in Calcutta sufficiently long to pick up Bengali.

During my brief stay at Pithapuram I

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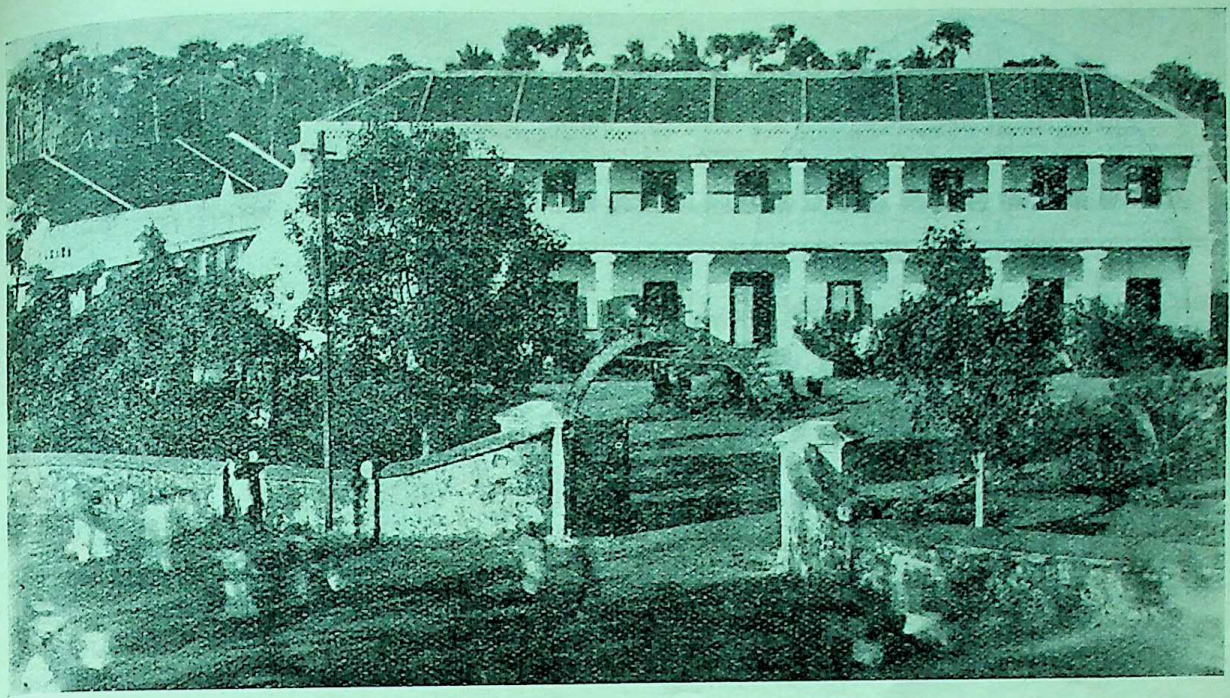
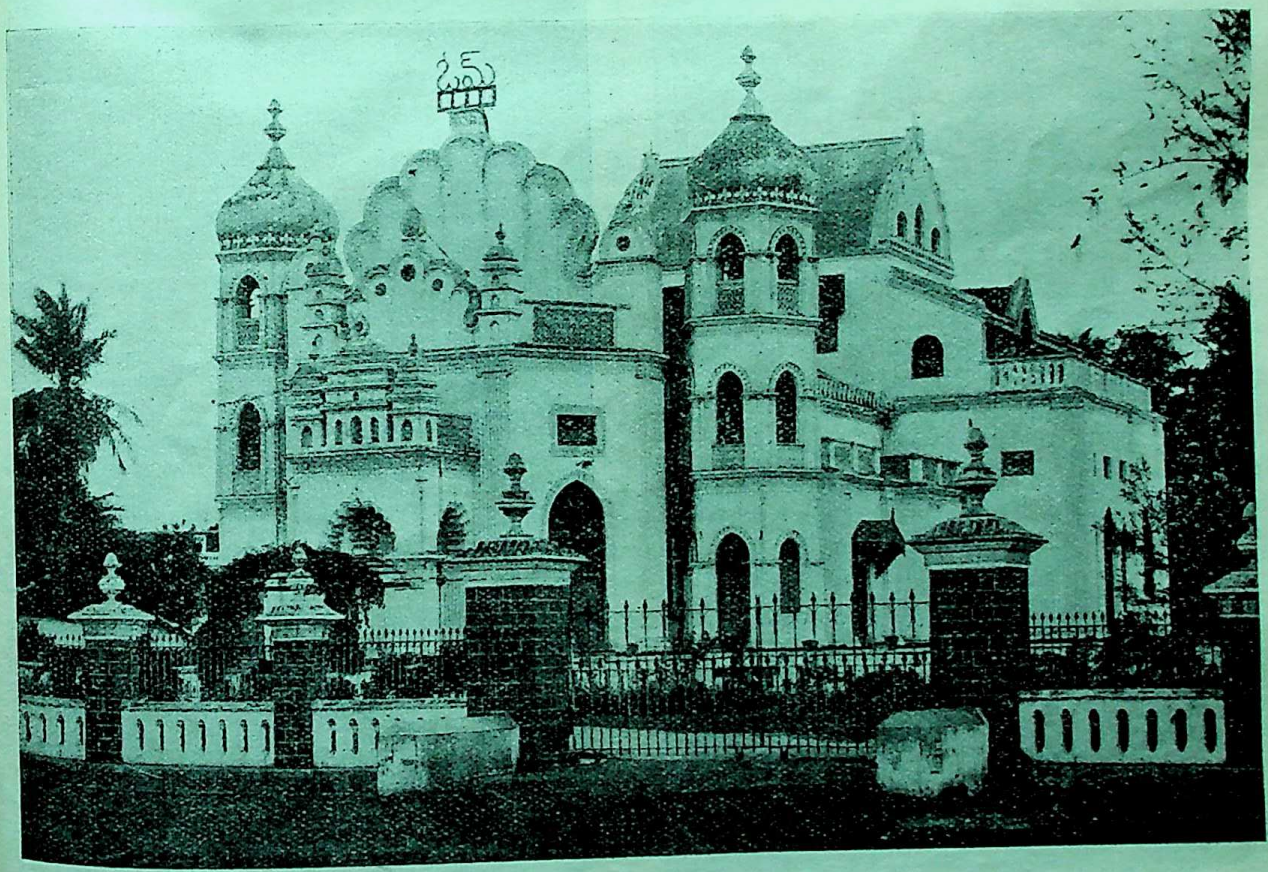


Cocanada Pittapur Raja's College Building, Main Entrance



Cocanada Brahma-Samaj Mandir

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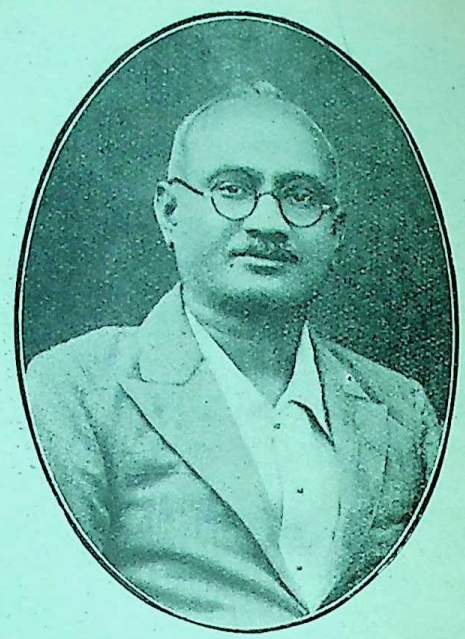
Sir R. Venkata Ratnam Naidu.



Dr. V. V. Krishnayya of Cocanada

Mrs. Rakshit, Lecturer, P. R. College

Mrs. B. Kameswaramma

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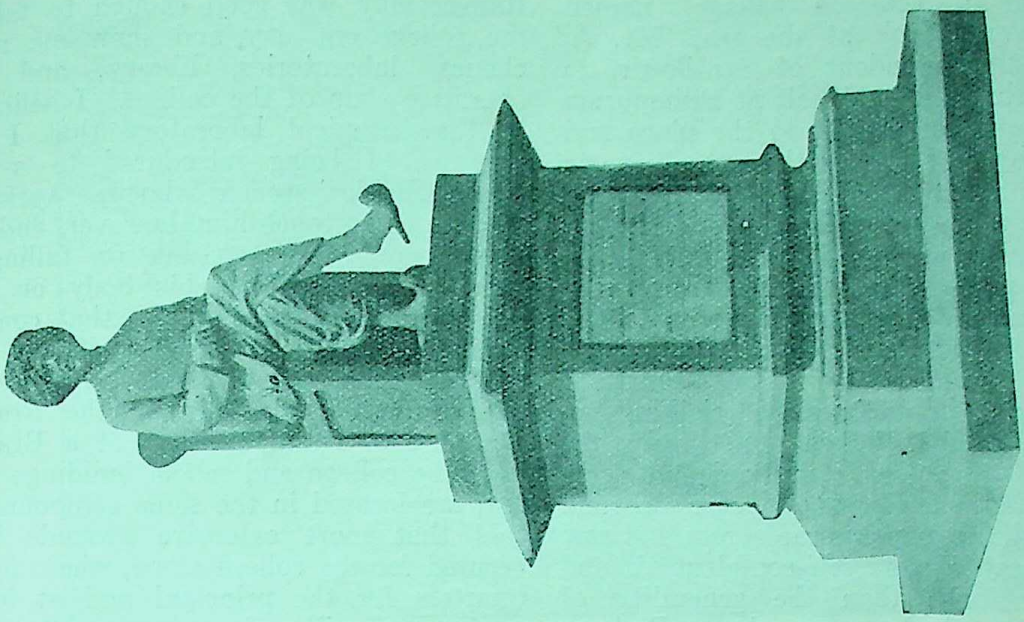
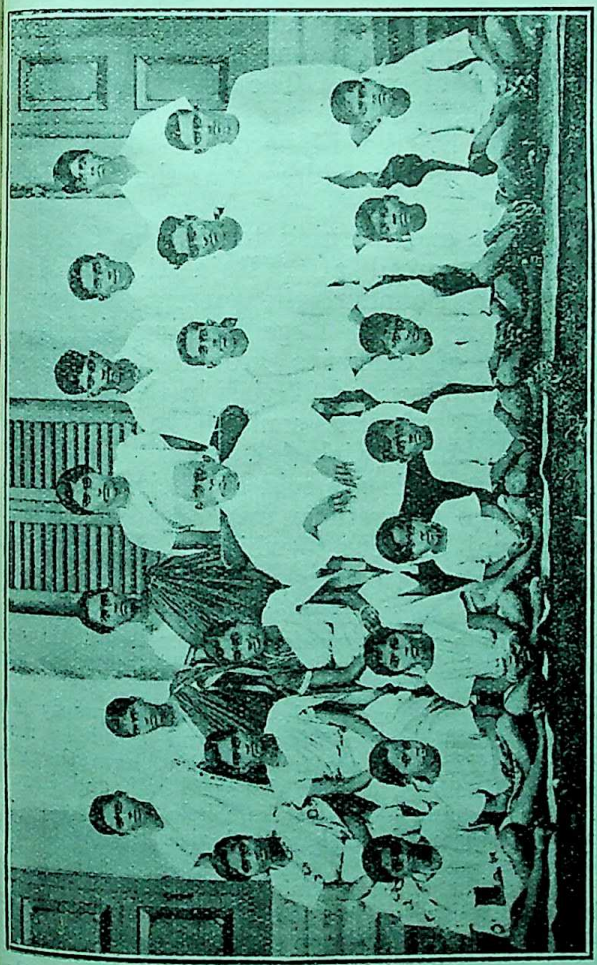
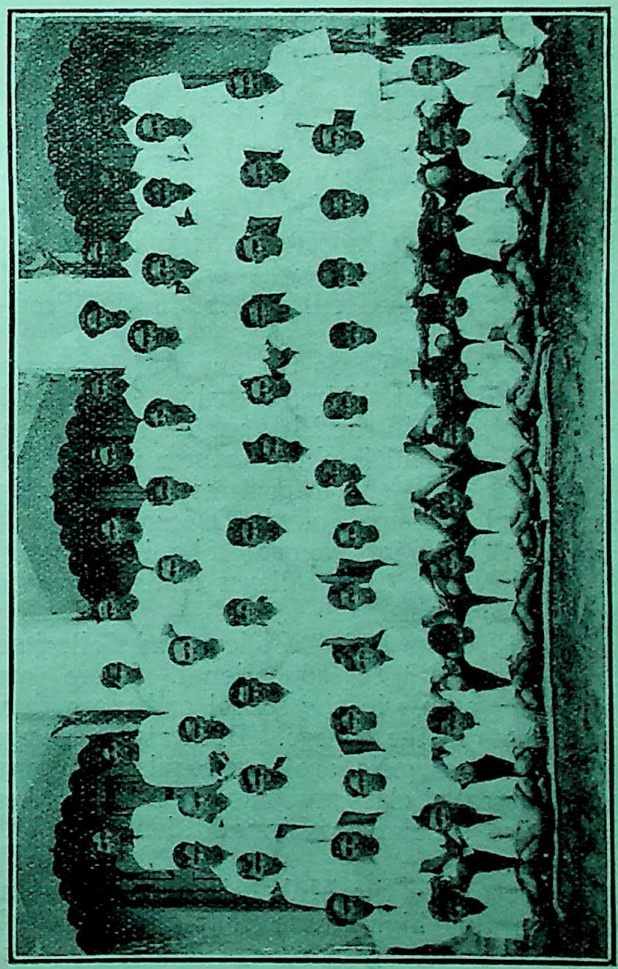


Statue of K. Viresalingam Pantulu.



Some Children of the Orphange. *Centre*, Sir R. Venkata Ratnam Naidu



Boys of the Cocanada Orphange

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passed through a sea-side village, named Uppada, to have a look at the sea. Mr. A. Chalamayya, superintendent of Santikutir, to whose request that I should halt at Pithapuram I owe the pleasure of a visit to the place and under whose charge I stayed there, took me to the sea-side in a car which the Maharaja had kindly placed at my disposal. Uppada is a small village. It had some brick buildings and seemed fairly prosperous—unlike many of the decadent villages in West Bengal which I have known. The fishing boatmen whom I found on the sea-shore had fine well-knit muscular figures and had the minimum of clothing on. But I must not be thought to convey the impression that they looked well-fed and sleek.

In Pithapuram, Uppada, Cocanada and Rajamundry the women I came across and saw appeared to have a more self-confident air and more healthy looks than the generality of Bengali women of the same class. Perhaps that is due to the absence of *purdah* and malaria there. Many of the women of the peasant and working classes had refined and chiselled features and a dignified gait which betokened age-long racial culture unconnected though it might be with literacy.

From Pithapuram I passed to Cocanada. I travelled in the car lent by the Maharaja. All along the route the soil on both sides appeared well-watered and fertile. With their orchards and fields of cereals they presented a pleasing prospect. Indeed I was told that the East Godavery district was one of the best irrigated and most fertile tracts in the Presidency.

At Cocanada I was the guest of Professor and Mrs. Rakshit. Mrs. Rakshit, (B.A., B.T.) also is a teacher in the Pittapur Raja's College, where her husband is chief lecturer in English. She was an assistant inspectress of schools in Bengal and principal of the Dacca Teacher's Training School for women. She is the only lady teacher in all the colleges affiliated to the Andhra University.

The Pittapur Raja's College and Collegiate school are both co-educational. There are about 1700 pupils in the school and more than 500 students in the college. Both at the college and the school girls are not required to pay fees. Depressed class students are not only free but receive scholarships in addition from the Maharaja.

In Cocanada the Maharaja of Pithapuram maintains this high grade college and school, and a big orphanage for boys and girls, irrespective of creed and caste. Principal Ramaswamy was good enough to take me to the college one day and show me round the classes, laboratories, library, and the co operative shop of the college. I believe it was in the botanical laboratory that I had the pleasure of being introduced to a so-called "untouchable" student who was working there. I ventured to touch him, however, and observed that there was no rising or falling of the temperature of either his body or mine. It was a sort of demonstration that contact with "untouchables" does not petrify or liquefy a whilom "holy" Brahman nor reduce an "untouchable" to ashes by the *Brahma-agni* (the fire of Brahmanhood) of a Brahman.

The college and school buildings are many and are located in the same compound. I was told that more extensive grounds had been secured for the college alone, where hostels and quarters for the principal and at least some professors will also be constructed. The Maharaja will bear the whole cost—perhaps a few lakhs.

At the request of Principal Ramaswamy and other friends I delivered an address at the Cocanada Brahma Mandir, which was a fine and commadious building from the architectural point of view. The entire cost of its construction, which I guess was about a lakh, was borne by the Maharaja of Pithapuram. The subject of my address was the progress of civilization.

I went one morning to see the Cocanada orphanage, named after Raja R. V. M. G. Rama Rao Bahadur, the present Maharaja's father. It is a fine large building situated in the midst of extensive grounds. At present there are 66 boys and 27 girls in the institution. The number of girls could have been easily larger but for a wicked custom. I was told, some orphan girls are sold by their relatives to persons who bring them up to lead the life of professional danceuses—which is practically a life of shame.

The Object of the Institution is purely humanitarian—to provide a real home for the homeless little ones, where they will be tended, educated and trained to some useful services.

The principle on which it works is purely non-sectarian—no distinction of caste and creed is made. All destitute orphans are treated alike, have the same meal, same clothing, dine at the same hall, and sleep at the same dormitory—in fact the whole is taken as one household, where all the boys and girls live as brothers and sisters.

The object of the training is meant to foster the spirit of devotion to God and of social service to man. The daily morning and evening prayers, which are purely theistic, moral instruction and private talks with children are all directed to this purpose. The general and techni-

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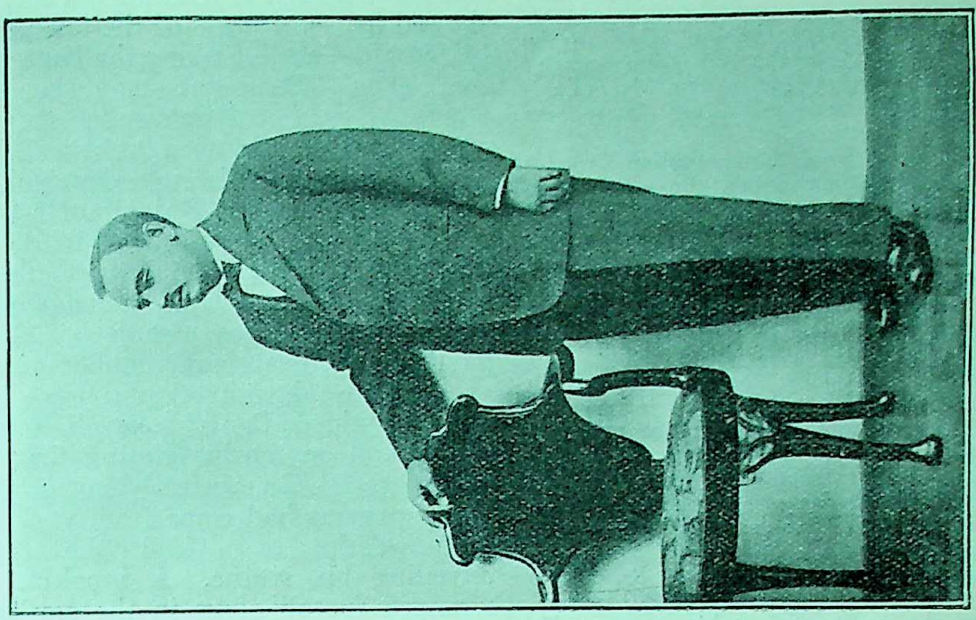

R. V. M. Suryarao Bahadur, C.B.E.
Maharaja of Pithapuram

Family of Dewan Saheb of Pithapuram

Girls of the Cocanada Orphange

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cal education has its own importance and equips them with a fair start in life.

Education of Children. The school attached to the home trains the children up to the 3rd Form and for higher forms and college they go to the Maharajah's College at Cocanada. No fees are taken from them there.

Discharge of Children from the institution depends on their capacity to earn their living. Boys are generally sent out as soon as they are able to earn a living with any pecuniary help that they may require at the start. Girls are discharged after their marriage. Every girl gets a grant of Rs. 350 for wedding, jewels and dress at the time of her marriage. Some married girls come to the institution for confinement and some receive pecuniary aid. Such of the unfortunate girls as have lost their husbands are brought back to the institution and given training which will enable them to earn an independent living. Those who are willing to remarry are married again, Sri Maharajah garu bearing the expenditure. Up to date 34 girls have been married and discharged from this institution, 7 of them working as teachers. 70 boys have been discharged from the Home and are earning their livelihood fairly comfortably.

The total expenditure, which comes to Rs. 15,000 per year, is borne wholly by the Maharaja of Pithapuram. The buildings were also constructed at his expense. No grants are accepted except treats to the children. The orphanage was founded at the suggestion and inspiration of Sir R. Venkata Ratnam Naidu.

Mr. Jagannadha Rao, the superintendent, showed me round. The large well ventilated well lighted two-storied edifice provides a real comfortable home for the orphans which many middle-class well-to-do persons will envy.

At the request of the orphanage staff I offered prayers at its Temple and spoke to the boys and girls.

I was sorry that at Cocanada I could not call on all the citizens whom I should have seen in their homes. I managed, however, to call on Principal Ramaswamy. His wife having been in Calcutta for sometime spoke to me in Bengali. When I called on Dr. Vedantam Venkata Krishnayya, he, too, conversed with me in Bengali. He received his medical training in Calcutta and was there for 5 years. He has extensive practice here and is a well known Congress worker. I am informed his wife also speaks Bengali. She was for some time a member of the All-India Congress Committee and President of the Godavery District Congress Coommittee. I was glad to see Professor and Mrs. Sachchidanandam and their lovely little baby in their home. I called on Professor and Mrs. S. N. Pal and, of course, had a talk with them in Bengali. I am told Mrs. Pal speaks idiomatic Telugu as fluently as Andhra ladies. I saw Mr. and Mrs. Jyotirmoy Banerji and their sprightly little son also. Mr. Banerji is a Deputy Conservator of Forests. Mrs. Banerji is a daughter of Dr. Brajendranath Ganguli of Calcutta, who is a friend of ours. Mr. Banerji was good enough to lend me his car, and himself showed me some parts of the town, and took me to Samalkot station along the bank of an irrigation canal. Samalkot may be famous for other things, but I remember it as the place where on the railway platform I bought nice little wooden toys for my grandchildren.

When I reached Rajahmundry, it was past twelve noon. I was taken to Veeresalingam Pantulu garu's garden, where there were a two-storied cottage and a bungalow belonging to him. There was also a brick-built roofed pavilion where a small number of persons can assemble for devotional purposes. The garden also contained Pantulu garu's *samadhi*, with an epitaph on marble stating that he was "a sincere theist," a perfectly correct description. Many persons had come from various places in Andhra-desha to attend the ceremony of unveiling his statue. A breakfast had been arranged for all of us in the garden. I found there Dr. V. Ramkrishna Rao, a former principal of the Pittapur Raja's College, Mr. Kalianaswamy, editor of *Sadhana*, Mr. V. P. Raju, a former superintendent of the Cocanada orphanage, Mr. P. Sundarasiva Rao, secretary of the Hitakarini Samaj founded by Pantulu garu, and many other friends to whom I was introduced but whose names I am sorry have escaped my memory. We all squatted on the ground and had our meals. I took, among other things, a cup of "rasam," which is said to have a cooling effect.

After this feast I was taken to a big bungalow where I was to put up. There one of the first gentlemen to call was Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, who is, I was told afterwards, known as the Bhishma of Andhra-desha. It was extremely kind of him to come to see me. He said that when he was a member of the Imperial Legislative Council I had commented in *The Modern Review* on one of his speeches there. Casually, perhaps owing to my hoary appearance, he asked how old I was. I said I was past seventy. "Only seventy!" he softly ejaculated. I could understand the significance of this brief remark when he said on enquiry that he was eighty. He looked younger than myself—the main indication of his eighty winters being a slight stoop.

The first public duty which I had to perform at Rajahmundry was the delivery of an address on India's new constitution. It was delivered in the open space adjoining the Town Hall under the presidency of Mr. N. Subba Rao. It is said to be able to accommodate an audience of three or four thousand

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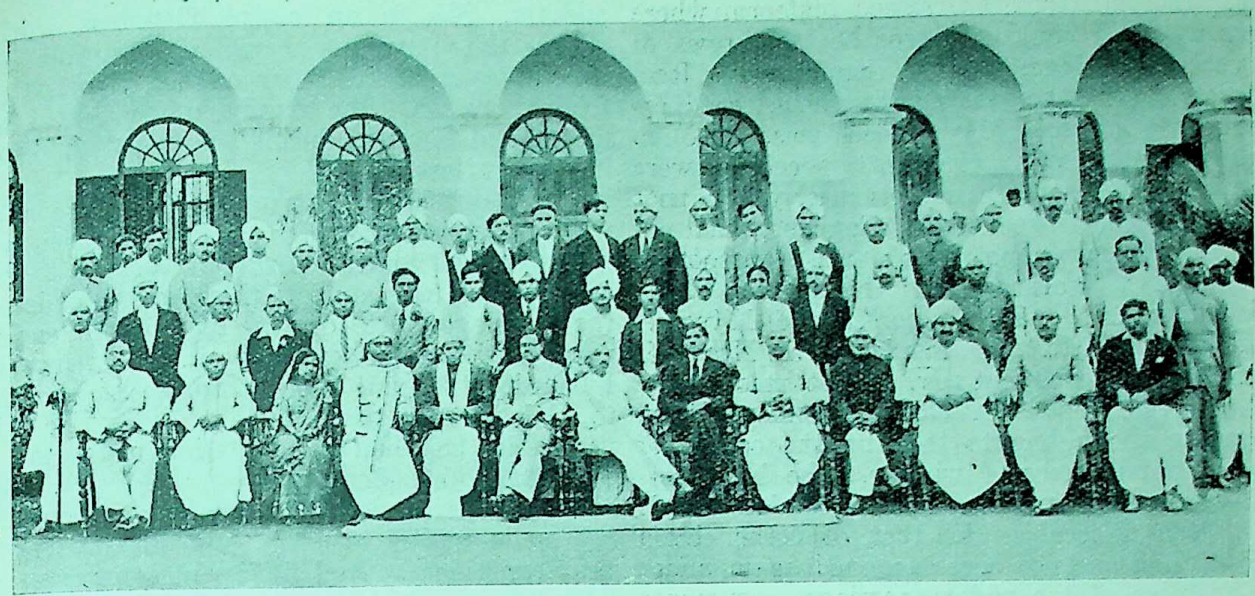
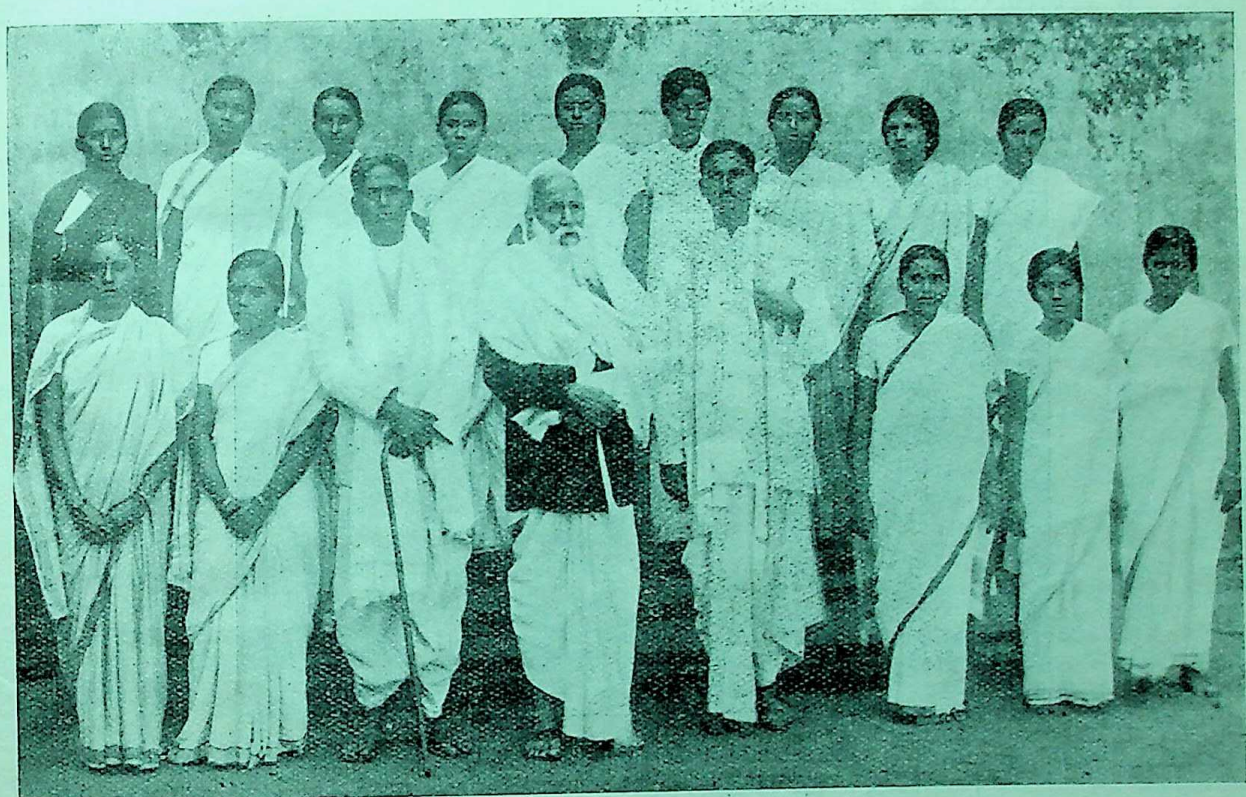


Cocanada Pittapur Raja's College Staff and Establishment



Inmates of the Viresalingam Widows' Home, Rajahmundry, & Secretary, Hitakarini Samaj, Editor, *M. R.*, & Secretary, Prarthana Samaj

persons. It was fairly crowded. The Town Hall was built at the expense of Pantulu garu. So were his large high school, the widows' home, and the Prarthana Samaj Mandir, in which last I performed divine service next morning. When the service was over the girls of the widows' home were photographed with myself in their midst.

In the afternoon and evening of the same day the statue of Veeresalingam Pantulu garu was unveiled. The open air gathering in whose midst the ceremony was performed was very

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large. In fact, from the raised platform where I was seated I could not see the last rows of the vast assemblage. Mr. P. Sundarasiva Rao, the secretary of the statue committee, read his report in English. My speech was also in English. Some very eloquent speeches were made in Telugu, which unfortunately I do not know. Of the speeches in English, that of Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao was outspoken, eloquent, learned and thoughtful. Mrs. Kameswaramma, B.A., at present of Mysore, daughter of Mr. P. Sundarasiva Rao of Rajahmundry, was equally, if not more outspoken. She made an eloquent and stirring appeal to the public to take up the cause of women, particularly of widows. She had herself been a child widow, and her lot also would have been miserable like that of other child widows, had she not been married again under the auspices of the widow-marriage movement started in Andhra-desha by Veeresalingam Pantulu. In February last she presided over the Andhra Women's Provincial Conference held at Cocanada and delivered an excellent address. She is an active Congress worker. When the unveiling ceremony meeting was over, I complimented her on her vigorous and feeling oration. She reminded me that I had met her at Karachi during the Congress session held there last.

I returned to Cocanada the same night with Professor and Mrs. Rakshit in the local railway car, which is somewhat like a tram car, but the rails are like those in railroads and the carriages are drawn by Diesel engines worked with crude kerosene oil. Next morning I boarded the mail train at Samalkot to return to Calcutta. I tried to take some rice with vegetables supplied by a station restaurant in the train at Berhampore (Ganjam). But, except the rice, "chillies, chillies everywhere, but not a morsel to eat." But this was not a new experience. And it is not for me, an Indian Nationalist, to complain of the variety of dishes cooked in different provinces and districts of India,—sour, sweet, bitter, saline, pungent, . . . in varying proportions and combinations.

Oxford Peace Conference 1936
SITTING: *Right to Left*: Amiya C. Chakravarti, Mrs. Hogg, Prof. John Stephens, Miss Lunt

THANKS FOR NAMES OF NEW SUBSCRIBERS

We cordially thank those of our readers who have kindly sent us the names of those friends and acquaintances of theirs who wish to subscribe for *The Modern Review*. Those readers who have not yet noticed our request inserted in the last issue, may find it convenient to read it as inserted in the present issue.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

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NOTES

A Great World Tragedy

The conquest of Abyssinia by Italy is a great world tragedy. By it an ancient nation, which has traditions and history running back at least to the times of King Solomon, has lost its independence—we hope only temporarily.

The Ethiopian or Abyssinian Emperor and people fought patriotically and with unsurpassed courage. No people, oriental or occidental, ever fought more heroically against great odds.

Had it been a case of ordinary 'civilized' warfare, Ethiopia could not have been conquered. But it was not.

'Civilized' Nations Not Civilized

The conquest of Ethiopia is a world tragedy not merely because it means the extinction—for a time at least—of the liberty of a people. It is a tragedy also because it shows up the character of human, particularly of occidental, civilization. A patriotic, brave and ancient nation falls victim to an act of inhuman international brigandage, but 'civilized' nations behave almost like unconcerned spectators. None of them run to its succour.

The League was guilty of another kind of immoral conduct. The Emperor of Abyssinia fought on in the hope that the League would be true to its professions and would help him. But it did not, and was thus guilty of breach of faith.

The League of Nations, an organization of 'civilized' states, talks of sanctions, and half-heartedly adopts some ineffective ones; but as regards sanctions which would have been effective, unconvincing reasons are given as to why they could not and cannot be adopted. If effective sanctions cannot be adopted, why does the League programme includes sanctions at all, and why did its members go on talking about them while Italy was gradually conquering Ethiopia? Lastly, consideration by the League of the Italo-Abyssinian question has been postponed to the middle of June! Is this postponement to give Italy sufficient time to consolidate its conquest?

War is a negation of civilization. The League of Nations came into existence mainly to end war, to substitute arbitration and other judicial procedure for fighting, and establish enduring peace. It has failed to achieve what it was born to achieve. Whether its failure is due to the unwillingness or the powerlessness of its most powerful members may be discussed. But will mere discussion provide any remedy?

There are truly civilized and impartial persons among all nations. They may suggest that the remedy lies in a change of heart.

If there is change of heart in a robber, it means that he will commit robbery no more. But it implies also that he will give up what he got by previous acts of robbery.

Some of the most powerful member states of the League have done, some time or other in their history, what Italy has done recently. So they could have seriously and effectively opposed Italy's war of aggression only if there had been change of heart among them. But such change of heart would imply that they must not only refrain in future from depriving other peoples of their liberty and property but that they must also relinquish what they got, and now possess, by their previous misdeeds. This no foreign-country-owning state-member of the League is at present prepared to do. So their 'national' hearts—if nations as such can be said to have hearts—cannot now truly change, and hence the real cause of their weakness, powerlessness and unwillingness to help victimized nations cannot be destroyed under present conditions.

When Sir Samuel Hoare said in effect in a speech that all industrial nations must have a due share of raw materials and, consequently a due share of raw-material-producing countries, his observation implied an approval of or con-

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nivance at the conquest of unindustrialized raw-material-producing countries by industrializing imperialistic nations. So long as the rights to freedom and national property of 'backward,' raw-material-producing countries are not recognized, civilization must continue to be a sham and an illusion.

An American Paper Cries Shame

NEW YORK, May 6.

"The swift collapse and disappearance of the Ethiopian Government put the finishing touches to what appears to be a deep humiliation for the British Government," declares the *New York Times*.

"If Britain is ashamed at what happened, there are good reasons why other nations should also be ashamed. The world ought to be ashamed at the breakdown of its plans for collective security. It must set to work to make better plans."—*Reuter*.

Yes, but America also is of "the world." What has it done to help Ethiopia?

Mr. Baldwin's Confession

Mr. Baldwin has confessed that the Italian conquest of Ethiopia means humiliation for *Great* Britain.

Triumph of the Sword and Civilization ?

In Mussolini's broadcast message officially announcing Italy's entrance into Addis Ababa, he declared that "Ethiopia was Italian by right, because it was occupied with the sword of Rome and civilization which had triumphed over barbarism." Conquest gives no moral right to the conqueror. Hence, Ethiopia cannot be Italy's by right.

It is not true Ethiopia was occupied with the sword of Rome.

CAIRO, May 10.

The Egyptian correspondent who accompanied the Italian invaders from Dessi to Addis Ababa reports from Djibouti :

"It is a serious mistake to consider that Abyssinia was conquered by the Italians by facing the brave Abyssinians. It was only pitiless poison gas that killed the brave Abyssinian warriors and the innocent women and children. At a distance of 90 miles from Addis Ababa I saw with my own eyes thousands of Abyssinians fighting bravely before the poisonous gas was let out but they fell down at once on the ground as the statues fall down with violent earthquake shock.

"It was an extremely ghastly sight. The soldiers were all lying on the ground and were appearing like the figures woven in a mast carpet, the monkeys dangling in the branches with their babes clinging to their breasts, the pigeons perching on the boughs, the eagles flying in air, the rhinoceros playfully uprooting the trees, the hippopotamus majestically swimming in the water; in fine the birds of air and the animals of land were petrified as soon as they inhaled the poisonous gas. The scene can neither be depicted on the canvas nor can it be described in words. The whole atmosphere was surcharged with the stinking smell emanating from the rotting bodies of the people, the birds and the animals.

"People think that the Italians fought with the Abyssinians, but the fact is otherwise. It is the Askeries and the African Muslim Arabs who were dragged from Tripoli and other Italian territories and placed in front of the army to face the Abyssinians. Italians could never fight Abyssinian warriors. Only in the last campaign nearly 15,000 Askeries and Arab Muslims were killed near Dessi and on their way to Addis Ababa."

It was the cunning cowardice of imperialistic and despotic Italy which prompted her to send the Askeries and African Muslim Arabs to die for her.

As for civilization triumphing over barbarism, aggressive war of conquest is uncivilized and barbarous. That the League of Nations at least pretends or professes to be an organization of civilized peoples for preventing and stopping war clearly implies that war is an uncivilized and barbarous method. If in the present stage of human progress, one may consider some wars allowable and justifiable and, therefore, somewhat civilized, and other wars unjustifiable and uncivilized, it may be said that wars for preserving or regaining a nation's independence are certainly civilized, relatively speaking. So the Abyssinians were the civilized party and the Italians were uncivilized.

Moreover, the Italians carried on their fight by using poison gas, by bombing hospitals, women and children from the air and by bribing some Ethiopians to play the role of traitors. Hence the Italians were the real barbarians.

Can the Pope Blaspheme ?

Prayers for victory at the commencement of wars of aggression and conquest and thanksgiving for such victory won have always seemed to us blasphemous. The keeping and displaying of battle-flags, used in sanguinary conflicts and stained with the blood of fellow-men, have also appeared to us to be acts of profanation. Hence, though in Italy people are constrained to do and say in public only that which Mussolini likes and therefore we are not disposed to judge Italians harshly, yet we cannot but express our disapproval of what the Pope said at the opening of the Catholic press exhibition in Rome with reference to Italy's conquest of Abyssinia. Such things bring religion into contempt.

ROME, May, 12.

A message of peace was delivered by His Holiness the Pope, speaking at the opening today of one world exhibition of the Catholic press. He said that God had visibly blessed the exhibition by causing it to coincide with the triumphal joy of a great and good people for peace, which, it is hoped, would be the prelude to true

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European and world peace for which the exhibition aimed at being the symbol.

His Holiness regretted that Russia and Germany were not represented at the Exhibition. The Pope denounced communism, which he said threatened the security of civilized life and above all of religion, especially of the Catholic Churches.—*Reuter.*

The Pope calls the Italian people great and good and their joy, joy for peace! The frogs in the fable, at whom some boys were throwing stones, said : "It may be play to you, but it is death to us. But why blame the Pope alone? We have not read in the papers that any leading statesman of the world connected with the government of his country has uttered one word of sympathy with Ethiopia. But perhaps it is best as it is. Silence is better than hypocrisy.

In the Pope's opinion the Italian conquest of Abysssinia would be the prelude to true European and world peace—just as any notorious act of incendiarism may be hoped to be the prelude to the cessation of all conflagrations for ever.

The Pope denounced communism "which threatened the security of civilized life." By implication did he praise fascism, which has destroyed the security of Abyssinian life ? The Abyssinians have had a civilization of their own for centuries. But if it be assumed that they are an uncivilized people, is it not a crime to destroy the lives and occupy by force the country of even an uncivilized people ?

The Pope condemns communism for threatening the security of religion. One of the things done by the communists in Russia which we have condemned is their atheistic propaganda and their anti-God public educational system. But we would have praised them if their propaganda and educational system had been directed only against those types of so-called religion which sanction or connive at aggressive wars of conquest and similar acts of international robbery.

The Abyssinian Constitution and Slavery

In the pre-British period of Indian history one comes across several Abyssinians noted for their generalship and statesmanship. Abyssinia is not a country of savages, though the persistent Italian and other similar European propaganda may mislead one to believe that it is. The Emperor of Abyssinia has not been a despot whose word was law. It has had a constitution. According to the *Statesman's Year-book* for 1935,

> "On July 16, 1931, a constitution was proclaimed." "All are equal before the law and succession to the Throne is reserved to the present dynasty. The first Parliament was opened on November 2, 1934."

As regards slavery, the impression has been sought to be produced that slave trade flourishes in Abyssinia and that the Abyssinian government sanctions slavery. Before considering whether that is so or not, one may as well remember that in Italy all except Mussolini and in Germany all except Hitler are slaves. The exact position as to slavery in Abyssinia may be understood from the following extract from the *Statesman's Year-book :*

> "Domestic slavery is a recognized institution, but slave-trading, by an ancient law renewed by a decree issued in June, 1923, is punishable by death. A comprehensive edict of 45 clauses was issued in March, 1924, providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves, beginning with the children born of slaves. In July, 1931, a further edict was published whereby *inter alia* slaves regain their freedom immediately on the death of their master. In August, 1932, a new Slavery Department, independent of the Ministry of the Interior, was constituted by decree."

Veiled Slavery in European Colonies in Africa

In many, if not in all or most, Colonies of European Powers in Africa, slavery exists in reality, though not in name. The dark-complexioned indigenous people of those regions have been deprived of their lands by various devices and they have been reduced to the position of wage-serfs. Peonage is another name for slavery.

Yet the European Powers concerned are not spoken of as slave-holding nations, except by some honest philanthropists. The mote in non-European eyes is readily discerned by Europeans but they do not perceive the beam in their own.

Slavery in Japan

A form of slavery which is not less wicked than that which is generally understood by the word exists in Japan. *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* for April 16, 1936, writes :

> "Parents can and do sell their daughters to the licensed quarters, and once in, it is with the greatest difficulty that the girl can escape so long as she retains the smallest measure of health and good looks."

But dare any European nation think of going to Japan to spread civilization and extinguish slavery there by conquest?

There is no country where there are no evils. But the existence of such evils does not entitle any other country to conquer and annex it. All peoples are entitled to render brotherly help to all other peoples for their improvement

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—nay, it is their duty. But conquest and annexation are not, have never been, undertaken for such fraternal service. They are acts of greed and spoliation.

Abyssinia's Past Neglect

Our sympathies are entirely with Abyssinia. But it must be said that she has been guilty of neglect of duty for ages. No person's weakness gives others the moral right to enslave him. But weakness is not a virtue. It is rather the opposite. It has been truly said in the Upanishads :

"Na-ayam Atma balahinena labhyah,"
"This Self cannot be realized by the weak."

The popular story runs that one day the kid came weeping to the god Brahma and said to him : "Lord, why is it that I serve as food for other creatures?" "Well, my child," answered the god, "I wish I could help you there! When I look at you, even I feel tempted to crunch you."

If Ethiopia has been conquered by the use of poison gas, why could she not equip herself betimes against such contingency by progress in science and mechanical invention?

Ethiopia is not a small country. It is 350,000 square miles in area, whereas Italy's area is only 119,713 square miles. Its mineral and other resources are not less but rather more than those of Italy. The tradition and history of Ethiopia are not less ancient than those of Italy. Yet what a space in human history does Italy fill with her literature, arts, law and culture! Abyssinia is nowhere in comparison.

With her smaller area Italy contains a population of more than forty millions, whereas the population of Abyssinia is only five and a half millions. True, the latter has mountains and forests. But Italy, too, has mountains, and marshes and a volcano thrown in.

No doubt, in the long history of human civilization, opportunity has come to some peoples early, to some later. But Abyssinia failed to take advantage of her opportunities to the full even after her contact and conflict with Europe. She ought to have made adequate progress in knowledge, invention, and manufacture by modern scientific processes, as Japan has done.

All peoples require to make progress in the arts and sciences—in culture in general, not merely to ward off the attacks of robber nations. It is necessary for the gradual and progressive realization of the human ideal of perfection.

"Prisoners' Paradise"

"Prisoners' Paradise," is the name given to the Andamans by Sir Henry Craik, Home Member to the Government of India, after a visit to that penal settlement. An official report, not yet twenty years old, from which Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, M.L.A., has made large extracts in a newspaper article, gave the impression that it more resembled the nether regions, popularly named hell, and hence Government in those days resolved not to send any more prisoners there. If conditions have changed in the diametrically opposite direction since then, let us hear that testimony from the toads under the harrow, the P. I. (the permanently imprisoned people. And why not allow any M.L.A., who so desires, to visit the islands and sing their praises? And why again should not some British bureaucrats settle in that Paradise after retirement with their fat pensions from the Indian treasury and their not meagre savings?

"Annihilation of Caste"

We have received a copy of "Annihilation of Caste," being a "speech prepared by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law, for the annual conference of the Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal of Lahore, but not delivered, owing to the cancellation of the conference by the Reception Committee on the ground that the views expressed in the speech would be unbearable to the Conference." It has been sent to us for review. But, according to our rule, such publications are not reviewed in our columns.

Dr. Ambedkar has reasons to be bitter. We do not observe caste ourselves. But we have never suffered a thousandth part of the indignities heaped on him and his like quite undeservedly, and are, therefore, not qualified to sit in judgment on him or advise him. All that we can do is to be sincerely ashamed of the treatment received by him, and by his kith and kin for ages, and to resolve never to be a party to such treatment of any human being, as we hope we have personally never been.

Why Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal Conference was Cancelled

"You have got to apply the dynamite to the Vedas and Shastras which deny any part to reason, to Vedas and Shastras which deny any part to morality"—this was one of the passages in Dr. Ambedkar's address, which was to have been delivered at the Jat-Pat-Todak Conference, about which Dr. Ambedkar had something to say in the press recently.

The doctor had sent an advance copy of the address to be delivered with the stipulation that he would make

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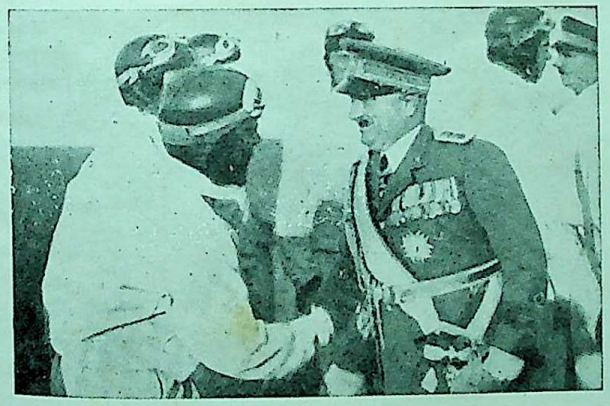
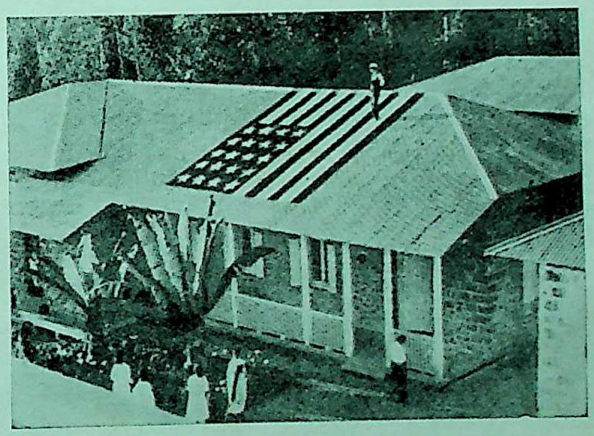
Emperor of Abyssinia with his family



Italian Bombers in Abyssinia, receiving instruction from General Giuseppe Valle



This American Hospital was bombed by the Italians

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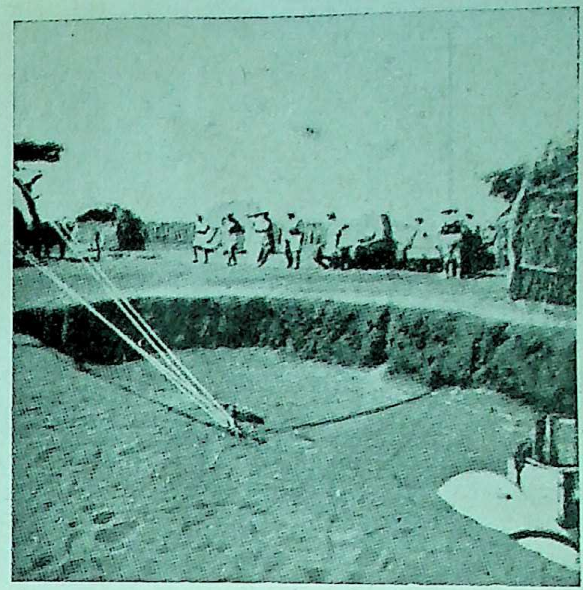
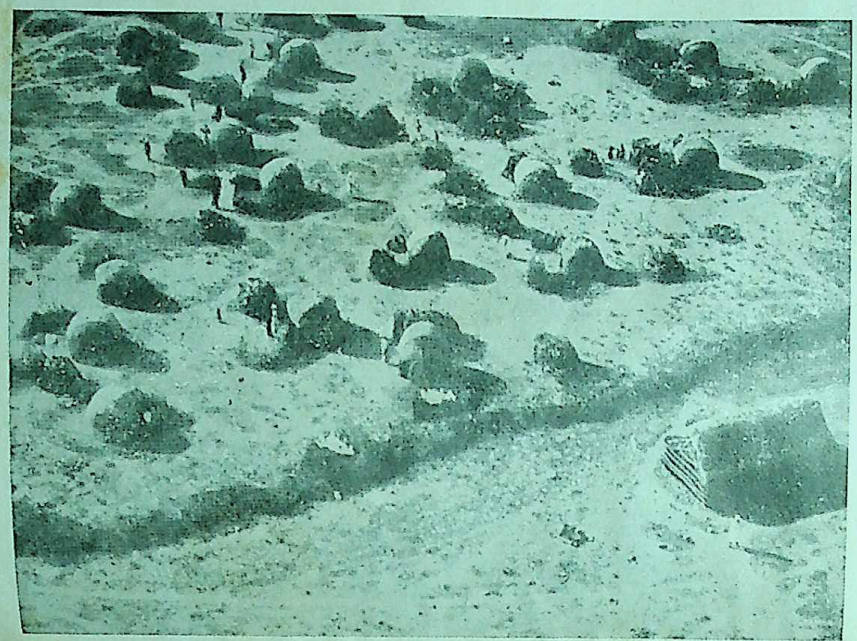
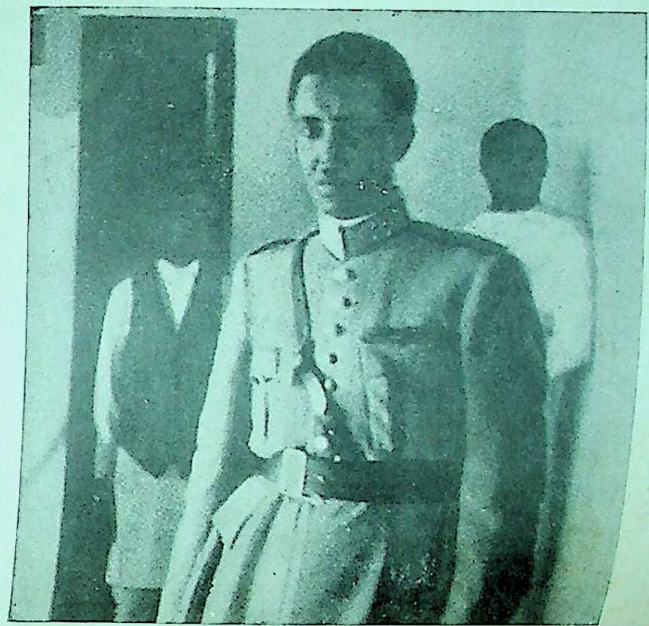
The Italian native troops who took part in the WalWal affair



Pits of WalWal over which the Italo-Abyssinian disputes first started



WalWal



Ras Nasibu, the great Abyssinian General

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ertain additions. And the one (referred to above) aused the hitch.

In conclusion, the statement says: "The Mandal ould once again express its deep sense of gratitude for he pains taken by Dr. Ambedkar in the preparation f his address, which is undoubtedly an excellent treatise n caste system. The Mandal is also in perfect accord ith the views held by him on this most baneful system, hich is responsible for the disintegration of the Hindus, xcept that it stands for bringing about revolutionary hanges in the body politic of the Hindus without enouncing their ancestral religion, while Dr. Ambedkar elieves in defection."

Wajed Ali Khan Pani

In Wajed Ali Khan Pani, popularly known as Chand Mian, Bengal has lost a citizen who had attained distinction and popularity in the fields of politics and education. He was a wealthy landlord of Karatia in the Mymensingh district. His wealth and high social position did not deter him from taking part in the civil disobedience movement. In consequence, he had to go to jail—perhaps alone among the big landlords of Bengal. When he was arrested, it is said that a vast concourse of one lakh people followed him to the police station.

For the spread of education in his neighbourhood he established the Saadat College, where students can get high education at very moderate expense, a high school for boys, a girls' school, and, for his co-religionists, a Madrasah and a Maktab. He also sent some students abroad for further education. He established a hospital and charitable dispensary also.

Sir R. Ramachandra Rao

Sir R. Ramachandra Rao, whose death at Bangalore was reported last month, was about 67 at the time of his death. Professionally he was an advocate of the Madras High Court. He was a member of the Madras Legislative Council from 1910 to 1923, and member of the Legislative Assembly from 1924 to 1926. He was a member of the All-India Liberal deputation in 1919, of the Lytton Committee on Indian Students in 1921, of the Indian Sandhurst Committee in 1924; President of the Prohibition League in 1926, President of the All-India Indian States' People's Conference in 1927; Member of the so-called Indian Round Table Conference in 1930, and President of the Madras Co-operative Central Land Mortgage Bank in 1930. He gave evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian reforms.

He was a leading member of the Indian National Liberal Federation. He took keen interest in matters relating to Indian finance and the Indian army. As President of the All-India Indian States' People's Conference he led a deputation to England on behalf of the States' people—a duty for the discharge of which he was adequately equipped, as his presidential address at their conference showed his mastery of the problems of the States' subjects.

"Manchester Guardian" on the Case of Subhas C. Bose

On receiving in Vienna the news of the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Dr. M. Atal wrote a letter to *The Manchester Guardian* which that paper published in full in its issue of April 24 last. The following paragraph is taken from that letter:

> I have often observed that the leaders of public opinion and Christian churches in England, whenever they think that a foreign nation has behaved in a culpable manner either in matters national or international, are not slow to bring severe indictments against it, but when acts outrageous in character are perpetrated in India by men of their own race they keep quiet. Their silence is puzzling. And we Indians must be excused if we do not take the moral and ethical pronouncements of the English publicists at their face value.

The following editorial in the same issue of *The Manchester Guardian* refers to Dr. Atal's letter:

The Case of Mr. Bose

> That Englishmen are natural hypocrites is an ancient belief of foreigners. We protest (it is said) our attachment to justice, never-endingly lecture other nations on their arbitrary treatment of prisoners, and at the same time ourselves fling thousands of persons into gaol and keep them there without trial or any process of law. We brag about our enthusiasm for freedom of speech at moments when parts of our Empire groan under a heavy censorship. Like it or not, these are charges often made. It would be a pity if colour continued any longer to be lent to them by such cases as that of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, recently discussed in Parliament and the subject of a letter in our correspondence columns to-day. Mr. Bose, by profession a politician and by taste an opponent of British rule, was put in gaol without trial in 1924 and kept there till 1927, put in gaol again in 1932 and kept till 1933, when his health broke down. He was then allowed to leave India for treatment. He was warned that if he returned to India it would only be to gaol. This year he has returned, and once more, accordingly, the gaol received him. The Government's defence of all this, repeated in the Commons on Tuesday, is that Mr. Bose was "connected with the terrorist movement"—in other words, that he is too dangerous to be left at large. But whatever Mr. Bose's sins or lack of them, he has never been placed on trial on any charge. He has merely been thrown into prison without being given any chance to defend himself. It is true that Mr. Bose only happens to be one of many persons similarly treated; he is prominent and has vocal friends. But is that any answer? In fact, is Mr. Bose's treatment consistent with English standards of fair play at all? Or is it the sort of thing which ought to happen only among those unenlightened "foreigners"?

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Removal of Subhas Chandra Bose to Kurseong

It is some relief that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has been removed from the sultry climate of Poona, where he was confined in Yeravada Central Prison, to the cool heights of Kurseong in the Darjeeling district, where he is interned in the house of his brother Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, who had himself been interned there.

The (unproved) allegations made by Government against both the brothers are similar. Both in turn have been interned in the same town and house. May it be hoped then that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose will be now released as his brother was? That will give some satisfaction to the public.

But nothing can completely satisfy the public except the repeal of all laws, regulations and other measures sanctioning the arbitrary imprisonment of men and women for indefinite periods without trial and conviction according to ordinary judicial processes.

Some Prominent "Moderates" Refuse to Join Civil Liberties Union

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, has invited persons of all communities and schools of political thought to combine to form a Civil Liberties Union. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer have refused to join the Union, both giving somewhat similar reasons for their decision.

"It is possible to start a non-sectarian union of this character, but I am afraid, it will not continue to be very long a non-party organization. Differences of a sharp character in the approach of certain questions are bound to arise as the question of restrictive laws cannot be approached in isolation and is bound to involve consideration of methods of work of some of the parties, their beliefs, their political aims and objects. Unfortunately, at present there is not that mutual confidence and respect among the politicians of different schools of reformist thought and others which is a necessary condition for all harmonious co-operation."

So says Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in a letter to Pandit Jawaharlal, dated May 2, expressing his inability to join the proposed Civil Liberties Union.

He says :

"While I very sincerely deplore the existence on the India statute book of laws calculated to circumscribe civil liberty, I cannot overlook the circumstances in whose wake these restrictive laws have followed. I shall be very glad if these laws were repealed and the restriction imposed on some civil liberties completely removed.

"It seems to me, however, that the achievement of the subject can be very much facilitated and accelerated by a revision of the policy and methods of work on the part of those who want political freedom and self-government. I confess, and am not very hopeful, I must say, I am not at all encouraged by your recent speech, to entertain any hope that there can be that mutual respect and confidence between your school and mine. There, it seems to me such union may, instead of doing good, easily make the position worse by giving rise to differences not only on the main issue of civil liberties which are prized by all public men but on concomittant issues which cannot be ignored in any broad and dispassionate consideration of the main issue. I very much regret, therefore, I cannot see my way of joining your proposed union."

It is the duty of prominent public men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to prevent the rise of or at least minimize the "differences of a sharp character" which, he says, are bound to arise Instead of trying to do that he makes the possibility of the rise of such differences a ground for refusing to join the Union. If there is not the necessary mutual confidence and respect among the politicians of different schools of reformist thought and others, it is the duty of such public men to come together to work for creating an atmosphere congenial to the growth of such mutual confidence and respect. Standing aloof is not the way to do it.

Sir Tej Bahadur says he very sincerely deplores the existence of laws calculated to circumscribe civil liberty and will be glad if they were repealed. But he will not co-operate with other than reformists to bring about their repeal. Nor is it clearly mentioned or indicated what he and his fellow-Liberals are doing or going to do for their repeal. There is no indication in his or Sir Sivaswamy's reply that they and other reformists want to bring the pressure of their organized collective opinion against repressive laws to bear on the Government. They must do some such thing to prove that they are in earnest in their expression of dislike of repressive laws. Of course, there is no urgency to do so, so far as they are concerned; for Government has not so far actually circumscribed the civil liberties of any Liberals, nor is likely to do so, so long as they maintain their present mentality and behaviour.

For the existence of "these restrictive laws" Sir Tej Bahadur makes the Congress school of politicians responsible, by implication, if not directly. He does not blame Government even indirectly for passing such laws. It seems to be his opinion that, for their repeal, what is necessary is not any change of policy on the part of Government but "a revision of the policy and methods of work" of the Congress party. But that party has suspended non-co-operation and civil disobedience for an indefinitely long period and adopted parliament-

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ry methods. A section of the party may even vote in favour of acceptance of office.

As regards the resumption of civil disobedience and similar 'militant' methods, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke thus in his Lucknow presidential address :

"There has been some talk of a militant programme and militant action. I do not know what exactly is meant, but if direct action on a national scale or civil disobedience are meant, then I would say that I see no near prospect of them. Let us not indulge in tall talk before we are ready for big action. Our business today is to put our house in order, to sweep away the defeatist mentality of some people, and to build up our organization with its mass affiliations, as well as to work among the masses."

We do not find anything revolutionary, anything opposed to reformism, in these observations.

If, however, the Liberals or Moderates, want Congressites to abjure direct action, civil disobedience, passive resistance and the like for ever, they should remind themselves that Gokhale did not say that passive resistance was not permissible in any circumstance and that in the Legislative Assembly even the Home Member did not require the Congress party to make any declaration of such abjuration in perpetuity.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, replying to Pandit Jawaharlal, regarding the establishment of the Civil Liberties Union, says :

There is fundamental divergence of opinion between the Congress and the Liberals since 1918. The Congress believes in complete independence with severance of British connection, whereas the Liberals believe in Dominion Status, as membership of the British Commonwealth confers security and mutual help, which is of great value in troublous days ahead. Further he says there is a difference in the methods of the two parties. He (Pandit Nehru) in his Lucknow address had propounded the revolutionary creed for uprooting existing means whereby encroachments on civil liberties may be checked.

Sir Sivaswami says the new constitution had foreseen the creation of deadlocks in the administration and provided against that and it is likely the Extremist activities may provoke further restrictions of such liberties.

Sir Sivaswami admits the existence of repressive laws and says :

The Liberals, too, are opposed to them, but these have been mostly provoked or called for by the terrorist and civil disobedience activities. He denies that suppression of civil liberties has been progressively getting more widespread and intensive. In view of this gulf, both in aim and methods, there can't be co-operation between the Liberals and the Congress and in spite of the Congress President's assurance, that the sole function of the Civil Liberties Union will be protection of civil liberties in all departments of the nation's activity and avoid any entanglement on other political or economic issues, in the very nature of things it is impossible to avoid such entanglements. Even in Russia there has been ruthless repression and curtailment of freedom of speech and press in peace time, as by other nations during war time.

Sir Sivaswami concluding says : "Reconciliation of liberty with peace and order is essential condition of national well-being and progress."

Sir Sivaswami Aiyer's talk of fundamental divergence of opinion and reference to complete independence and dominion status are not strictly relevant. It is quite possible for persons holding such divergent opinions and believing in different ultimate political goals for India to co-operate for the removal of common grievances by pursuing common non-revolutionary methods.

When Sir Sivaswami says that "extremist activities may provoke further restrictions of such liberties," that "repressive laws" "have been mostly provoked or called for by the terrorist and civil disobedience activities" (mark the juxtaposition of terrorist and civil disobedience activities), and that "Even in Russia there has been ruthless repression and curtailment of freedom of speech and press in peace time, as by other nations in war time," he seems to speak in defence or at least in extenuation of the policy of repression; he does not condemn that policy even in the mildest terms (nor does Sir Tej Bahadur)—as if ruthless repression was and is the only course that governments can adopt under the circumstances! As the replies of these public men to Mr. Nehru are not very brief, could not they have said, while blaming the Congressites directly or indirectly, that Government should have tried and should still try the policy of conciliation by the concession of an adequate measure of self-government? Had they done so, it would have been quite clear that they were not speaking like partisans as opponents of Congress and, what is still worse, as defenders of, apologists for or at least extenuators of the repressive policy of the British Government in India.

Like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Sivaswami Aiyer expresses disapproval of repressive laws. But what is the value of such disapproval when they appear to consider a repressive policy quite natural and inevitable under the circumstances?

A Moslem Leader Favours Civil Liberties Union

In refreshing contrast to the replies of the two Liberal public men Sir Wazir Hasan supports the proposal to establish a Civil Liberties

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Union. Here is an extract from his letter to Mr. Nehru.

"The existence of Civil liberties is the necessary prerequisite of all political activities in a country. I, therefore, view with apprehension the serious encroachments made daily on our liberties by an irresponsible administration. They are wholly repugnant to my sense of justice and fair play as they would be to all right thinking men.

"There are certain fundamental matters over which we cannot possibly allow difference in our political outlook to stop us from uniting. The question of starting a countrywide agitation for the protection of our civil liberties is one of them. And from this point of view I deprecate the action of those communalists, who have gone to the absurd length of refusing to participate in this work just because they approach the question of communal award from an angle, which is not the same as that of the Congress."

The Liberals have said why they cannot unite with "others." Sir Wazir says in effect that union of persons of different political outlook is possible, desirable and necessary. Sir Sivaswami Aiyer "denies that suppression of civil liberties has been progressively getting more widespread and intensive." But Sir Wazir Hasan says that he views "with apprehension the serious encroachments made *daily* on our liberties by an irresponsible administration."

Sir Wazir Hasan never engaged in the "Extremist activities" referred to by Sir Sivaswami Aiyer. As he was until recently Chief Judge of the Oudh Chief Court, presumably he values "peace and order," with which Sir Sivaswami wants the "reconciliation of liberty." Perhaps he sees no harm in "peace and order" being maintained by the sacrifice of liberty. But there are people who hold that the only means of securing enduring peace and order is the attainment of liberty by the people.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is known to be thoroughly non-sectarian and non-communal in his outlook and views and, if we are not mistaken, is a member of the Indian National Liberal Federation, which is a non-communal organization. On the other hand, Sir Wazir Hasan only recently presided over a session of the Muslim League, which is a communal organization. It is, therefore, somewhat curious and intriguing that, whereas Sir Tej Bahadur thinks that, though it is possible to start a non-sectarian union, it will not long continue to be a non-party organization, Sir Wazir has no such apprehension.

Pandit Nehru's Reply to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

It was after we had written our two foregoing notes relating to the Civil Liberties Union that we read in a daily the following very reasonable and very conciliatory statement sent to the Press by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru:

Sometime back I received Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's reply to my circular letter about the formation of an Indian Civil Liberties Union. I sent a reply to him two weeks ago. I did not give publicity either to his letter or to my reply. I find, however, that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's letter has been sent to the press, presumably by him. I am therefore issuing to the press the following reply which I sent him at the time:

"My Dear Tej Bahadurji,

"Thank you for your letter of May 1, which I have read carefully. Your objections to joining the proposed Civil Liberties Union are two; (1) It would be easier to get the restrictions on civil liberties removed if the Congress as well as possibly some others changed their methods and (2) that though a non-party union is theoretically possible, there is bound to be conflict in the approach to certain questions.

"As regards (1), it is obvious that questions of civil liberties will only arise when there is a conflict between the public or certain sections of it and the executive government. If there was an acquiescence or submission after verbal protest against the policy and activities of the Government, there would be little question of suppressing civil liberties. Only when the opposition to the government becomes felt by that government does the tendency to suppress it takes shape. Every government tend to resent forcible criticism and opposition, and democracy can only function properly if public opinion constantly checks the government and prevents it from becoming too autocratic.

"In India where there is no democracy the Government are essentially autocratic and the need for preventing them from indulging in worst excesses is thus all the greater. Obviously this does not and must not mean approval of the methods of any political party, nor does it mean that the Congress or any group should be allowed by the Government to carry on revolutionary activities or civil disobedience without check or hindrance. But there are certain fundamental principles governing civil liberties which apply to whatever the activities of political parties might be and it has been possible for other countries to promote diverse and mutually hostile group to combine together for the defence of these principles.

"Those who believe that direct action is a necessary and desirable method of political activity are likely to adhere to it. Are we then to conclude that the Government are justified not merely in meeting and trying to suppress in the ordinary way this direct action when it takes place, but also to carry on in the way they have been doing during the past few years? If that is the view taken, then that certainly is opposed to the usual conception of civil liberty.

"Your second point certainly has force though I think it should be possible for us to differ as we might to co-operate together in this field. The activities of the Civil Liberties Union would necessarily be entirely legal and constitutional in the narrow sense of the term. It might incur the displeasure of the Government, but it would not come into conflict with them.

"The real difficulty seems to be a fear that some of us in the Congress might put others in a false position by something that we might do. May I suggest, why not have a Civil Liberties Union of non-Congressmen or there might be two unions co-operating with each other, but not committing each other in any way? I can assure you that I have no desire to take advantage

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anyone else or do anything that would put him in a lse position. I am only anxious that something should e done to check the unbridled autocracy of the Government."

Yours affectionately,
-Associated Press. (Sd.) Jawaharlal Nehru.

'he Meaning of Liberty

The New Republic of New York writes :

Liberty is not an absolute, but a relative quantity. n no regime and under no circumstances, is liberty omplete. Every society forbids the doing of certain hings. What it forbids depends on the nature and aims f the society. Liberty to own private capital and seek rofit, for instance, is incompatible with socialism, and o one who favours socialism could believe in it. Civil Liberties involve chiefly the freedom of persons in elation to the government that forbids. If people can ppose the government freely, can even advocate with mpunity basic changes in its character, and if they are safeguarded, when they become involved with governmental police power, by such things as the presumption of innocence until guilt is proved and all the other appurtenances of what is known as a "fair trial," then Civil Liberties exist as completely as is humanly possible. Now liberty of this magnitude is rare and always has been. It does not exist as a free gift or as divine right, but is won and preserved, if at all, only at a great sacrifice. And it is not a condition precedent but the product of certain other conditions. It can result only from a highly stable regime that is not seriously involved with foreign enemies and in which internal opposition does not threaten the existing order. The moment a government is threatened by civil conflict, or war, civil liberties are restricted. This is historically as true of the United States as of other nations.

Subhas Chandra Bose's Interview with Romain Rolland

Some editors in India have recently received from abroad copies of an interview which Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose had at Villeneuve near Geneva with M. Romain Rolland and have reproduced the whole or parts of it. We may be allowed to remind them that the interview took place on the 3rd of April, 1935—more than a year ago, that Mr Bose wrote out the account of the interview in July of that year and sent it for publication exclusively to us and that it appeared in *The Modern Review* for September, 1935.

One of the reasons why we refer to this matter is that our esteemed contemporary, *The Servant of India*, of May 14, 1936, mentions "the publication of a summary of an interview which Babu Subhas Chandra Bose had with M. Romain Rolland *recently* on Indian politics in general," and gives extract from it in the same issue.

"The Creed of Non-Violence" and Subhas Chandra Bose

The article in the course of which *The Servant of India* makes the aforesaid extracts is entitled "The creed of non-violence." In the course of it, it writes :

In justification of the enforcement of Regulation III of 1818 against Babu Subhas Chandra Bose, the Government rely to a great extent upon his opposition to the non-violence creed of the Congress. The inference drawn by the Government is that whoever is opposed to non-violence as a creed must be in favour of the use of violence as a working policy. The fallacy underlying this reasoning is not difficult to detect. Mahatma Gandhi was the first to commit a large section of Indians to non-violence in principle.

As regards Mahatma Gandhi's actual achievement it observes :

What Mahatma Gandhi did in Indian politics was not to convert a people addicted to violence to renounce it as a matter of practical policy. For such conversion there was no room. All he did was to convert a section of the people who, convinced as they were that non-violence alone in the existing Indian conditions is practicable and desirable, felt that violence could legitimately be used in certain other possible circumstances, to the renunciation of violence in all circumstances. Subhas Babu was not one of the people so converted; but he is only one amongst many such unconverted people. And on this ground alone no valid argument can be rested that because Subhas Babu does not accept non-violence in theory he does not accept non-violence in practice either.

Our contemporary then proceeds to ask :

One would like to ask Sir Henry Craik, the Home Member, who used this argument with great self-assurance : Does he himself accept non-violence as a creed? Do other members of the Government of India accept it? Did the last Viceroy accept it, and does the present? If they do, why do they maintain such a huge army—in the opinion of Indians a vastly larger army than necessary—at the cost of an annual outlay of 45 to 50 crores out of India's restricted resources? If, like Mahatma Gandhi, to an invading army of Afghans, *e.g.*, they would offer no physical resistance, the Indian army has no function to perform. How many in the world, one would like to know, accept the Tolstoyan principle of non-resistance which Mahatma Gandhi has introduced into India? Even the League of Nations, brought into existence for the purpose of preventing the use of violence by nations, has for its basis the use of force; only it employs—or is rather intended to employ, for it never does employ—lawful force to counter unlawful force. As Viscount Cecil has said, Article 16, the Article of Sanctions, is "the kernel round which the whole of the rest of the League of Nations conception was constructed," and the sanctions allowed and in fact enjoined here include military sanctions. Collective action need not always result in military action, as Viscount Cecil observed, but it may result in military action. Resistance is the very foundation and plinth of the League of Nations; it is not the non-resistance of Tolstoy or Gandhi. And, considered philosophically, both for individuals, families, States and international bodies, the use of force must be allowed in certain circumstances. The principle of non-violence as Mahatma Gandhi preaches it is wrong. Sir Henry Craik, we are sure, will agree with us in this. Then why make so much of Subhas Babu's opposition to the Congress creed, which creed he knows is not ethically well-founded?

Nobody has accused the League of Nations or Viscount Cecil of any leaning towards

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terrorism. In fact the League has undertaken or decided to undertake an investigation into the problem of terrorism in order to find a remedy.

Our contemporary, which is very well known to be a Liberal organ incapable of favouring or conniving at terrorism, then gives its reasons for thinking that by a public trial alone can Government convince the people.

We are aware that the Government's contention is that Babu Subhas Chandra Bose goes further and advocates the use of revolutionary violence in the present circumstances in India as the right policy for Indians. Of this we would like to have clear and irrefragable evidence, and such evidence can only be afforded at an open trial in the ordinary law courts under the ordinary law. The excuse which is often trotted out for the application of extraordinary laws like Regulation III in preference to public trial is unavailable in the present case. The excuse is that the lives of witnesses would be menaced if they were produced at the trial. But such evidence as the Government seem to have in their possession against Subhas Babu is evidence that requires no witnesses and that will therefore lead to no outrage upon their lives. For the Government rely upon Subhas Babu's book, *The Indian Struggle*, his undelivered speech at the third Indian Political Conference in London, certain private letters of his, etc. All this is documentary evidence, and if it proves conclusively as the Government maintain, the incitement by Subhas Babu to violent crime and his complicity in it, why do they not put the matter to the test by a trial in the courts in the ordinary way? How can the people be convinced, from the few extracts that the Government choose to make public, that the trend of his writings and speeches is really as the Government allege? The Government have the power to keep him under detention as long as they please, and Subhas Babu will have to submit to all such persecution. But if the Government's desire is that the people at large should be satisfied about the justice of their action, then we must say that the people will be satisfied only when Subhas is put on his trial.

"United States of the World"

In April last the late Lord Allenby delivered his rectorial address to the students of Edinburgh University. Said he in the course of it:

Is it too much to believe that the human intellect is equal to the problem of designing a world State wherein neighbours can live without molestation in collective security? It does not matter what the State is called. Give it any name you please—League of Nations, Federated Nations, United States of the World. Why should there not be a world police, just as each nation has a national police force? With the enormous increase in travel facilities man has become, willingly or unwillingly, a world citizen, and the duties of that citizenship cannot be evaded; duties calling for the wholehearted co-operation of every man and woman joined in mind and purpose to promote the good and the advancement of all.

The Proposed United Moslem Party

Readers of newspapers are aware that Mr. Jinnah has been trying to form an united Moslem party. As Hindus, we do not think that in politics there can be any united Hindu party, for among Hindus there are Congressites, Liberals, non-politically minded persons, Hindu Mahasabha politicians, Sanatani politicians, responsive co-operationists, and so on. Not being expected to be intimately acquainted with Moslem political groupings, we cannot undertake to say whether there can be any politically united Moslem party. But *The Mussalman* of Calcutta is of the opinion that there cannot be. It writes:

As we have said in these columns from time to time, to unite all the Mussalmans of India on a common *political* platform is an idle dream. There are differences, in many cases, honest differences, of opinion between different groups. Politically the Mussalmans may be divided into two main groups—Progressives and Moderates. The Progressives include those who hold extreme views in matters political or economic. And the Moderates include reactionaries. The Progressives of different shades of opinion may, we think, meet on a common political platform and the Moderates of the different shades of opinion may also do so. But it is impossible for these two main groups to work and act together and the sooner the leading men belonging to these two groups realize this the better for them as also for the community.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, as the reader is aware, is trying to bring the Mussalmans of India under the banner of the Muslim League. To try to do so is, of course, quite legitimate but there should be no despondency or disappointment in any quarter if the attempt meet with partial failure. In the Punjab Sir Fazl-i-Hussain has flatly refused to join the Muslim League as he thinks that at the coming elections his party will be fully successful. Whether his party will meet with success or not, we are unable to say. But this much we believe, and believe very strongly, that Mr. M. A. Jinnah and a man of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain's mentality cannot possibly work together.

Training School for Village Workers

Harijan writes that the academic year of the All-India Village Industries Association Training School for Village Workers will begin from the 1st of July, 1936. The subjects of training are:

(1) Carding, spinning and one more industry. (2) Drill and physical exercise. (3) Book-keeping. (4) District and Village administration and local self-government institutions. (5) Village Economics. (6) Co-operation. (7) Sanitation, Health and Hygiene. (8) Recitation of Bhajans. (9) History and Constitution of the Congress and the working of the All-India Village Industries Association and All-India Spinners' Association. (10) Hindi (except for those who know the language well). (11) Methods of spreading literacy.

All the subjects are important. Not the least important and necessary is the last.

Anti-foreigner Law of Iraq

The Iraq Government has passed a law prohibiting foreigners, of whom large numbers

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are Indians, from pursuing the following trades and professions :

Printing, photography, showing of cinema films, smith's work, barber's work, carpentry, masonry, tailoring, painting, weaving, musician's work, dancing and transportation, in the local civil services and loading and unloading of the goods, lighting, heating and water supply, and permanent services as motor car drivers, steam engine and carriage drivers, and manufacture of cigarettes, sadars (caps), hats, and footwear, and work in hotels and bakeries and service anywhere as labourer, or watchman and service in various trades and places such as restaurants, clubs, baths, coffee-shops, and shops, theatres etc., and such trades and professions as shall be decided upon from time to time by special regulations.

Under this law certain exceptions can be made in certain circumstances. But these will not appreciably improve the position of the foreigner in Iraq.

The British Government in India cannot pass any such law against foreigners. For that will go against the interests of Britishers and the white citizens of the Dominions and British colonies. If in India Government passed such a law against all foreigners except Britishers and white British colonials, the governments of all non-British independent countries may be expected to retaliate by discriminating against Britishers and British colonials.

"*Jawaharlal Nehru : An Autobiography*"

It is not usual for us to acknowledge in our editorial columns the receipt of books for review. If we do so in the case of "Jawaharlal Nehru : An Autobiography," it is because we got it from England from the publishers on the 24th May last, weeks after long extracts from the book had appeared in some dailies. We presume the publishers did not discriminate against us. Who then was or were responsible for the late delivery of the book to us? Let the reader guess and keep the secret to himself.

It is really a big book, though it does not look like one. On a rough estimate it contains some 3,50,000 words. We have dipped into it here and there, found it very interesting, and hope to derive much pleasure and profit from it. It enables the reader to understand not only the author's striking personality but gives revealing glimpses as well of some of the outstanding personalities of the times.

Overseas Indians : A Centenary

On the 29th of December, 1935, the Centenary of Indian colonization in Mauritius was celebrated with an assemblage of over 5,000 persons presided over by Mr. R. K. Boodhun, Bar-at-Law. Mr. T. K. Swaminathan of the Indian Colonial Society (Founded in April, 1916) was requested to unveil the memorial obelisk and in April, 1936, the "Indian Centenary Book" was published from Port Louis, Mauritius. Herein we have the pleasure of reading the communication of Robert Edward Hart, the famous Mauritian poet of European fame (rewarded by the French Academy), the poem of Mr. J. R. de Lingen on the "Kings from Kurukshetra," notes on "Indian womanhood in Mauritius" by Messrs. Singh and Gaya and other interesting items. The Presidential address of Mr. Boodhun was throughout inspired by a lofty idealism and constitutional sagacity. "A centenary of Indian life in Mauritius" was a brilliant survey by Mr. K. Hazareesing, Secretary to the local "Indian Cultural Association." Mr. Hazareesing dedicated his centennial address in English to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and another paper in French to Dr. Kalidas Nag, Founder-Secretary of the Greater India Society. He will soon publish a "History of the Indians in Mauritius," which should be eagerly received by all Indians.

Already a book was published last year by Mr. Aunauth Beejadhur, entitled "Les Indiens a l'Ile Maurice" (Gaud & Co., Port Louis), in which the history of Indian Immigration is traced back to 1735 when the famous La Bourdonnais was the Governor. Sugar cultivation proved to be a profitable concern and paucity of local labour was met by extensive slave trade in the Indian Ocean. About 1758 a large number of slaves were imported from Madagascar, East Africa and Bengal. In Baron Grant's "The History of Mauritius" (London 1801) we find that the Bengalees were preferred for domestic work. "That class (Bengalees) was remarkable as much for sweetness of their manners and their cleanliness as for their hair and features, resembling those of the Europeans, from whom they differed only in colour." In 1834, thanks to the efforts of Wilberforce, slavery was abolished in British colonies and between 1834-'8 "more than 24,000 immigrants" came from India to Mauritius. In 1851 they were admitted to all the rights of citizenship. In 1874 several reforms and labour laws were introduced. In 1909 the Royal Commission, noticing the increase in Indian population, recommended discontinuance of immigration and in 1922 the indentured labour system came to an end.

The vicissitudes and problems, no less than the silent achievements of our brothers and sisters abroad, against tremendous odds, should rouse the attention and sympathy of the whole

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of India, as has been often pleaded through the Greater India Society and articles in *The Modern Review* and *Vishal Bharat*. While offering our hearty congratulations to our friends of Mauritius, we beg to request them to raise a central fund in co-operation with diverse groups of overseas Indians and to help erecting and endowing a National Overseas Association for India. The Indian Colonial Society of Madras, the Imperial Citizenship Association of Bombay and other similar organizations in India should keep in constant touch with Indian colonies abroad, in Africa or America, in the Pacific or in the Indian Ocean, and each and every person should aspire thereby to build the final edifice of the National Overseas Association to redress the grievances and further the progress and welfare of all Indians abroad.

Rabindranath Tagore's Birthday in Tokyo

Last month Rabindranath Tagore completed seventy-five years of his life. The occasion was celebrated in Santiniketan, Calcutta and other places in India in an appropriate manner. In some of the functions the poet himself was present and read some of his latest poems in prose, which were published in book form on his birthday.

In Tokyo a portrait of his in oils, painted by Miss Elizabeth Brunner, an Hungarian artist, was exhibited by her. This was executed when the poet completed the 70th year of his life. Miss Brunner lived at Santiniketan for some time with her mother, Mrs. Sass Brunner. They dressed with the utmost simplicity consistent with decency, walked barefooted and lived entirely on uncooked food. While here in India Miss Burnner took part in one of Tagore's dance-plays.

Private Landlordism & Government Landlordism

In an address at Benares Babu Purusottamdas Tandon, for whom we have sincere respect, wanted the abolition of the system of private landlordism, which prevails in several provinces of India in order to ameliorate the condition of the actual cultivators of the soil by freeing them from oppression and unconscionable exactions. We are at one with him in thinking that the actual cultivators of the soil lead miserable, and, what is perhaps worse, utterly demoralized lives and that in order to improve their lot various radical changes are required. If the abolition of private landlordism be indispensably necessary, we would not object to it. Of course, we are not for expropriation of the landlords without compensation, nor does Babu Purusottamdas Tandon suggest any such thing. He is for compensating them. But the real question is, are the cultivators of the soil in those provinces of India in which there are no private landlords and where the farmers and peasants have direct relations with the Government, better off on the whole than those of the provinces where there are private landlords. Is the system of private landlordism so bad, comparatively speaking, that it cannot be mended but must be ended? We must bear in mind Indian conditions, including the fact that India is not a free but a subject country. Here state landlordism would not now be synonymous with the nation's proprietorship of the land, it would be practically synonymous with a foreign nation's proprietorship thereof.

Shahidganj Case Judgment

LAHORE, May 25.

Mr. Sales, Sessions Judge of Lahore, pronounced order in the Sahidgunj Suit brought by Dr. Alam and Mr. Nuruddin for declaration of rights of the Mosque to say prayer in the alleged Shahidgunj Mosque and for its possession respectively on behalf of certain Muslims. Dr. Alam's suit for declaration was dismissed and the parties are to bear their own costs. The Judge held that the Mosque is a juristic person, hence the suit for declaration lay, but the Mosque had not been used as Mosque since it came under the control of the Sikhs about 1762. The suit was timebarred.

The suit filed by Mr. Nuruddin for possession of the alleged Mosque was also dismissed with costs.

Hartal Due to Shahidganj Judgment

The Panjab Government took adequate precautions to prevent any possible disturbances. There was only a peaceful *hartal* in Lahore.

LAHORE, May 25.

Muslims are observing complete Hartal. As the report spread about the judgment of the Shahidganj suit, which was broadcasted by various extraordinary issues of the Muslim Urdu dailies, all Muslim activities were suspended as a protest. Announcement is being made by beat of drums of a meeting at the Badshahi Mosque after prayers today. Police pickets have been strengthened in the city. Peace is, however, prevailing everywhere.

—*United Press.*

Kaku Shah Tomb Case

LAHORE, May 25.

In the appeal preferred by 11 Sikh leaders including Jathedar Tara Singh, President of the Local Gurdwara Committee, who was convicted under Sections 297/149 I. P. C. for alleged demolition of the tomb of Pir Kaku Shah on July 9 and August 15, 1935, the Sessions Judge acquitted all the accused today.

The Court held that Section 297 I. P. C. (Trespass) had no application in this case, firstly because the Court was not satisfied that there was a tomb and secondly because no trespass was committed.

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The accused in the lower court were sentenced to imprisonment ranging between 9 and 15 months.
—*United Press.*

Education and Free Distribution of Milk

Lord Linlithgow, the Governor-General, has recently taken personal interest in the scheme of free distribution of milk to under-nourished school children of poor parents by the Simla Municipality. This should be appreciated to the extent that it deserves. Considering that in India the vast majority of the people, of all ages, are under-nourished, free distribution of milk to a few children is a microscopic palliative. The mass of the people cannot be fed by any outside agency, official or non-official. They must feed themselves to the full. But even if the entire population of a country could be given doles by some vast alms-giving organization, that would be highly objectionable. For, human society is not a cattle farm to be taken care of by some extraneous agency. Man's 'manness,' his glory, lies in this that he can think for himself, fend for himself, help himself. Without self-rule and education he cannot do all this.

At the close of the function of distribution of milk, H. E. the Viceroy is reported to have said :

"What indeed is the use of spending public funds on objects such as education, welfare schemes and the like, if the people have not the health and vigour of mind and body to take full advantage of them and to enjoy them?"

Words like these may convey the impression that in India there are superabundant educational facilities and a perfect plethora of welfare schemes and the like, and that it is only because the people lack health and vigour of mind and body that they cannot take full advantage of them and enjoy them. But the fact is that in the civilized world India holds the record for illiteracy and shameful inadequacy of educational facilities as well as for malnutrition and sickliness. Reforms generally are interdependent. No people can be well fed unless they are self-fed. No people can be self-fed unless they are self-ruling. It is easier to keep an ignorant and uneducated people deprived of self-rule than an educated and enlightened people. Therefore, India wants education, India wants self-rule, India wants to be self-fed but not alms-fed, and India wants to formulate her own welfare schemes and to carry them out.

"Vigour of mind" is generally believed to be due, in part at least, to sufficient exercise of the mental faculties, which is impossible in the absence of education. Therefore, if without mental vigour people cannot take advantage of education, it is also true that without education they cannot have mental vigour. The two are interrelated and interdependent.

Miss Mary Chesley

[Abridged from *Harijan*]

Miss Mary Chesley, an English woman, came to India in 1934. Her desire was to serve India through her villages. . . . She had come to know of Miss Mary Barr, who had already commenced village work in Khedi, a village a few miles from Betul (C. P.). Miss Chesley found her way to Mary Barr. . . . Miss Chesley showed a determination that surprised me. She began work with Mary Barr in Khedi, adopted the Indian costume and changed her name to Taraben and toiled at Khedi in a manner that alarmed poor Mary Barr. She would dig, carry baskets full of earth on her head. She simplified her food as much as to put her health in danger. She had her own handsome income from Canada, from which she kept only a paltry sum of about Rs. 10 for herself and gave the rest to the A. I. V. I. A. or to Indians with whom she came in contact and who seemed to her to give promise of being good village workers and who needed some pecuniary help. I came in closest touch with her. Her charity was boundless, she had great faith in the goodness of human nature. She was forgiving to a fault. She was a devout Christian. She belonged to a Quaker family. But she had no narrowness about her. She did not believe in converting others to her own faith. She was a graduate of the London School of Economics and a good teacher, having conducted together with a companion a school in London for several years. She formed a plan of going to Badrikedar during summer. I had warned her against the adventure. But it was difficult to turn her from such adventures when once her mind was made up. So only the other day she started with her friends on her perilous pilgrimage. And I got a brief message on the 15th from Kankhal saying, "Taraben expired." In her love for India's villages she was not to be excelled by anybody. Her passion for India's Independence was equal to that of the best among us. She was impatient of the inferiority complex wherever she noticed it. She mixed with poor women and children with the greatest freedom. There was nothing of the patron about her. She would take service from none, but would serve anybody with the greatest zeal. She was a self-effacing mute worker whose left hand did not know what the right had done. May her soul rest in peace

M. K. GANDHI

President Roosevelt's Concern for Minorities, But Not for Majorities

NEW YORK, May 25.

President Roosevelt's concern for the fate of the oppressed minorities in certain countries was mentioned by Mr. H. L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, speaking at a dinner under the auspices of the United Palestine. In an appeal he declared that the President was distressed and disturbed by the oppression of the minorities in certain parts of the world.

Mr. Ickes, without mentioning any specific countries, discussed the oppression of the Jews and then quoted

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Mr. Roosevelt as saying that, so long as the minorities were deprived of the liberty of thought and religion and the right to normal civilized life, there could be no permanent understanding between the nations.

It is to be hoped that, *at least in the secrecy of his heart,* President Roosevelt feels some concern for the majority in some countries where they are deprived of "the right to normal civilized life"—Abyssinia, for example, or why not India also?

Some Bombay Businessmen's Anti-Socialist Manifesto

Some Bombay businessmen appear to have been alarmed by the presidential address and other utterances of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru advocating socialism. These capitalists do not appear to have heard that many very big capitalists abroad have yielded in practice to some socialistic principles, and that even the Governments of such capitalist countries as Britain and America have adopted or intend to adopt socialistic methods. What do the protesting Bombay businessmen think of the British prime minister Mr. Baldwin's announcement that the British coal industry would be taken over by the government and would be run for the benefit of the people as a national enterprise? Is that not a bit of socialism?

We are not socialists ourselves. But we believe that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was right to a great extent when he said that socialism would come whether one liked it or not; for whether the name socialism was adopted or not, the fundamental principles of socialism would triumph. The profiteering motive in commerce and industry must go, all persons must have work to do and be entitled to the fruits of their labour, the human needs of all must be attended to, and all must have opportunities to grow to their full stature.

Jawaharlal to Concentrate on the Political Issue

BOMBAY, May 15.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru received journalists, this afternoon, and discussed with them, for nearly two hours, various aspects of Socialism and how it can be applied in India and elucidated his own position 'vis-a-vis' the Congress and Socialism.

Said he, in part :

"I don't think any of the fundamental problems of India—and the most important of these is the land problem—can be solved except through Socialism. Believing so, I think our first problem is the political problem, which means gaining power in this country. We cannot tackle our economic problem until we have gained political power. Therefore, I want to co-operate with all the elements in the country whose aim is to achieve political freedom."

Financing Business for Detenus in Bengal

The "Associated Press" understands that arrangements are being made to finance detenus to start their own business on being released after training. About one hundred detenus are under training in agriculture and industrial pursuits for about six months and it is expected that the first batch will complete their training much before the scheduled time. It is understood that large orders have been secured with a view to convincing the detenus of the extent of market they are expected to get when they start their own factories on release.

Secretary of State Accepts Niemeyer Report In Toto

The Secretary of State has been very considerate to the critics of the Niemeyer Report. Had he rejected or altered any of the recommendations of Sir Otto Niemeyer, his own handiwork would have had to be commented upon. The critics have been spared that labour. He has entirely accepted Sir Otto's conclusions. "April 1, 1937, should be appointed as the date for the commencement of provincial autonomy" —& Ottonomy. Some of the reasons for Lord Zetland's wholesale acceptance of Sir Otto's recommendations will be understood from the following extracts from his long telegraphic despatch to the Government of India :

It was perhaps inevitable that, so long as a final decision had not been pronounced upon the extent of the benefit that each province might expect to receive, the comments of the provincial Governments should, generally speaking, have been designed mainly to emphasise their individual difficulties and natural desires for greater resources. In any case, it was scarcely to be expected that, where aspirations considerably outrun financial possibilities and expectations have risen high, and where the effects of the set-back that accompanied the depression are still keenly felt, the necessarily limited proposals now under consideration would receive from this quarter an unqualified welcome.

Again :

As the Joint Committee has pointed out, the problem of allocation of the resources in the Federal system has everywhere proved singularly impracticable, for the conflict of interests that arises is practically incapable of complete solution. The assessment of the relative financial need of the Centre and of provinces collectively is a sufficiently difficult task, but the other aspect of the problem, the adjudication of the rival claims of the provinces, gives rise to issues of even greater delicacy. I share the Government of India's view that in both respects Sir Otto's report must be regarded as in the nature of a quasi-arbitral award and it is accordingly clear that such a nicely balanced scheme could not probably be disturbed except for the strongest reasons. I have examined the recommendations closely on this basis so far as it concerns the aggregate assistance to be afforded to the provinces. I am not prepared to dissent from the Government of India's view that it is out of the question at the present moment for the Central Government to undertake greater commitments, immediate or prospective, than Sir Otto has recommended.

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In these circumstances it is of course clear that any material alteration in the treatment accorded to a particular province can be made only at the expense of other provinces.

How extensive is the field of the controversy to which this would lead is readily apparent from the conflicting views of the Provincial Governments that are before me. Each province is inevitably convinced of the strength of its own claims and is bound to experience difficulty in appreciating the significance of its case relatively to the circumstances of the other provinces.

The provinces must not hope for any early or certain relief from the transfer to them of part of the income-tax.

I agree that in any case there is bound to be some uncertainty whether the programme for the transfer of income-tax to the provinces can be fully realized . . . While every effort will be made so far as I am concerned and also, I have no doubt, by the Government of India, to fulfil the hopes now extended to the provinces, the scheme cannot be assumed by them to represent the final commitment.

There is uncertainty, too, as regards the extent to which Bengal may benefit by the assignment of part of the jute export duty to her. Says the Secretary of State :

As regards Bengal I would add that it cannot, in my opinion, properly be assumed that the power in respect of the jute export duty placed by the Government of India Act in the Central Legislature will not be exercised with due regard to the economic interests of that province. On such an assumption applied throughout the field of central legislation, which of necessity includes subjects that affect certain units more than others, the Federal idea would be practically unworkable. In so far, however, as there may be a case for reducing sooner or later the rate of the jute export duty, I think it necessary to say now that if, on account of such a reduction, the value to the growing provinces of their percentages were materially reduced, it would be necessary to consider whether in the circumstances those provinces required additional assistance either in the form of a change in the jute duty percentage or otherwise.

Serious Arab Disturbances in Palestine

There have been serious disturbances by the Arabs in Palestine accompanied with bloodshed and loss of life. Perhaps they still continue, though a *Reuter*'s telegram, dated London, May 27, states that a communiqué from the High Commissioner for Palestine to the Colonial Office states that the situation throughout the country is much quieter.

The present unrest, as well as past disturbances in recent times, may be regarded as due to the settlement of Jews from abroad in Palestine, their ancient home. That in the course of the latest disturbances "Jewish crops are being burned," lends support to this view.

Riots again in Syria

There was recurrence of riots in Syria. As to their cause, the reader is referred to two notes in our last issue, page 582.

Secondary Education in the Panjab & Bengal

In this year's matriculation examination of the Panjab University more than 20 thousand candidates appeared. The Panjab has a population of 23 millions in round numbers. The provinces of Assam and Bengal, which are served by the Calcutta University, have a population of more than 60 millions. Hence, if secondary education were as widespread in these two provinces, relatively speaking as in the Panjab, Calcutta University should have had at least 50,000 thousand candidates for its matriculation examination. But it has had this year half that number.

Dr. Jivaraj Mehta on Ayurvedic & Unani Systems of Medicine

Dr. Jivaraj Mehta, the distinguished medical man of Bombay, believes that Ayurvedic and Unani physicians "are able to suggest medicines which the very poor can afford." For this and other reasons he is not opposed to the systems which they follow, nor to the establishment in India's allopathic medical colleges of chairs of these systems. Were they to be instituted, it would be possible in these colleges to teach students the relevant knowledge about "drugs or household remedies which the poor can buy conveniently."

Cultivation of Indian Medicinal Plants

Dr. Jivaraj Mehta also strongly advocates, in his presidential address at the medical practitioners' conference held at Bhusawal, the cultivation of medicinal plants on a large scale and in a scientific manner in order that the drug industry may be adequately developed in this country.

In this connection we would invite the attention of all concerned to the second, revised and greatly enlarged, edition of the late Major B. D. Basu's monumental work on Indian Medicinal Plants. This work will greatly help both physicians and the manufacturers of drugs in their avocations. It has been revised and brought up to date by Father Blatter, S.J. and Father Caius, S.J., of Bombay and Dr. Mhaskar of Poona. Foreign manufacturers of medicines from Indian plants are sure to utilize it to their

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advantage. Indian manufacturers should be equally enterprising. Three out of the four volumes of the text of the work and the four portfolios of plates are ready and the fourth volume will be published as soon as the index is ready.

All-India Depressed Classes Conference

The All-India Depressed Classes Conference, held last month at Lucknow under the presidentship of Mr. Rasiklal Biswas of Bengal, urged that no member of the depressed classes should change his religion till the final decision was taken by the next session of the Conference. It expressed full confidence in Dr. Ambedkar, appointed a committee with Dr. Ambedkar as President to consider the question of conversion and submit its report to the next Conference, protested against the use of the word "Harijan," and requested the Government to make arrangements for the free primary education of depressed class children. Also,

> The Conference drew the attention of the Government to forced labour (*begar*) and requested them to appoint a committee consisting of one European, one Muslim, one Hindu and two members of the depressed classes to enquire and suggest ways and means for its abolition.

Practical Closing of Africa to Indian Settlement

Lord Olivier, a former Secretary of State for India, has written a letter to the London *Times* drawing attention to the adverse effect upon Indian emigration to South Africa and Kenya of the policies adopted by the dominion government in the former and the British Government in the latter. Two questions that he asks are :

> "Have not our Indian fellow-subjects a better claim to consideration in any such controversy as this than Germans, Poles or Italians? What are Lord Linlithgow and Lord Zetland thinking on this point?"

Indians will be grateful to him for his letter. But why does he not denounce the anti-Indian policy of the governments of Canada, Australia and New Zealand also?

Mexican Fruit Exports

We read in the *Weekly News Sheet,* issued by the Government of Mexico :

> Exports of Mexican fruits to the United States and Japan have grown considerably, according to figures furnished by the Ministry of National Economics, an increase in the case of fresh bananas alone having been registered from . . . 5.467,171.00 to 11.920,384.00 pesos' worth, while lemons jumped from 1.106,139.00 to 4.514,916.00 pesos and melons from 955,336.00 to 2.134,078.00 pesos.
>
> The fact should be noted that a strong demand for lemons in Germany is expected due to the cessation of supplies from Italy, which will stimulate Mexican exports of this particular fruit considerably during the course of the year. The demand for other fruits has also been strong, especially peeled nuts, pine nuts, cocoanuts, oranges and watermelons, over 100,000.00 pesos' worth having been exported of each one of these.

The Government of India and our Chambers of Commerce ought to be able to say what is being done to develop our fruit-growing industry for increasing consumption in the country as well as export.

Congress Foreign Department's Circular

ALLAHABAD, May 25.

The Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress has sent circulars to organizations of various descriptions outside India and to Indians overseas from the A. I. C. C. office at Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad. One circular sent in the name of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress and of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, Head of the Foreign Department and addressed to the freedom movements in other colonial and semi-colonial countries says :—

"Our struggle for freedom in this country has much in common with your freedom struggle, for we both, together with many other nations and peoples, have to face imperialism in its various aspects. We have long sympathised with each other and realized that this common bond united us. We feel, however, that the essential oneness of this should lead to greater knowledge and appreciation of each other so that each one of us, engrossed as we are in our own national struggle, should keep the larger end in view and fashion our own work accordingly."—*United Press.*

Right Move in Trade Union Congress Session

BOMBAY, May 19.

The Trade Union Congress Session came to a conclusion on Monday after it had adopted several resolutions.

The first three resolutions ratified the decision already arrived at by the body on Sunday in regard to (1) the new constitution, (2) offering co-operation to the Indian National Congress, and (3) unity between the Trade Union Congress and National Trade Union Federation on the basis proposed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President.

By another resolution the Trade Union Congress welcomed the Lucknow Congress resolution to bring the Congress in closer relation with the workers and peasants, and further requested the Indian National Congress to give the A. I. T. U. Congress direct affiliation.

Mr. P. N. Sapru's and Sir A. H. Ghaznavi's Coastal Traffic Bill

France, Greece, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Turkey, Japan, and the United States of America are the principal countries which at

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present reserve their coastal traffic to national vessels. Argentina, Brazil and Chile reserve such trade to their national vessels but permit foreign vessels to carry passengers from one port to another. Great Britain herself in times past built up her large mercantile marine by her Navigation Laws, which discriminated against foreign shipping. These laws were in force so long as it was necessary, and were withdrawn only when, British supremacy at sea being fully established, they became superfluous and served only to irritate other countries, which adopted a retaliatory policy. It is also well known, as readers of Major B. D. Basu's *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries* are aware, that the Chief British industries were built up on the ruins of Indian industries destroyed by the arm of political injustice.

Mr. Kshitish Chandra Neogy wanted to have a law passed for reserving coastal traffic in Indian waters to national vessels. This duty was later transferred to Mr. Haji as one better equipped to pilot it through the legislature. The Indian public need not be reminded of the fate of Mr. Haji's Bill.

A similar bill cannot now be introduced in the Assembly or the Council of State with expectation of a better fate. What Britain herself once did, and may again do to protect herself against Italian, American or Japanese competition and what is still done by the countries named in the first few lines of this note, has been dubbed "discrimination" by the British parliament in last year's Government of India Act. The Indian legislature has been made powerless to commit the heinous crime of such "discrimination" between ships owned by Indians or Indian companies and those owned by foreigners or foreign companies. Our "Swaraj" Parliament can not only not exclude foreign ships from our coastal traffic, it cannot even grant any subsidies, bounties or any other form of state aid to Indian vessels for which British ships doing business here will not be equally eligible.

Under the circumstances, the utmost that can be done to help national vessels has been attempted to be done by the hon'ble Mr. P. N. Sapru by the introduction in the Council of State of a bill to control unfair competition in the coastal trade. It has been sponsored in the Assembly by Sir A. H. Ghaznavi. It is a very modest measure giving the Governor-General in Council to fix minimum rates and to prohibit the grant of rebates when he is satisfied that unfair competition exists in the coastal trade. We wish the sponsors all success.

Bengal Government & the Niemeyer Report

The comments of the Bengal Government on the Niemeyer Report are eminently fair. Bengal ought to have got more from the proceeds of the income-tax and the whole of the proceeds from the export duty on the jute produced in Bengal. The Bengal Government have given unanswerable reasons for the position taken up by them. Lord Zetland, as a former Governor of Bengal, cannot be unaware of the soundness of the Bengal Government's arguments. But all in vain. The communal decision discriminated against Bengal more than against any other province, the white paper did so, the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report followed suit, the Government of India Act went one better, and the *coup de grace* has come from the Niemeyer Report and the Secretary of State's despatch accepting it in its entirety. Bengal must resolve to advance in the face of all sorts of handicaps and opposing combinations.

Mokhtar Ahmad Ansari

In Mokhtar Ahmad Ansari the country has lost an eminent patriot, a Mussalman nationalist, a distinguished physician, a man of cosmopolitan sympathies and a great gentleman.

Fear of imprisonment did not deter him from taking part in the Non-co-operation movement. Nor did the rigours of jail life lead him after his release to sever his connection with Congress. He had to retire from the field of active politics owing to reasons of health. How precarious his health had become was cruelly demonstrated by his sudden death in a railway train.

He was a sage counsellor, and, as such, enjoyed the full confidence and intimate friendship of Mahatma Gandhi. There was no narrow communalism in his political and social outlook.

Many ruling chiefs and princes and other wealthy men of various religious communities were among his clientele. But the handsome retainers and fees which he got from them did not go to enrich him. What he got from the rich he spent for his poor patients, giving them not only medical advice, but medicine and diet also, and sometimes lodgings, too, so that his palatial residence was not unoften like a hospital. And those he helped came from different religious communities. His charities of other kinds, too, were extensive and non-communal in character. Many are the students who owe their education to him—some

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in foreign countries. His hospitality, too, was lavish and truly oriental and cosmopolitan in character.

Mokhtar Ahmad Ansari

His high position in the medical profession was a proof of the excellent education and training in the healing art which he had received in India and England. This he utilized for his practice. He went to help Turkey with an ambulance in Italy's war against the former country. He wanted afterwards to render similar help to China but could not obtain the necessary permission.

Apart from his attainments in the science and art of medicine, his general culture was of a high order.

I never had the honour of being introduced to him. Nevertheless, when I wrote to him for his opinion of the Rev. J. T. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* before its publication, sending him a copy of the entire typescript of the book, he promptly sent me a reply addressing me like a personal friend and afterwards sent me a well written appreciation of the book, which I duly forwarded to the great American friend of India. This treatment of me, a stranger, by the great and good doctor and leader I could not but contrast with that of another leader (to whom I was not a stranger) who never even acknowledged the receipt the typescript and a copy each of the first and second editions of the book (before it had been proscribed), all sent to him by registered post successively.

Sir R. N. Mookerjee

Sir R. N. Mookerjee died last month at the age of 82—full of years and honours. His death cannot be said to be untimely. But it leaves all the same, a gap in the business world and in the sphere of social and educational welfare work which there is no one in Bengal to fill. He lost his father at the age of seven, and owed his education to others—particularly to his mother, to whose memory he clung till his last days with the most tender affection and reverence. When the Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes in Assam and Bengal, of which he was President, celebrated his eightieth birthday at the Calcutta Albert Hall and when after divine service, Dr. P. K. Acharji, Secretary to the Society, referred in feeling terms to an incident in his early life connected with his mother, Sir R. N. Mookerjee wept like a motherless child.

After receiving general education up to the standard required for beginning his engineering education at the Presidency College, Calcutta—the Engineering College at Sibpur had not then been established, he joined the engineering classes. He could not, however, complete his course for a degree in engineering. But he had so mastered the principles of engineering and such were his intellectual powers, industry, character, business capacity and methodical habits, that he rose to be a most successful engineer and a business magnate who was head of two of the biggest firms in Calcutta.

Though he had become rich and attained high rank in society, he did not become purse-proud—he never forgot that he was once very poor. Nor did he forget the village Bhabla in the Twenty-four Pargannas district where he was born. He endowed this village with educational institutions and sanitary amenities which few villages in Bengal possess. Nor were his charities confined to this village. The number of poor people whom he relieved is not known. The Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes, to which reference has been made above, owes to him help not only in the

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ape of substantial annual subscriptions but so donations to its permanent fund. He got oney for it from others also by writing per-nal letters to many well-to-do men, Indian nd European, and, so long as he ad sufficient strength left, he ttended its committee meetings nd guided and followed the details f its work regularly. The giving f so much time to one institution vas no easy thing for a busy man ike him, considering that this ociety has some 450 schools cattered over most of the dis-ricts of Bengal and Assam and ome other activities, too. All this we write from personal know-ledge, which we do not possess in respect of other institutions with which he was connected.

He did not take part in politics. But he respected political workers whom he knew to be selfless. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who enjoyed his esteem and con-fidence, he helped with a regular monthly *dakshina*. That sub-stantial amounts were subscribed for the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan was due not a little to the fact that he had agreed to be the honorary treasurer of the fund, and it may be presumed that he consented to be its treasurer because he believed in the reality of Deshbandhu C. R. Das's renunciation.

We have it on the authority of one who, though much younger, knew Sir Rajendra Nath intimately and enjoyed his con-fidence that Government sounded him as to whether he would accept the position of a "delegate" to the so-called Indian Round Table Conference. He did not agree, as he did not believe that Government were inclined to confer any self-governing powers on the people, and presumably he did not care to be unpopular with his countrymen by going on a fool's errand and being used as a cat's paw in the hands of the bureaucracy.

Sir R. N. Mookerjee

A Bengal Silk Shop in Bombay

BOMBAY.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu performed the opening ceremony of a new shop called the "Bengal Silk Stores" at 407, Kalbadevi Road. A number of guests were present, among whom were Mr. Nagindas T. Master, Mr. Ganpat Shanker Desai, Mr. Ramdas Pratap and Mrs. Kusum Ben Patel.

The shop stocks handspun and handwoven silk produced in Vishnupur, Bankura district, Bengal.

Mrs. Naidu, speaking in Hindi, said that Bengal was her province, though she had settled down elsewhere, her ancestors had come from Bengal and she had a soft corner in her heart for the province. Bengal was famous for its silks, and while it was fine, it was cheap also.

Rammohun Roy Birthday in Lahore

LAHORE.

The birth anniversary of Raja Rammohan Roy was celebrated on Sunday, the 24th May, in the Sadhan Ashram Hall, under the presidentship of Dr. Satyapal, President, the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee.

The President said that he considered it an honour to preside over that meeting, because Raja Rammohan Roy was a great leader, a peerless patriot, a great interpreter of true religion, a devoted friend of humanity,

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and a trusted son of India who endeavoured to save India from its disruption and disunion.

Lala Sham Lal, M.L.A., said that the Raja was a true friend and saviour of women; he fought for their rights, he saved them from that inhuman practice "Sati"; he also fought against many an evil and injurious, ignorant and superstitious custom whereof the Hindu women were helpless victims. The Raja proclaimed the solidarity of human brotherhood and the worship of one true God.

Mr. Yakub Khan, Editor, "The Light," declared that the Raja preached a religion which asked people to respect human beings as human beings but not as Hindus or Mussalmans. The Brahmo Samaj, the founder of which was Raja Rammohan, stood for the essentials of all religions and the fundamental rights of all religions. The Raja's appeal to the people of his day was that all men and women should be given freedom to raise themselves to their full stature of manhood and womanhood.

Prof. Ross Wilson said that the Raja was dear to him because he maintained his individuality without getting himself submerged or overpowered by his caste or community and because he let the richness of his individuality reveal itself in three great virtues of mankind, namely, courage, independence, which was linked with sweet reasonableness and the consciousness of the supreme reality of God.

U. P. Liberal Committee's Resolutions

ALLAHABAD, May 26.

At a meeting of the Committee of the U. P. Liberal Association held under the presidency of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, a resolution was passed protesting against the incarceration of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose "again without charge or trial." Such a proceeding was characterised as "opposed to all notions of justice" and being "bound to accentuate discontent." The Committee expressed the opinion that it was imperative "either that Mr. Bose be set free or a regular charge be drawn up against him and he be placed before a Judicial Tribunal in order to vindicate his innocence."

The Committee accorded strong support to Dr. Bhagavan Das' Bill validating inter-caste marriages among Hindus and the Coastal Traffic Bill sponsored by Mr. P. N. Sapru in the Council of State and by Sir A. H. Ghuznavi in the Assembly.

Venereal Diseases in the Army in India

According to the report on the health of British and Indian soldiers in India for the year 1934, there were 34.1 cases of venereal diseases for every 1000 British soldiers against 10.8 cases for every 1000 Indian soldiers.

Calcutta University Fellowship for Blind Scholar

For the first time in the history of the Calcutta University, and perhaps in that of other Indian universities, too, a blind young graduate is being sent abroad for further studies. He is Mr. Subodh Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., who has been blind from the very beginning of his educational career. The University Senate has awarded him one of the Ghosh Travelling Fellowships for 1936-37 to enable him to prosecute advanced study and research on the subject of "Education of the Blind," at present at the Royal Normal College in London, which has agreed to give him special facilities. He may subsequently go to America to study at the Perkins Institution for the Blind at Massachusetts. There are about 60,000 blind people in Bengal, whereas in Calcutta there is provision for teaching only 100 blind pupils in the blind school in Calcutta. Mr. Ray's return to India after finishing his studies abroad may give a fillip to the education of the blind.

Grant for Training Primary School Women Teachers

The Senate of the Calcutta University has sanctioned a special grant of Rs. 3,000 to the Nari Siksha Samiti, a society for the education of women of which Lady Abala Bose is the foundress and secretary, in furtherance of the Samiti's scheme for training women teachers for Bengal village primary girls' schools, the amount to be given from the Rai Viharilal Mitra Bahadur Bequest Fund which yields Rs. 48,000 per annum. This is a commendable grant.

Perhaps it would be desirable to spend larger amounts, out of this fund, for the spread of primary and secondary education for girls in Bengal.

Aeronautics in University Studies

The Senate of the Calcutta University has introduced Aeronautics as an alternative subject in the course of studies for the Bachelor of Engineering Examination in Civil and Mechanical Engineering. This has not been done a day too soon.

Famine in Bengal

It is officially admitted that there is great scarcity of food in the districts of Murshidabad, Khulna, Hooghly, 24-Parganas, Nadia, Burdwan, Birbhum and Bankura. Non-official information published in the dailies shows that other areas, too, are affected, Noakhali, for example.

All the relief organizations which have been working in all these affected areas, deserve to be helped by the charitable public to go on with their philanthropic activities. Their appeals appear in the Calcutta Indian dailies.

Famine in Bankura

From editorial notes in our last two issues and from an illustration in the last issue our

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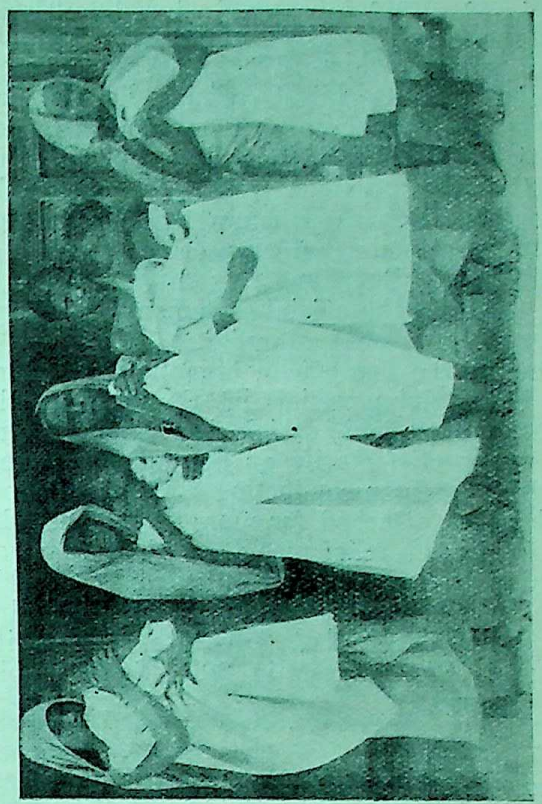
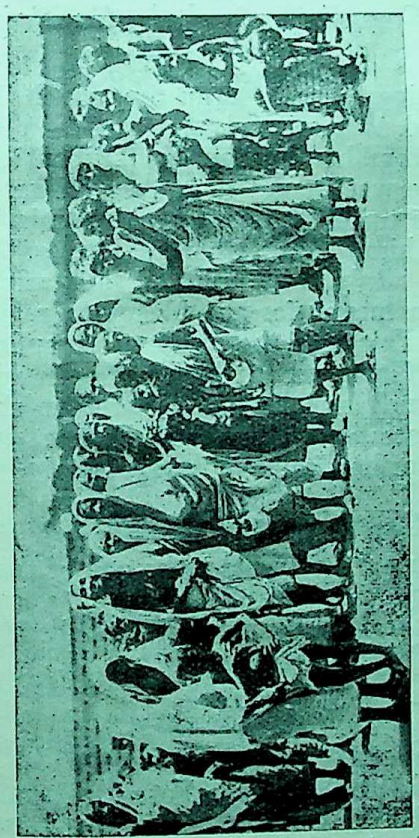
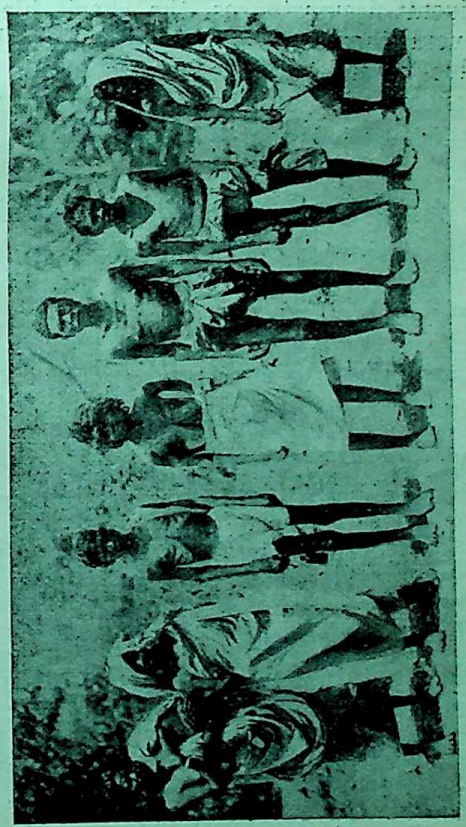
Distribution of cloths at Kanchanpur after the fire



Distribution of cloths at Ekteswar



Famine-striken women at Ekteswar, Bankura



Relief Centre of the Bankura Sammilani at Ratanpur

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readers are aware that there is acute distress in Bankura district. Out of its total population of eleven lakhs, five lakhs are affected. According to the latest official figures and accounts, the number of persons who attended the test relief works increased to 144,681 from 107,059 in the previous week. People of the higher castes such as Brahmins and Rajputs do not usually attend relief works from a sense of respectability. But hunger is driving them to do so. That is the official statement. It shows the very urgent need of relief.

One of the non-official organizations which have been giving relief in Bankura is the Bankura Sammilani, which has done famine relief work satisfactorily on previous occasions, and which has been conducting a Medical School with hospital attached for more than a decade. Help for famine relief meant for this organization may be sent either to the editor of this journal, who is its President, or to Mr. Rishindra Nath Sarkar, M.A., B.L., Advocate, who is its Secretary. His address is 20B, Sankharitola East, Calcutta.

Bengal Requires Outside Help

As many districts in Bengal are famine-stricken and other districts are by no means in affluent circumstances, the charitable public in Bengal, though they are doing their bit, are not able to render all the help required. Hence assistance from outside is urgently needed, which we hope will be forthcoming.

Help Asked For From Indians Abroad

On previous occasions of famine we remember to have received substantial help from our sisters and brethren abroad. We hope on the present occasion also their fraternal sympathy will move them to come to the rescue of their fellow-countrymen in distress to whatever extent they can afford.

We are glad to read in the papers that already the Indian students of Johannesberg, South Africa, have sent £25 to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for famine relief in Bengal.

Dr. Birbal Sahni, F. R. S.

We congratulate Professor Dr. Birbal Sahni on his election to a Fellowship of the Royal Society in Great Britain. The other Indians admitted to this great distinction are the late Mr. Ramanujam, Sir. J. C. Bose, Sir C. V. Raman and Dr. Meghnad Saha.

An object of the Congress

A circular addressed by the Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress, to peace, labour and other anti-imperialist organizations abroad says :

"The Congress, you know, is carrying on struggle for independence of India and for social and economic betterment of Indian masses. That struggle is essentially anti-imperialist, and it has vital importance in world struggle against imperialism. It is our desire to give it this wider perspective, and with this object we seek the co-operation of the organizations in other parts of the world which also struggle against imperialism in its various aspects. There may be many differences in our approach to this question, but we feel sure that there is much in common also, and that we can co-operate in a larger measure to our mutual advantage."

The Congress & Indians Overseas

It is stated in another circular, addressed by the Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress to Indians abroad :

"One of the special objects of this department is to keep in touch, and co-operate with our countrymen abroad. We trust that you will help us in this work to our mutual advantage, and will keep us informed of the activities, political, economic and cultural, of our countrymen in that part of the world as well as of the disabilities they suffer from. We shall gladly give publicity to them here and render you such other service as is in our power."

France's Complicity in Italo-Abyssinian War

According to the terms on which France was allowed to construct and maintain a railway line from her harbour at Djibouti to the interior, she was bound to convey all arms and ammunition to the Emperor of Abyssinia landed there for him. But, whereas she gave this facility to Italy, she allowed all arms and ammunition meant for the Negus to remain at Djibouti. This was the criminal complicity of the French Government which has been defeated by the French socialists in the recent election. Will this socialist victory cure France, at least for a time, of her leanings towards Italy?

Socialist Government in Spain

Spain has long ceased to be one of the great powers. Still the establishment of a socialist government in that country adds to the strength of anti-imperialist forces in the world.

Congress Circular to Literary and Cultural Groups

A third circular of the Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress, addressed to literary and cultural groups and journals, says :

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"It will be the special task of the Foreign Department to prepare for the benefit of friends outside, regular chronicles of happenings in India and objective surveys of her political and thought movements. We would likewise attempt to interpret the events and thought currents of your country to our own people.

"There may exist differences in our outlook. But there is a greater measure of agreement in our common endeavour to introduce peace and equality among nations, and to secure healthier and beautiful life for the mass of our peoples. We have no doubt that closer contacts between you and us will prove to be of mutual advantage."—*United Press.*

British United Front of the Left

As the British Conservative Party is divided into factions and cliques, several of the Labour and Liberal stalwarts are campaigning for a "United Front Government of the Left." They are trying to form a united block of the following parties or groups :

(1) Left Liberals;
(2) Left Conservatives;
(3) Labourites; and
(4) Communists.

The policy, on which a very large agreement could be obtained, is outlined as follows :

Full support for the League;
Strengthened sanctions;
Increasing friendship with Russia and France;
Nationalization of the coal mines, and other progressive measures.—*United Press.*

Where does India come in?

Principal Charles Albert King

The premature death of Mr. Charles Albert King, principal of the Engineering College of the Benares University, removes an earnest worker in the field of Indian education. He rendered invaluable service to that university by building up its engineering college and by working for 17 years as a member of its senate, syndicate and council.

Bloodless Revolution in Bolivia

There has been a bloodless revolution in Bolivia. We do not know whether a revolution was necessary there. But assuming it was, a bloodless one must be welcomed by all peace-lovers. The new government is expected to follow a socialist policy.

Is Britain Getting Ready for War ?

'If the storm should burst over our heads, we are not likely to have a long time to expand our production,' declared Sir Thomas Inskip, introducing the estimates of the Ministry for Co-ordination of Defence in the House of Commons on May 21 last. He added,

'We must be prepared with an output capacity that can be switched on at 24 hours' notice to meet the needs of war on the modern scale. The Government is now ready to allocate contracts to firms hitherto engaged on peace time work.

Among many matters engaging attention were questions of battleships and the fleet of air arm.

A sub-committee under Sir William Beheridge had been appointed to arrange food supply for civilian population in war time. The Minister was also engaged in measures for the protection of merchant shipping, air-craft defence and passive measures for the defence of the civil population.—*Reuter.*

If it breaks out, what sort of a war will it be? War of self-defence, or of defence or extension of empire abroad, or war for helping a weak nation? Moral judgment of it will depend on its character.

Mr. Nehru on the Communal Decision

In his speech at the recent session of the Trade Union Congress Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru condemned the communal decision as absurd and useless—though the vast majority of politically-minded Moslems (who are communally-minded as well) appear to consider it quite just and reasonable and very useful. As on previous occasions, he said it had to be fought but that any attempt to oppose it would be a waste of energy. How a thing can be fought without opposing it directly or indirectly, we do not understand. He said that the main object of Indians was to get Swaraj, and when the country had got freedom the communal decision would disappear automatically. But many Indians, including ourselves, think that decision is and would continue indefinitely to be a great obstacle in the way of winning Swaraj. Judged by the public expression of their opinions and by their public conduct, the vast majority of politically-minded Moslems prefer British-raj combined with communal discrimination in their favour to genuine and unqualified Swa-raj under which there would not be any graded citizenship but there would be equal citizenship for every individual irrespective of sex, race, creed, colour or caste. They would like to have Swa-raj with the substance of the communal decision preserved. Mr. Jinnah's outburst at Lord Linlithgow's observation that he would maintain a strictly impartial attitude, is an index to the prevailing Moslem mentality.

It is difficult to understand why Moslems who like the communal decision should combine with others to strive for a Swaraj under which that decision would vanish automatically.

As for the argument that the communal decision would vanish automatically if and when freedom were won and therefore we need not oppose it, why, many other evils also would

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then vanish automatically—for example, the restrictions on civil liberty. Must we not then fight them also? What is the use then of the Pandit's proposed Civil Liberties Union?

Joint Session of British Association & Indian Science Congress

The British Association of Great Britain, it is understood, has for the first time in its eventful career decided to hold a joint session with the Indian Science Congress in January, 1938, and in India.

This would be a memorable event and is a compliment to Indian scientists.

But we must not be deluded into forgetting that more than 90 per cent of us are totally illiterate and have not even heard the name of science. We must not slacken in the least our efforts for universal literacy and education.

Woman Head of Medical Department in Travancore

TRIVANDRUM.

A woman will again be appointed as acting head of the Travancore State Medical Department when Dr. J. Simpson, the Durbar Physician, goes on leave shortly, for three months. The Travancore Government have decided to appoint Vaidya Sastra Kusala, Dr. (Mrs.) Poonon Lukhose, Superintendent, Women and Children's Hospital, Trivandrum, as acting Durbar Physician during the period. Mrs. Lukhose has acted before as head of the State Medical Department. She was also the first woman member of the Travancore Legislative Council, and the title of Vaidya Sastra Kusala was conferred on her last year by His Highness the Maharaja on the occasion of the Birthday Durbar.

Mrs. Lukhose was the first lady to be the head of a department in Travancore.

A. E. Housman

Mr. A. E. Housman, the distinguished English poet, is no more in this world. He died at the age of 87. His poetic output was not considerable; but what he wrote and published was sufficient to give him an honoured place among modern poets, because of the high quality of his poems.

Jubilee of Mrs. Josephine Butler's Achievement

The following extracts from *The Manchester Guardian* tell of the epoch-making achievement of Mrs. Josephine Butler :

In the middle of last century England was urged to follow the example of certain foreign States in which the compulsory medical examination of prostitutes, or women suspected of being prostitutes, and the licensing of brothels had been established as a measure of police and one of public health. In 1864, England took the first step towards such a system by passing the first of the Contagious Diseases Acts, applying to eleven garrison towns. For twenty-two years a battle raged over this question, some wishing to extend, others to extinguish, the system. Then the opponents won their victory, and the Acts—for by this time there were more Acts than one on the Statute-book—were repealed. The repeal was one of the few achievements of the short Parliament of 1886 in which the first Home Rule Bill was defeated. The sequel is interesting and instructive. For whereas England was urged to follow the Continent, it has turned out that it is the Continent that has followed England. Out of forty-seven countries that had set up the licensed-house system, twenty-four have abolished it and fourteen have set up Commissions of Inquiry.

Experience was to teach not only Englishmen but doctors in other countries as well that the view that these methods could be made an effective weapon against the spread of disease was an illusion. It was also to show, as we know now from the investigations carried out by the League of Nations, that the licensed system is the chief source of the white slave traffic. 'We have definite evidence that licensed houses create a steady demand for new women and that the demand is met by traffic and causes both national and international traffic.' This truth, declared by the League of Nations experts in 1927, has been abundantly proved by Mr. Flexner's elaborate study, and it was divined by De Laveleye, the eminent economist, more than half a century ago.

The heroine of the agitation was, of course, Mrs. Josephine Butler, wife of Canon Butler, who was at one time Principal of Liverpool College, and daughter of John Grey, who had worked with Clarkson in his crusades against slavery. She had every gift that a woman could need for the task she had undertaken. For she added to striking beauty and charm of person a quick and original mind, a passionate feeling for liberty, and an ardent missionary spirit, to all of which her eloquence enabled her to do full justice. To understand the sacrifice that her task demanded we must remember that most respectable people thought the spectacle of a woman speaking in public on such subjects was an outrage on public decency.

Lord Willingdon's False Statement

In a recent speech in England Lord Willingdon asserted that India was slowly making economic progress. It was a false statement. Foreigners may be making more and more money here. But the mass of the people continue to be as miserable as before—perhaps more so.

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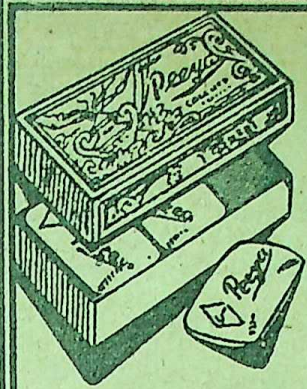

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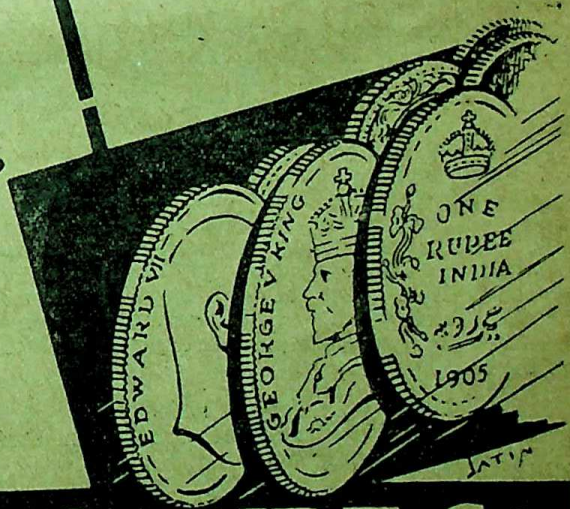

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The Young Builder writes:

Have already elicited high praise from such papers as "The Nation and The Athenæum," and "The Manchester Guardian." They give a graphic portrait of the social aspects of Bengali life, and will be read with great interest from cover to cover, being full of charm and pathos. H. C. K.

The Twentieth Century writes:

Both the sisters have won their spurs in the field of Bengali literature and are a force to reckon with.

They display consummate skill in weaving plots and characterisation. Each story is a miracle of simplicity and a triumph of artistic creation with an under-current of understanding sympathy. Here and there, they cast a tinge of melancholy pensiveness over their gentle raillery and poignant detail. Each character has been drawn to the life. The theme of the stories is almost identical and they reveal the depth of despair and anguish of a Bengali woman's heart.

Quite legitimately, the position of the woman claims their attention. The dowry system, the bane of the Bengali society, comes in for a good deal of castigation at their hands. Humour coupled with matchless insight into feminine psychology and cultivated imagination heightens the interest of the stories.

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The style of each story is simple, graceful and chaste, though here and there, it has been marred by exuberance of imagination.

The Leader writes:

Tales of Bengal is a collection of stories written by the talented daughters of the well known publicist, Babu Ramananda Chatterjee editor of the *Modern Review*. Santa Chatterjee and Sita Chatterjee write both in Bengali and English and their stories bear evidence of imagination and sympathy.

The first story in this collection has for its theme one of those worldly-wise old women, who make it a point to feel interested in the affairs of everybody else. They escape with all their impertinences eager as before to ask, listen, and offer advice. Santa Chatterjee, however, does not allow her old woman to escape.

In 'Loyalty' and the 'Cake Festival', the light mood is abandoned and pathoes envelopes the scene in a sombre mantle.

Sita Chatterjee is obviously deeply moved by the evils in the Bengali society. Her protests and her criticisms, however, are silent and effective. Her brides are mute, pitiable creatures. her widows are pathetic characters, and there is the dowry which still claims its victims in Bengal and elsewhere.

Above all it may be hoped that Santa and Sita Chatterjee will serve as examples to show that it is not necessary for our Indian authors to get sentimental when writing a story or a novel.

Advance writes:

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Without exception we may say that these eminent Americans were genuinely interested in the political and personal freedom of all sorts and conditions of men.

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Fredrick Lewis Weis

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Asit Haldar—Principal, Lucknow School of Arts
Jamini Prakash Ganguli—Late Vice-Principal, Calcutta School of Arts
Sailendra Nath De—Vice-Principal, Jeypore Art School
Abdur Rahman Chughtai—The foremost Musalman Painter
Samarendranath Gupta—Principal, Mayo School of Art, Lahore
Sarada Ukil—The famous painter of Delhi
Mukul De—Principal, Govt. School of Art, Calcutta
M. V. Dhurandhar—Vice-Principal, School of Art, Bombay.
Molaram—(Old Master)

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Bireswar Sen—School of Arts, Lucknow
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Manindrabhusan Gupta—Instructor, Govt. School of Art, Calcutta
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